

Cl.
r
22,17

ACTION PROGRAM

of the
Social Democratic Party of Germany

21640

ACTION PROGRAM

of the

**SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
PARTY OF GERMANY**

Adopted by the Party Conference at Dortmund,

September 28, 1952

and revised by the Party Conference at Berlin, July 24, 1954

A21641

Bibliothek
der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Aims and Tasks	7
Foreign Affairs	11
German Unity and Peace	11
International and European Cooperation	12
International and European Security	14
Humanity for PoW's and Displaced People	15
Berlin Again the Capital	16
Home Affairs	17
A Free Republic	17
The Administration of Justice	18
Penal Reform	18
Reform of the Judiciary	18
Free Municipalities in a Free Nation	19
Civil Service is Service for the People	20
Debt of Honour of the German People	21
Economic Affairs	22
Increase of Production and Full Employment	22
Planning and Competition	23
Distribution of Income	21
Private and Public Ownership	26
Democracy also in the Economy	27
The Middle Classes in the Economy	27

Farming and Food	28	Cultural Affairs	45
Land Policies	29	Freedom, Tolerance and Social Responsibility	45
Promotion of Agricultural Productivity	29	The Schools	46
Assured Prices and Markets	30	The Sciences, the Arts and Adult Education	46
Raising Social and Cultural Conditions on the Land	31	Women and Family Life	47
Community Coordination of Transport	31	The Rights and Responsibilities of Youth	48
Healthy Housing for Everybody	33		
Financial and Taxation Policies	36		
Fiscal Reform	36		
Tax Reform	36		
Social Adjustment of Income Taxes	37		
Turnover Tax Reform	38		
Social Affairs	39		
Social Security	39		
Relief	40		
Industrial Protection	41		
Labour Law	41		
Care for War Victims	41		
Health Policies	42		
Expellees, Refugees and Victims of War Damage	43		
Homestead Rights and the Right to Aid	43		
Equalization of Burdens	44		

AIMS AND TASKS

Mankind is embarking on the Atomic Age. Forces have been released which are paving the way for mankind to unsuspected development, but which may quite as well lead to pitiless destruction. If conflicts of the powers are not handled peaceably and successfully, mankind will be faced with self-destruction. Two gigantic military blocs, heavily armed, confront each other, even on the soil of disrupted Germany. Totalitarian systems of government are threatening democracy and the rights of man. Over the greater part of the globe there reigns hunger, poverty and social misery. Many peoples have risen against exploitation and colonial oppression and are struggling for independence and equality.

Every individual, every class in society, every people is called upon to take a stand.

At this turning point, the Social Democratic Party of Germany commits itself more definitely than ever to the great ideas of democracy and socialism, to the liberation of mankind from subjection and spiritual bondage, and to a new society of peace and justice.

In the last century, Marx and Engels established the scientific bases of socialism. Since then radical changes have come about in the conditions facing a militant socialism. Science has made the structure and working of nature, man and society accessible to an unsuspected degree. The organization and mechanisation of all spheres of life have, on the other hand, created new interdependencies which jeopardise personal liberty.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany has always striven to subject its policies to the evolution of society and to the progress of ideas. It knows that it must seek to realise its aims amid the everchanging conditions of the times, in the process never betraying its own character and heritage. New generations have never ceased to join it in the struggle for humanity and democracy, whether or not they have been able to fight in the open, or have been forced to defend themselves against terror and oppression, enduring slander and persecution. In hard fought battles it has realised many of its demands. It remains forever committed to the countless martyrs of the struggle, and to its great leaders from Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Ferdinand Lassalle and August Bebel, down to Kurt Schumacher, Hans Boeckler and Ernst Reuter.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany does not represent the special interests of individual groups. Its goal is the reconstruction of society in the spirit of socialism. It alone will enable the individual to develop freely. The socialists accordingly strive for the equality of men and for a spiritual, political and economic freedom, which cannot be realised in society as it exists at present.

The all-embracing aims of socialism make it an international movement. It recognises the rights and the freedom of every race and every community. It alone can overcome the fatal impact of power politics pure and simple, and of imperialist dominance by means of a union of free peoples which rests on the foundations of reason, tolerance and justice.

A new society that is not based on exploitation and oppression, will not come within our grasp by the automatic operation of some law of history. Only by acting with a clear purpose and a sense of responsibility can we win through to a better society. In the battle against the moral degradation and the materialistic spirit of our power-hungry and profiteering age, the socialist movement has a great moral and pedagogic role. All social institutions and systems tend to become self-centered and to petrify in bureaucracy. It is in the interest of mankind to learn to recognise these dangers and to fight them. Socialism will accordingly always present a challenge.

Socialist ideas are not a substitute for religion. The socialist movement does not set itself the tasks of a religious denomination. In Europe, Christianity, humanism and classical philosophy form part of the spiritual and moral heritage of socialist thought. Social Democracy welcomes the growing realisation among Christians that the Gospels embody a commitment to act with social responsibility.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany knows itself to be at one with socialists in every country that no matter where socialists gained their convictions, they all strive after a common goal:

"... a system of society with social justice, with higher living standards, of freedom and peace." The Communists falsely claim title to the socialist tradition. Actually, they have distorted these traditions beyond all recognition.

For the sake of freedom, justice and world peace, the Social Democratic Party of Germany rejects any surrender of the right to national self-determination to the benefit of any power-bloc. That is why it fights for the restoration of German unity in peace and freedom.

The Social Democratic Party has grown from being the party of the working class which it originally was to be a party of the people. The industrial workers constitute the core of its members and voters. But the struggle and

the endeavour of the Social Democratic Party are devoted to the interests of all who seek to further social justice, political and economic democracy, spiritual freedom and tolerance, national unity and international cooperation, undeterred by any narrow-minded concern for vested interests.

The next steps towards this goal are shown in the action program of the Social Democratic Party presented here. It will be put into practice when the German people provide the necessary mandate. This action program will also guide the policy of the Party in the opposition.

German Unity and the Peace

In view of the horrors of the war and its consequences, the German people has a special obligation to seek good relations with other peoples and to create a political atmosphere in which the unification of Germany can be realized by peaceful means. The tensions which dominate throughout the world must be resolved peacefully. Only in this way can the danger of a third world war be averted. Policies which ease international tension also improve the chances of a peaceful reunification of Germany.

The Federal Republic must therefore assist in the endeavour to overcome the division of the world into opposing, heavily-armed blocs. The partition of Germany is the result of the differences existing between the Occupying Powers, and they should not, in consequence, be released from their obligation to terminate Germany's partition. The Federal Republic must prevent the division of Germany from becoming permanent. It has, above all, the never-ending task of promoting the closest human, economic and cultural relations between the people in the Soviet-occupied zone and those in the Federal Republic.

The restoration of Germany unity in peace and freedom is the most urgent political claim of the German people. The Social Democratic Party of Germany will make its every move serve this end. It will unceasingly endeavour to secure the prerequisites for free elections in all occupied zones as well as in Berlin. For only through free, all-German elections can the unification of Germany be brought about. The free, all-German government which will come out of these elections must take part in negotiations for a German peace treaty on a basis of equality.

The settlement of German territorial and border questions must be reserved for the peace treaty. This settlement must not be prejudiced by prior agreements between governments of individual parts of Germany and the Occupation Powers. The detachment of lands which belonged to Germany in 1937 has not created new law but new injustice. The Social Democratic Party of Germany does not recognise this state of affairs either in the East or in the West.

The Federal Republic must not accept commitments in international treaties which make the restoration of German unity more difficult. Treaty obligations

incurred by the Federal Republic must explicitly reserve freedom of decision by a future German government.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany will not tire of reminding the parties in the Socialist International and the nations of the free world that the reunification of Germany does not only represent a German claim, but must be the aim of every international policy which seeks to maintain and to secure peace and freedom in Europe and throughout the world.

International and European Cooperation

Faithful to the socialist idea of a common tie between all nations, the Social Democratic Party of Germany aims at the political, economic and cultural cooperation of nations and governments for the maintenance of peace. The policy of understanding between nations is today all the more essential now that the development of modern weapons, in particular the atomic and hydrogen bombs, threatens to destroy large numbers of people and even civilisation itself. The German Social Democratic Party stands for a system of general disarmament under international control which will save mankind from the use of atomic weapons.

The German Social Democratic Party is at one with the freedom concepts of the democratic peoples, and any collusion with Soviet totalitarianism or its satellite forces is inconceivable. It does, however, also fight with all possible vigour against efforts to demoralise the freedom front by the introduction of Fascist elements. The Federal Republic must insist that the West seek, by peaceful means, to safeguard the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe from becoming completely cut off from normal economic and cultural intercourse with the other peoples of Europe.

Policies aiming at international easement and the restoration of normal diplomatic and trade relations between all countries of East and West must be developed accordingly.

Social Democracy will support all measures calculated to help underdeveloped countries to obtain self-government and social progress. The free world can only cope with expanding Communist domination if it is not only ready to defend its freedom with military means, but also jointly with all nations carries on an offensive in the economic and social fields which can give to those areas of the world where men still live in misery and national subjection, hopes of liberty and prosperity. The age of colonialism has gone forever.

Within the framework of its international policy, the Social Democratic Party seeks a democratic renewal of Europe as a commonwealth of nations with equal rights. Its aim in Europe is to raise the living standard of the European peoples and to assure the steady improvement of economic and social conditions in Europe, and to produce a continuous economic area with free movement of men, goods and information. For this, a policy of full employment for the whole of Europe, and the elimination of customs and other trade barriers, including exchange controls, are necessary. The Social Democratic Party fights for equal rights for all partners in the international and supra-national organisations; there must be an end to the privileges retained by the Occupying Powers and to discrimination against the Republic. These organisations must not be allowed to segregate themselves from non-member nations and so lead to further disruption which would obstruct closer cooperation in Europe and the world. The Social Democratic Party seeks to extend and multiply the relations of existing organisations, such as the European Coal and Steel Community, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation and the Council for Europe, with one another and with non-member states. In so far as sovereign rights are transferred to international agencies, they must be subject to genuine parliamentary control.

Over and above cooperation in the European organisations, the Social Democratic Party of Germany strives towards as close a cooperation between the Federal Republic and agencies of the United Nations, as their statutes permit. In its turn, the Federal Republic must seek to gain the support of the United Nations for those matters that are of vital concern to the Germans. The Federal Republic must so operate as to establish the prerequisites of membership for a reunited Germany in the United Nations.

International and European Security

The Social Democratic Party demands energetic efforts by the free world to seek negotiations with the area at present dominated by the Soviets on the establishment of regional security systems within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations. Within a comprehensive system of collective security reunited Germany must also contribute to the maintenance of peace on the basis of equal rights and obligations. The Social Democratic Party, therefore, insists on continued pressure by the Federal Government for further negotiations between the powers. In the process the security of Europe and the restoration of German unity must be handled as interdependent aims. The permanent integration of the parts of Germany that are separated by the Occupation Powers, into western and eastern system of alliances would render the continuation of the cold war inevitable and increase the menace to peace.

The Social Democratic Party is familiar with the dangers emanating from Soviet policies. In case effective agreements between the two worlds cannot be achieved, the threat to freedom and to the peace of nations continues, and the unity of Germany within a comprehensive system of collective security cannot despite all efforts be attained; the Social Democratic Party declares its readiness to participate in joint efforts to secure the peace and to defend freedom with military means as well, on the following conditions:

1. that the efforts to restore German unity continue without fail,
2. that efforts are concerted on the establishment of a system of European security within the framework of the United Nations,
3. that treaties committing the Federal Republic to a defence contribution concede termination by the Federal Government if they should become impediments to reunification; they must not bind the future government of a reunified Germany,
4. that equality is assured in the rights and protection afforded by security measures for all participants, and
5. that democratic and parliamentary supervision of the armed forces is assured.

The treaty on the European Defense Community bars the possibility of a peaceful restoration of German unity. It makes democratic control of the armed forces impossible also on the European level. It does not offer the same security to Germany as to the other parties to the treaty. It accords no equality to the Federal Republic in decisions of political and strategic import.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany accordingly continues to reject the EDC Treaty and the treaties associated with it. If the treaty system should enter into force the Social Democratic Party of Germany will seek to obtain its fundamental revision.

Humanity for Prisoners of War and Displaced People

In a spirit of humanity help must be afforded to prisoners of war and to displaced and interned civilians.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany will make every effort to bring home all prisoners of war and displaced people and to clear up the fate of all missing people. The Party supports efforts for a generous amnesty and

for pardons for the convicted German prisoners of war. A humane solution of the problem of the prisoners of war and of displaced people and the support of the humanitarian organizations working in this field is viewed by the Social Democratic Party as a political charge on the Federal Republic.

Veterans of the second world war can no longer be kept imprisoned as hostages and pawns in order to redeem errors in politics and diplomacy. Reparation must for humanity's sake be made for the effects of the application of conceptions of collective guilt. All sentences by military courts must be reviewed with the authoritative participation of neutral personalities of experience and standing in international law. Penalties must only apply to prisoners and interned persons who broke laws applicable at the time of the deed.

Work performed by prisoners of war and by displaced and interned civilians after hostilities ended and while they remained in detention must be recognized as part of German reparations. The Social Democratic Party supports the claim of returnees to suitable compensation and considers this as one way of providing security for returnees and of their integration. Everything must be done to reunite released prisoners of war and displaced and interned civilians with their families.

BERLIN AGAIN THE CAPITAL

For the Social Democratic Party Berlin continues as before to be the capital of Germany. Until Germany is reunited, Berlin remains the outpost of democracy.

Berlin is in every respect to be treated as a federal state (Bundesland). Its special position and tasks must be taken into account without pettiness. The Berlin members of the Federal Parliament (Bundestag) must be directly elected and must have voting rights.

The Federal Government must see to it that Berlin is enabled to give its people work and social security. Existing productive capacity must be utilized, Berlin's economy expanded and low-cost housing promoted.

Berlin must be given every consideration in orders for equipment and supplies from the federal Laender and municipal authorities. Industry must fulfill its duty towards Berlin, Berlin is to receive the largest possible share in foreign and international trade.

To a larger extent than has been done hitherto, federal officers must move to Berlin. The Federal Government must also concern itself with the population of the Eastern sector of Berlin. Everything designed to maintain cultural unity with the population of the eastern zone must be supported. The Social Democratic Party will continue to make energetic efforts to obtain the release of political prisoners and people abducted into the Soviet zone and will pay special attention to Berlin's refugee problem. In international negotiations until the reunification of Germany, Government policy must be to strengthen the political and legal position of Berlin.

HOME AFFAIRS

A Free Republic

Human dignity, freedom, justice and tolerance, and individual responsibility towards the nation are the bases of every democratic constitution. Social Democratic policy will ensure freedom of opinion, freedom of speech and freedom of political activity in public life. But there will be no freedom to destroy freedom. It is therefore the duty of the citizen to respect and to defend the constitutional order of the Federal Republic.

The Germany that will have been restored to unity in freedom must be a federal state based on viable state units (Laender).

The Social Democratic Party opposes any tendency towards the domination of bureaucracy in the community leading to limitations on the rights of Parliament. The administration must accordingly be subject to democratic control and be simple, clear and easy to survey in its structure. Reforms of the administration must not encroach upon social progress.

Until the unity of Germany has been restored, the freedom of action of the provisional Federal Republic must be strengthened and extended.

In the development of efforts towards German reunification legislation and administration must so evolve that no measures are promoted by independent German action which would deepen the division of Germany or prejudice the rights of present or former inhabitants of the Soviet-occupied area.

The road to German unity in freedom must remain open whatever contribution the Federal Republic makes to European unity. This observation applies also to measures of defence to the extent that they prove necessary. The parliamentary and democratic control of possible armed forces must be anchored in the constitution. In a democratic state the armed forces must be subject to a government responsible to and nominated by Parliament.

Measures relating to defence policies and military arrangements must have as their only aim the defence of freedom and the protection of the population. All armed forces must serve this aim alone.

Nobody must be forced to perform armed military service against his conscience. The soldier must remain a free citizen whose civic rights are assured.

The Administration of Justice

Socialism is not conceivable without protection for the freedom of the individual and for his existence in society as against arbitrary action of a private or public nature. The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore supports the democratic state based on law and the independence of the judiciary. The findings of the judiciary must serve the purpose of democratic and social justice particularly in protecting basic human rights in daily life. The independence of the judiciary must therefore tally with its responsibility towards democracy. The legal order as a whole must be adjusted to the demands of a modern and social democracy. The Social Democratic Party of Germany calls for intelligible legislation and for the use of businesslike and understandable language in legislation.

Penal Reform

Penal reform must start with the assumption that penal law is called upon to protect the basic values of community life and of the democratic and social order. Such a reform must utilize the findings of the social, pedagogical and natural sciences of our day.

In the penal system as a whole a distinction must be made between the occasional lawbreaker for whom prosecution is intended to constitute a warning, the habitual lawbreaker who is to be made a member of society again by suitable measures and the dangerous lawbreaker against whom society must be effectively protected. The death penalty and inhuman methods of crime prevention must be rejected.

By way of an extensive liberation of the penal system from the liability imposed by insignificant breaches of the law, the system of penal prosecution must afford legal protection to the accused and at the same time give the judge the possibility to promote social care and security within the framework of the law.

A reform of the penal system and a development of the right of pardon along contemporary lines are necessary from the points of view of social ethics and of the aims of the penal system.

Reform of the Judiciary

By means of a comprehensive reform of the judiciary the practices of the law courts that date back to the days of absolute government must be adjusted to the needs of a democratic and a social community governed by law.

Judges and prosecutors must secure the confidence of all sections by virtue not only of their legal training but also of their knowledge of life, social understanding and unequivocal democratic conviction. This calls for a penetrating reform of their education. The teaching of the law must in particular be developed further by the study of economic, social and political affairs. In addition care must be taken to give the profession of the judge a reward that will strengthen its appeal to qualified personages. In all suitable branches of the judiciary men and women of all pursuits should participate in a voluntary capacity.

The structure of the judiciary is to be simplified. The establishment of justices of the peace is to be tested further. Procedures before the courts must be made easy to grasp and speeded up and all cases involving family and youth matters should be brought under one jurisdiction. Decisions are to be formulated in understandable terms.

All functions of the judiciary that are not necessarily those of a judge should be delegated to other authorities, in particular to probation officers, in order to liberate the judges for their special functions.

Free Municipalities in a Free Nation

The foundation of any free and democratic national community are free municipalities that assume an autonomous responsibility for the welfare of their citizens. For this reason the fundamental rights of German local government must be assured by the constitution and their local freedom of action in the social, economic, cultural and financial spheres be restored.

The general and formal guarantees of local self-government provided by the Basic Law have proved inadequate. The Basic Law must be amplified to assure recognition to the municipalities and to associations of municipalities as the third pillar in the structure of the state.

The first step in this direction is financial equalisation on a social basis. The municipalities and associations of municipalities must become parties to this financial equalisation alongside the Federal Government and the State Governments. Appropriate shares of the income and corporate taxes will be included in the municipal equalisation funds. The municipalities will retain the income from rates.

Democratic self-government in the municipalities must be extended. To this end the statutes of the municipalities must provide liberal corporate management with the municipal council as the supreme authority. Honorary

municipal officers of the municipalities must attain greater standing and the citizens must be enlisted to a larger extent.

The autonomous responsibility of the municipal and municipal associations' authorities must be increased. The functions of special agencies will to a large extent be transferred to the local self-government authorities. Supervision by state authorities will be limited to a check on the legality of administrative action by the municipalities. The right of the municipalities will be safeguarded by constitutional courts. The claim of the municipalities to long-term credits must be recognised.

The municipal banks are to concentrate on their original function of providing means for community and economic operations within the framework of the municipalities.

Public utilities and transport are to be developed economically and technically. Attempts to transfer municipal business undertakings to private interests will be resisted.

The destruction caused by the last war, the accumulation of unsatisfied needs and the financial discrimination caused by the existing system of fiscal equalisation and distribution of revenue have increasingly deflected the municipalities from their original function which is to secure the welfare of all citizens. The capacity for service of the municipalities is to be restored.

Civil Service is Service for the People

Democracy in public administration requires that all citizens, irrespective of social origin, religion, sex or race have equal access to civil service positions and equal chances of promotion.

The employment of applicants from the sphere of private enterprise must be encouraged. Those penalised by the Nazis must have priority in re-employment.

The civil servant is the servant of the people. Only those who are committed to the democratic order and to parliamentary democracy as established in the Basic Law and who are prepared to defend democratic freedom will be employed in the public service. This applies in particular to the judiciary and to executive services such as the police and the frontier guards.

The Social Democratic Party will support all those who serve the democratic state sincerely and without reservations. Members of the public services may carry on political activities and organise in trade unions. They

are to participate in management with those modifications which result from the special nature of public service and from the rights of parliament.

The basis for employment, promotion and remuneration is performance.

Debt of Honour of the German People

Reparation of the injustice committed by National Socialism is a debt of honour for the German people and a basic precondition of any democratic rebirth. Reparation will prove that the German people condemns the crimes committed in its name.

Sufficient funds are to be made available for the prompt provision of the reparations and relief stipulated by law but delayed for years. Present legislation must be improved speedily.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The aim of the economic policies of the Social Democratic Party is

- equality in economic opportunity
- job security
- the elimination of all exploitation
- the increase of the national product
- a fairer distribution of the total economic yield.

The implicit aim is to raise the living standard and to assure economic freedom for the individual. The promotion of this aim requires

- economic action to attain increased productivity and full employment
- reconstruction of the economic process by a combination of national economic planning and private economic competition
- remuneration policies favoring the economically retarded
- transfer of the basic raw materials industries to public ownership
- workers' participation in management
- a fight against the uncontrolled influence of pressure groups on national policies in economic affairs.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany will by these means seek to help the workers, employees and civil servants, the professions and the self-employed, the farmers and handicraftsmen, the shopkeepers and small business undertakings, individuals and recipients of public assistance. The economic policies of democratic socialism are intended to serve all those who live by their work and all those who are in a depressed position in the community life of our age.

The Increase of Production and Full Employment

The integration into productive life of all who want to work requires an active economic policy that mobilizes all resources. On the structural side it must in particular take action in those sectors which have fallen behind in the development of the economy as a whole.

The following measures are calculated to serve these aims:

- The rationalization and modernisation of the basic raw materials industries (coal, iron and power) and of transport (railroads, road transport, shipping), the development of civil aviation.

Increased housing construction in the areas where new labour forces are required and the development of new and viable industries and trades in the areas of mass unemployment, in particular in the areas along the zonal frontier.

Improved connections between the distressed areas along the zonal frontier and the centers of industry by systematic transportation developments.

Coordination in a unified investment program and within the framework of a national budget of the hitherto uncoordinated employment, relief and priority programs.

Planning and Competition

Competition so far as possible, planning so far as necessary. The Social Democratic Party rejects the forced economy and holds to free consumers' choice. It will seek to promote genuine competition in all suitable branches of the economy. So far as the modern economy, based as it is on the division of labour, is a market economy, it is not necessarily a progressive and a fair market economy. That would in particular require policies promoting active and genuine competition throughout, freedom of trade, equal rights for all types of competitive enterprise, legal limitation and supervision of undertakings that dominate the market, compulsory licensing and public supervision of all market-regulating combines, effective prevention of unfair competition, the reform of company law, in particular with a view to adequate publicity and lucidity, regulation of the advertising trade, protection of the consumer, information and advice for consumers, assurance of free consumers' choice. Business competition must be supplemented by national planning in order to assure stability in the total economic process as conditions change.

A program of full employment and increased production demands the effective coordination of the supreme economic authorities (ministries of economics, finance, economic cooperation, farming and nutrition, labour, housing, transport, refugee affairs, the central banking system). This coordination must be used to establish and to accomplish the regular control of a central budget. The national budget must be submitted to parliament. The planning program must above all effect the development of the economy as a whole. Inflation, national income, the rate of consumption and savings, the balance of payments must be kept under constant scrutiny. If the balance of the economy is threatened, economic countermeasures must be taken in time. As in other modern industrial nations a business cycle institute must be established to serve this end.

The tasks and structure of the note-issuing bank must be determined by a federal act. In this act the bank will be committed to the basic outlines of the national budget in its momentary credit and interest policies. In order to assure its functions in the field of foreign exchange it will be given authority to intervene whenever inflation threatens or the rate of exchange is in danger.

Full employment and a balanced economic structure call for appropriate control of the money market and of capital investments within the framework of the national budget. By means of appropriate legislation and administrative measures — taxation, credit and other policies — the accumulation of capital necessary for the realization of policies of investment will be assured. Care must in this connection be taken to attain an appropriate relation between the accumulation of investment capital in the money market, in that connection small savings should be especially favoured, and the accumulation of capital in public ownership. An unsound degree of self-investment from profits will be kept down in favour of investment via the money market in particular by way of the accumulation centers of a public and private character and, to the extent called for by the state of the national economy, in favour of investment by the public authorities.

The investment policies of these centers must be adjusted to the basic principles of the national budget. The investment policies will be made subject to improved money market legislation which will also be implemented according to the principles of the national budget. So far as necessary the interest rates on investments made according to the investment program will be varied according to the sector of the economy.

Systematic money and investment policies of the kind presupposes a sound monetary situation as well as a corresponding trade policy. With a view to an adequate supply of raw materials and to supplementary foodstuffs, foreign trade must be developed still further and trade restrictions reduced. Particular efforts must be made to regain the markets in eastern Europe.

Foreign trade policies must from the start be so directed that they promote the establishment of a genuine European economic community. A policy aimed at the convertibility of currencies must be allied with policies of full employment.

Distribution of Income

The higher standard of life pursued by the Social Democratic Party of Germany must favour the nation as a whole. This requires not only an increase but also a fairer distribution of the national product.

A corresponding distribution of income will equally improve the composition of the national product. In the process more goods will be produced for the satisfaction of the most urgent social needs. After the years in which investment for reconstruction was developed to an extreme which unfairly favoured the owners of production goods as it was predominantly performed by way of self-investment, the consumption rate should now be increased.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany rejects a simple equalisation of incomes. A more satisfactory performance should be rewarded by a higher income. The distribution of income and capital in the nation today is not, however, primarily the product of diligence and capacity, rather is it to a high degree the product of coincidence, political power, extensive destruction of property and economic exploitation. The conditions of life among the refugees and other war victims and the inadequate level of wages are evidence of this. The Social Democratic Party of Germany will, therefore, promote policies of distribution aimed at correcting the competitive basis of the economy according to the principle of equal opportunity for all. It will concern itself with a satisfactory integration of the new segments of the population and of the new generations into the economy, afford to the unemployable a right to a human existence, guaranteed by law, and offer a suitable standard of life to those in the public services.

The claim to an equal start implies that young people are enabled independently of their station in life to secure the education for which they are suited by talent and performance.

A fair distribution of income is not possible without substantial aid in the acquisition of property for those hitherto without capital. In addition to active employment policies and a comprehensive social security system for the economically weak the fairer distribution of income is to be sought by the following measures.

The poverty under which millions of citizens suffer, must be overcome by increased public assistance and by the integration of the less employable into the productive process on the basis of the Social Reform Plan.

Appropriate wages and conditions of work must be guaranteed by law in the trades in which the employed are in a particularly weak position.

Wages must be assured of a reasonable relation to profit and to capital and ground rents by policies which utilize the possibilities offered by the low level of wages in the Federal Republic compared with other industrial nations.

Taxation must rectify the inequalities of income distribution.

All institutions which help to give competitive strength also to small businesses within an economy which favours the large combine must be given support.

Active government promotion of competitive market conditions.

Social considerations and regulation on the basis of constant scrutiny of the level of prices in order to prevent any kind of price usury.

An ample supply of consumers' goods as well as import policies calculated to prevent unjustified rises in the level of prices.

The encouragement of undertakings which promote competition and in that way regulate prices: among them are the cooperatives, in particular the consumers' cooperatives.

Private and Public Ownership

The Social Democratic Party of Germany will sustain small and medium-scale private property. Such a policy will enable the large mass of self-employed to carry on their economic existence. The Social Democratic Party will in addition inaugurate a policy in favour of the acquisition of property by the economically dependent.

Full employment presupposes a supply of the basic raw materials, in particular coal, iron, steel and power, corresponding to the needs of the national economy. This supply can only be assured by the transfer of the basic raw materials industries to public ownership. That is the only means of attaining an investment policy, keyed to the economy, and the necessary measures of rationalisation. It is the only way to prevent industries of this importance to the national economy from serving the interests of private capital and from being again misused for political ends.

The socialisation of the basic raw materials industries is all the more imperative because a destructive decartelisation policy has been pursued under the fiat of the Allies, discrimination against the west German coal and iron industries has been made a treaty commitment by German accession to the European Coal and Steel Community and damage has in consequence been caused which can be repaired at least in part by socialisation.

Democracy also in the Economy

Within the present system of economy the owners of the means of production or their representatives exercise monopoly power with hardly any control. A democratic organisation of the economy implies participation by the workers in social, employment and above all in economic decisions.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany, therefore, supports the efforts of the trade unions to protect the economic and social interests of their members, to ensure complete recognition of the value and the rights of labour, and to attain equality of all workers in the economy, in the state and in community life. It approves trade union unity regardless of differences in outlook on party politics or in religious conviction.

The workers must be represented in all governing bodies of industry on a basis of equality. They must have the right, in collaboration with the trade unions, to delegate to the governing bodies also men and women who are not employed in the undertaking in question.

The right to participation in management cannot be replaced by profit-sharing arrangements.

Undertakings do not become democratic merely by their transfer to public ownership. The decisive factor is the management structure. For all undertakings in public ownership the right to participate in management must apply with due consideration to the rights of their particular supervisory authorities.

The workers must have representation in the chambers of the handicrafts, of agriculture and of commerce. A federal economic council is to advise the Federal Government, the Bundestag and the Federal Council. The right to legislate remains an exclusive right of Parliament.

Since 1945 some of the Federal states, mostly under a social democratic majority, have passed legislation regulating participation in management. The Social Democratic Party of Germany opposes any further, of this legislation by the Act on Industry Organisation passed by the Bundestag. It will endeavour to secure a body of legislation conducive to the reconstruction of the national economy in a democratic sense.

The Middle Classes in the Economy

The Social Democratic Party of Germany is conscious of the importance for community life and for the economy as a whole of all those who are gaining an independent existence in small and medium-size workshops, in commerce and business generally, as well as in the professions.

To the extent of the public interest the productive capacity of these groups must be strengthened by way of professional schooling regulated by law. For the handicrafts a licence as required by law will apply.

Business market research and occupational guidance must help to maintain recruiting standards for the various professions and occupations.

In giving out work orders public bodies must take the middle classes into proper consideration.

Small and medium-size undertakings must be rationalised on the basis of economy in operation as determined from a national as well as a unit point of view by measures calculated to promote their individual field of operation.

The reorganisation and rationalisation called for by the contemporary state of the economy and of technical progress requires larger credits. Credits are at this stage usually afforded on a basis of excessive and partly impossible assurances. Credits must therefore more than before be allowed on a personal basis.

The personal performance and the trustworthiness of the recipient must constitute the essential prerequisite of the individual loan.

By measures such as these the possibility of independent enterprise will be improved for hitherto dependent workers as well.

Farming and Food

The productive forces in agriculture and industry constitute one great community of interests. As real income increases in the cities the people on the land can market an increasing volume of production. Increasing purchasing power on the land ensures an ever expanding market for industrial products.

The Social Democratic Party accordingly rejects policies which deepen the breach between city and countryside and calls for improved mutual understanding between consumers and producers. It backs agricultural policies that help agriculture to increase its productivity and income. In the process general nutrition is improved and healthier social and economic conditions on the countryside are achieved. The increased productivity of the farms, particularly the small family farms, is also necessary to strengthen their ability to compete on the European market.

Land Policies

The Social Democratic Party recognizes the right to private ownership of land for all those who with their families perform the main body of the work needed to make the individual unit produce to capacity. Only an agriculture based on independent farming in which ownership of the land constitutes the basis of economic and social freedom and in which the yield of the work performed on the land is fully credited to those who in effect perform this work can meet the call for increased productivity.

The land policies of the Social Democratic Party of Germany serve the development of small-hold independent farming. It is calculated to produce as many independent and viable family farms as possible and to assure the economic future of the small farm units that have too little land. The land reform legislation of the federal states should be made uniform and improved by federal legislation. Arable land and farm units which have been worked by tenants of the private landowners for more than thirty years should be transferred to the ownership of the tenant on application and against appropriate compensation.

The law of land ownership and inheritance should not maintain or create privileges. It must prevent the dismemberment of farm property below the size required of a family farm. Rural road building and regulation must make land that becomes free available to farm units that can be developed by means of land consolidation into fully viable family farms.

Raising Agricultural Productivity

Increased agricultural productivity and rentability can be achieved only by an increase of productivity as related to area and to labour performed. In order to finance the necessary measures adequate means must be included in the budgets of the Federal Republic and of the federal states.

The prerequisite of an increase in the yield of labour and in the more intensive working of the land is systematic land consolidation for which the procedures hitherto prescribed by law must be shortened in time and technically simplified.

In many villages the farmyards have been cut to such an extent that they do not permit a more modern arrangement of the barns and stables in consequence of which a rational handling of the livestock is impossible. To open up the villages is therefore as necessary as land consolidation.

In order to increase production arable land in many parts of Germany must be improved by drainage and irrigation measures, both locally and beyond district limits.

Working techniques and mechanisation in the household, in the farmyard, in the stable, on the fields and in the meadows must be developed further particularly on the small farms where developments have been most retarded. General services and arrangements in the common interest should be given extensive support.

The success of all developments depends on the use of advanced methods of farming. The development of agricultural schooling and vocational guidance is consequently of particular importance. This implies:

Comprehensive agricultural schooling with final examination rights.

The development of vocational schools for agriculture.

The expansion of professional guidance to all farm units, such guidance and its cost to be a public charge.

The dispersal of farming among a very large number of units necessitates their co-ordination in cooperatives for the purchase of equipment, for the joint use of machinery and for the marketing of farm produce. The system of producers' cooperatives must therefore be enlarged.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany wants to raise the level of farm life and make it possible for farm workers to establish families to a higher degree than hitherto. Equality of wages levels as between agricultural and industrial labour and more homes for farm workers either in their own or in public ownership are in consequence necessary.

Assured Prices and Markets

Agricultural production depends on stability in farm management and in the conditions within which the latter operates. It is therefore necessary to regulate the price level for farm produce. The marketing of farm produce and the supply of food for the population must be assured by means of public stockpiles of imported or local produce and by other measures to regulate the market. Any trend towards bureaucratisation and any misuse of market-regulating arrangements must be prevented.

To assure the benefit of his labour to the producer and to protect the purchasing power of the consumer energetic measures are called for to

eliminate economically unjustified processing and trade gains. To shorten the distance between the producer and consumer is a particular pressing task. The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore supports an expansion of the already existing ties between the producers' cooperatives in agriculture and the consumers' cooperatives.

Raising Social and Cultural Conditions on the Land

The educational openings for the young and the adult on the countryside must be brought to the same level as in the cities. The schools on the countryside must be thoroughly improved. The number of high schools on the countryside must be increased.

Of all people working on the farm the housewife bears the heaviest pressure. All measures and arrangements that bring relief to her must have constant support.

In many areas the people living in distant villages and isolated farms have hardly any chance to visit other areas, cities and villages and so to participate in the spiritual and cultural life of the nation as a whole. The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore calls for an improvement of transportation on the countryside and for greater support for the cultural endeavour of the people on the land.

Community Coordination of Transport

Transport policies derive from the economy as a whole. The special character of the transport situation calls for firm regulation.

The regulation of transport must, in particular, seek to counteract the transfer of emphasis both in business and in the social order that has occurred in recent years as the center of the economy has shifted to the industrial areas in the westernmost parts of our country. It must, in addition, as a minimum, seek to maintain the present distribution of settlements and industry outside the large cities and the main transportation crossroads. The regulation of transport must be keyed to the following community concerns:

adequate service for areas without a close network of transport,
uniform rates for such areas and for those with a tightly knit system of transportation,

a proportionate reduction of rates for long distances and for raw materials and semi-finished products,

reduced fares for season-ticket passenger traffic,

obligatory service and tied tariff rates.

These community concerns have been badly neglected in recent years. They must be restored in the operation of the railways and applied to road transport. The transfer to public ownership of road haulage and a monopoly for the railways in the acceptance of goods is not acceptable. The aim should instead be to combine road haulage in a self-governing registered public service company on the basis of the present cooperative undertakings. This solution would retain the necessary competition between road and rail in the interest of technical progress.

Rail and road must be given an opportunity to operate under equal conditions. Road haulage must cover the road maintenance incidental to the operation by special taxes. The extent of relevant maintenance costs should finally be assessed. Once equal conditions have been established, the rates for road and rail haulage should be assessed anew on the basis of the costs estimates of both branches of transport. The consequent differences in the rates will produce the distribution of business between the two most serviceable to the economy as a whole. Free choice as between the two must be maintained. A rigid distribution of transport arrangements imposed by the public authorities is not acceptable.

The Social Democratic Party urges technical and economic improvement also in the transport industry. In view of the present inadequacy of transportation services it would be irresponsible to ignore existing facilities, in particular those of the railways. The key bottlenecks in road transport are found in the common road system, particularly in the cities. The assurance of adequate safety on the roads, especially by way of police regulation, is imperative.

So far the transportation facilities of the Federal Republic have remained neglected. For a number of years to come it is therefore necessary to invest extensively in roadbuilding, local passenger services and ship transport. This investment planning should be covered in the general investment plan.

The transportation policies of the Social Democratic Party do not assume a fixed volume of traffic to be distributed among the various services. Within the framework of policies of full employment the Party foresees a constant expansion of traffic, in the process making solution of the transport problem easier.

Healthy Housing for Everybody

The effective construction of homes must be further expanded. Improved and roomier housing construction must be effected. The less privileged classes have in recent years benefited less and less from public housing and must again gain access to a larger proportion of the total volume of housing, and a primary access. Investment in housing must be determined accordingly. That is the only way for building enterprise to pay its way on a socially satisfactory basis.

Old and new housing must meet the total needs of the population in such a manner that each family, in particular families with children, have a decent home at their disposal. As called upon one-family houses and apartments, garden dwellings in cooperative settlements and dwellings for rent must be made available. Following the tenements of the latter half of the nineteenth century the understanding of the population for the special advantages of the garden city type of the dwelling and the small property home has for some time now been gaining ground under the impact of housing reform activities of the housing cooperatives, of the garden city companies and the national and municipal building enterprises as well as social policies of public and private business undertakings. The Social Democratic Party of Germany emphatically welcomes these developments. No obstacles from business or bureaucratic quarters must be permitted to get in their way.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany projects a comprehensive reform of the housing law, particular of tenant law. Since rent control has for decades decisively determined the income pattern, rents must only be permitted to rise gradually along with changes in income relationships. The latter must enable the economically weak sections of the population to pay increased rents without worse housing and living conditions. This implies that the standards of old-age pensions and public assistance must increase correspondingly and the demands of the trade unions for improved wages be met.

A non-discriminatory general increase in rents would not remove the economic and social evils of the present housing situation; the aim must be to restore a rental structure which would correspond to the value of the individual classes of housing. In the process of reassessing rents the tenant must be enabled to secure an adjustment corresponding to the lower standard of his housing by court action. Increased rents are justifiable only if they contribute to improved housing, in particular in regard to repairs and, eventually, modernization. In assessing the increased income in relation to the national redistribution of the burdens of war-incurred losses the means used

for such purposes should accordingly not be taken into account. The system of loans for repairs and other means of securing improved housing should be expanded.

Public housing should in the first place serve families with a maximum monthly gross income of 500 DM. The construction of such housing should benefit from public moneys, free of interest, and, as the case may be, with additional allotments to cover the interest on loans raised on the capital market. The rents laid down for housing of the kind must be kept in relation with present incomes and not be increased pending a general regulation of the rents problem.

Contributions to construction costs by would-be tenants must not be allowed for this type of housing. Public credit must be adjusted accordingly. The housing standards must correspond to local norms.

In meeting the housing needs of the less privileged it is important not to build beyond needs and to avoid unnecessary administrative costs; that is why compulsory regulation by law of specified types of dwellings and their use must not be considered.

For tenants with more than 500 DM in monthly gross income public means can only be made available on a lesser scale. Tax rebates are possible. Increased rents by square meter and contributions to construction costs by the tenant may be allowed. By favouring property rights in housing the tenant should be helped to retain the value of his contribution. Housing that does not benefit from public grants or aid will not be subject to rent control.

The market value of ground suitable for housing is at present increasing heavily in consequence of the increase in population and the speed of economic expansion. Unjustified expectations on the part of landowners and buyers regarding further unlimited increases in value are increasing prices even beyond the limits justified by present and foreseeable scarcity. The Social Democratic Party will seek such regulation of estate law that usury and the exploitation of fixed property will be barred, while leaving the price mechanism to operate normally in the economy.

The Social Democratic Party will oppose cartels operating to impose unjustifiably high prices and other means of reducing competition and establishing combines in the construction and housing materials industries.

In the interest of reduced costs all efforts directed at rationalising housing construction and the financing of housing will be supported. This implies the promotion of technical rationalisation as well as the elimination of obstacles and prejudices affecting housing enterprise. Adequate protection against wrongful practices must be afforded the cottage owner and those interested

in acquiring small settlements, housing property or permanent dwelling rights by way of non-profit trusts. Coöperative self-help housing enterprise must be promoted.

The whole system of housing promotion must be freed from bureaucratic obstacles, in particular from the complexity of provisions emanating from a multitude of public authorities and acting as an excessive brake.

Budgetary stability calls for orderly administration of income and expenditures by the public authorities and a system of taxation that distributes the burden suitably and justly. Having regard to the stability of the budget and the currency taxation must be adjusted to the aims of both economic and social policies. The government has the responsibility for adjusting fluctuations in the trade cycle also by its budget and tax policies and for affecting market conditions in the interests of an economic policy with social objectives.

Fiscal Reform

A successful tax reform presupposes a unified federal administration of the public finances of the Republic and the removal of the ten individual fiscal administrations of the Laender. Only a federal administration of finance can assure the uniform and just collection of taxes in all the Laender of the Federal Republic and with hope of success meet the challenge of dishonesty and fraud in the field of taxation. The principle of economy in administration can also be applied more easily by a federal administration. It would produce considerably higher tax receipts without a rise in taxation.

The returns must be distributed among the federal, Land and municipal authorities in accordance with the political tasks entrusted to them. The financial self-government of the municipalities should be anchored in the Basic Law within this framework.

Tax Reform

The principle of fair and social taxation, namely the distribution of the tax burden according to economic capacity, calls for emphasis on direct taxation levied according to social principles rather than the present system of indirect taxation in the first place with its unsocial implications.

The present tax system which has operated for decades no longer conforms to changed conditions. It should be reviewed and subjected to fundamental changes.

Social Adjustment of Direct Taxes

Taxation on wages and income must be revised from the ground up with a view to a lighter burden for the small and medium incomes, to a more just assessment and to extensive simplification. The following measures are among those to be applied accordingly:

A scale of taxation established on social principles will apply a basic tax rate unchanged for all incomes up to a specified amount; only incomes above that level will be subject to a progressive tax rate.

The tax-exempt income will be progressively raised up to an amount of about 1,500 DM for each taxpayer, 1,000 DM for the spouse and 1,000 DM for each child. Millions of taxpayers in consequence become free from direct taxation. Thousands of tax officials can in the process be transferred to more essential tasks within the administration of the public finances. The system of tax-exempt incomes must be adjusted to the evolution of the social reform program.

In addition to the increase in the tax exemptions the following concessions will prove important:

Alleviations in the taxation of savings and investments necessary to the economy, in particular for housing construction.

Alleviations in relation to outlay for the aged, in particular and also for members of the professions and the middle classes.

Alleviations in relation to supplementary outlay by parents and industry on vocational and in-service training.

The joint assessment of wives in employment and their husbands must not be permitted.

Salaries and wages must be assessed lower than capital interest and income from other funded property.

Tax inequalities between persons assessed for income tax and those liable to wage taxes must be abolished; this should apply also to the inequality in treatment between one-man firms, limited liability and joint-stock companies, so far as the business is assessed an income tax higher than the corporation tax would be. Action must be taken against the practice of avoiding taxation by overcharging the expense account as encouraged by present legislation.

Turnover and Consumption Tax Reform

The turnover tax system needs basic reorganization. The present system should be replaced by one that does not hamper that division of labour and specialization which is desirable from a national point of view. The levy must to a greater degree distinguish between human necessities and luxury goods. Basic foods must be freed from the turnover tax. Taxes on consumption must be simplified and reduced.

The sugar tax which is the most anti-social tax on consumption in Germany must be eliminated.

As taxation becomes simpler and the rates graded according to social considerations the paramount task of the fiscal administration will be the uniform and just assessment and collection of taxes.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The Social Democratic Party of Germany is determined to pursue social policies which ensure the existence, the freedom and the dignity of all citizens. Every person capable of work has a right to employment that guarantees an adequate existence. Without an appropriate effort of his own nobody capable of work has a right to the services of the community.

The social, economic and financial policies must be applied in conjunction. An comprehensive reform of the social services must take into account the changing social structure of the nation. Leeway to cover increased costs and the progressive development of social security will be available in

the expansion of the national product consequent upon full employment, increased productivity due in particular to improved health conditions and productive capacity, the rationalisation of the social services according to the social reform program.

A socialist policy of social security will assure the citizen of increased returns from the national product.

Social Security

The present confusion of the social services structure and of benefit arrangements under the social insurance, welfare and care services is intolerable. The administration is largely unconnected and therefore expensive. Most benefits are inadequate. The health services do not conform to medical possibilities. Hundreds of thousands of employable people are absent from work through no fault of their own. By way of public services, full employment and an increase of the national product millions of DM can be made available for improvements in the social services.

In order to disentangle and improve the system of social services the Social Democratic Party will apply, in terms understandable to the general public,

a social reform program.

It will establish as legal rights

public health services, including preventive health care, medical aid,

hospitalisation, medicines and treatment in health resorts,
adequate benefits in case of partial or complete unemployment, advanced
age, or the death of the family earner,
maternity care and child benefits,
economic security for the duration of illness and of unprovoked or limited
employment,

to benefit everybody in need of protection, including
wage- and salary-earners, housewives, craftsmen and small businessmen,
farmers and members of the professions.

The program will be executed on all levels of local, area and central
agencies of self-government. Decentralization is to ensure direct, human
contact.

With a view to rationalised administration and in the interests of the
beneficiaries benefits will not, as today, emanate from a multitude of offices,
but from one center.

A self-governing agency will be established for the administration of old-
age pensions for the self-employed farmer, businessman, tradesman and member
of the professions. Old-age security will be afforded by this administration
to the individual groups of self-employed according to income classes and
the contributions as assessed on the basis of the special circumstances of each
group.

Relief

Relief as a charge on municipal self-government will benefit as the
several branches of the social security system take over the general operation.
The municipal relief services can then more successfully concentrate on
their essential task of intervention in cases of individual distress, aided by
practical and neighbourly self-aid, also through the private welfare agencies.
Assuming no counterclaim for repayment municipal relief will entail a legal
claim for restitution.

Municipal relief supplements the social services where the latter are
inadequate to meet and overcome an individual emergency it offers preventive
action as a matter of obligation and assures adequate institutional and home
care consonant with the requirements of human dignity. It takes care of
families as entities and makes adequate provision for the care and protection
of the young. Its activities must seek to develop the capacity for self-aid of

those in its care, working together with them in overcoming the individual
emergency.

Industrial Protection

The Social Democratic Party will develop industrial protection as a
minimum right under the law in particular with a view to securing the health
of the worker.

Everybody has a right to live a life with meaning and consonant with
human dignity. The Social Democratic Party therefore demands reduced
working hours with full adjustment in wages and salaries wherever the
volume of production and the stage of technical progress justifies it. Modern
production methods are adjusted to increase the produce of manual labour
but at the same time make such demands on the human being that reduced
working hours are necessary for this reason alone.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore supports the demands
of the workers and of the trade unions for the forty-hour working week.

Labour Law

The Social Democratic Party fights for progressive labour legislation. It
must be brought together in a German code of labour law. Wages and working
conditions should in general be determined by tariff agreements. The Minimum
Labour Standards Act, which was secured under Social Democratic pressure,
must above all assure the following against inadequate pay: landworkers,
home industries workers and workers and employees in small industries as
well as domestic workers.

Care for War Victims

The commitment of the government to aid the war victims and their
families and the dependents of the dead in two world wars cannot be set aside.

The Social Democratic Party calls for intensive vocational aid, job openings
and higher benefits from the Federal Care Act to adjust the benefits to changes
in the price level. The disabled and dependents who have no access to
productive life must be assured of full care and maintenance. The basic
benefits must not affect the assessment of the other benefits and pensions.

Legislation for the heavily disabled must be improved and expanded. The aim of all measures in favour of the heavily disabled must be to bring them back into active life.

Medical care must be expanded and adjusted to progress in the medical sciences. Effective aid must be afforded to the children of war victims, legitimate and illegitimate, by way of school and vocational training.

Health Policies

Every citizen has a right to the maintenance and restoration of his health to the maximum extent afforded by modern medical knowledge.

This goal can be reached only by the development of preventive and curative medical health services within a comprehensive system of health security. In the process freedom of medical decision in the independent exercise of the medical profession is to be maintained and protected also in the interest of assuring the necessary confidence between patients and the doctors of their selection.

To the importance of the medical function must correspond economic guarantees for the existence also of the independent practitioner in case of invalidity or old age.

EXPellees, REFUGEES AND VICTIMS OF WAR DAMAGE

Homestead Rights and the Right to Aid

Expellees, victims of war damage, evacuees and Soviet zone refugees have a right to aid from the community.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany fights for the reparation of the injustice inflicted upon the victims of the Potsdam decisions on expulsion. The Party affirms their right to their homes in the east and to an existence in the west.

All people are entitled to a homeland, folkways, a language and a culture of their own. The Social Democratic Party will promote the possibility of peaceful return for all displaced people whether they once lived inside or outside the prewar German borders. It seeks the integration of the expellees, the victims of war damage, the evacuees and the Soviet zone refugees into the German economic pattern.

Internal resettlement with a view to social balance and a sound distribution of the population is of need. The decisive point of view must be to combine the provision of housing with job opportunities. Planned economic policies will ensure a sound development of the refugee industries. Special attention must be given to the maintenance of the core of skilled workers and to the export capacity of these industries.

The Social Democratic Party is concerned that the expellees and Soviet zone refugees who are willing to settle are speedily placed in agriculture. Present inadequate legislation must be broadened. As instances the old age pensions for farmers without heirs must be based on legislative arrangements, economic farm units must be assured by the consolidation of land and a sensible system of compensation for land under compulsory transfer. The goal is the creation of viable farm units.

The establishment of the expellees and the reestablishment of victims of war damage in their crafts, trades and professions must be furthered by the removal of bureaucratic obstacles, by systematic consideration in resettlement projects and by the extension of credits.

There must be no discrimination against children belonging to these groups in school and vocational facilities. Equal opportunities for displaced youth and for younger refugees from the Soviet zone present a special and primary task.

The Federal Evacuees Act must be expedited. Adequate means must above all be provided for housing and settlement. The old and the unemployable must receive equal consideration.

The claims of the Soviet zone refugees must be settled by law.

The Social Democratic Party will seek friendly cooperation with all organizations of the victimized sections of the population which dedicate themselves to the special social concerns of their membership. It will cooperate in the care and maintenance of the cultural heritage of the expellees and refugees.

Equalisation of Burdens

One element in the right to aid from the community is the process of equalization. The Compensation Act (Lastenausgleichsgesetz) must be improved in order to afford social justice in the levy and the distribution.

In the administration of the Act priority must be accorded in the distribution of means for

- compensation for the loss of household goods,
- the restoration of dwelling space,
- reintegration into productive life,
- war damage benefits.

The means of compensation must be released by way of a planned, advance extension of credits, as the process of compensation will be of value to the victims only if afforded more speedily.

CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Freedom, Tolerance and Social Responsibility

The Social Democratic Party of Germany is committed to the basic principles of tolerance and of respect for human dignity in regard to all people who accept tolerance as a principle binding also for them. These principles are to guide community life and the handling of differences between the several religious and political groupings of the German nation. There must be full religious freedom and freedom of conscience, full freedom for the arts, for research and teaching, for the press and for broadcasting.

Religious freedom and freedom for research and teaching must not be exploited for party or anti-democratic purposes.

Freedom of opinion involves free access for the press to the necessary sources of information. Present penal legislation is adequate for the prosecution of misuse of freedom in the literature and the press. The best protection against sordid literature resides in dignified conditions of existence and in a good education.

Freedom of the radio must be assured by democratic supervision of the independence and the financial policies of the broadcasting services. They constitute a public service which must not become means of propaganda for an individual party or political philosophy, nor for a government.

The Schools

German youth is to be educated in the schools regardless of faith and together in the spirit of mutual respect in order to secure a sense of social responsibility and regard for the ideals of democracy and international understanding. Physical training is equally indispensable to the system as a whole.

Religious instruction will be given in accordance with the provisions of the Basic Law. Further religious instruction remains the concern of parents and of the churches.

The schools are to be developed in such a manner that all children are brought together in one organic school system and each child is enabled,

Independently of its social situation, to get the education for which it is fitted. Free schooling and free schoolbooks and instruments are therefore to become the rule and adequate educational aid to be accorded.

The dearth of school space caused by the war must be repaired by way of large-scale construction of schools, physical training accommodation and sports arenas. In urgency such construction must be placed on a level with public housing. The federal, state and municipal authorities are called upon to contribute.

In the interest of progress experimental schools, rural boarding schools, countryside school extensions and similar institutions should be encouraged.

Parental participation in the schools and the participation in school managements by the pupils are projects for suitable development in all schools.

There is an urgent need for special effort with regard to the elementary school system. The lack of teachers must be overcome by improving the material conditions and social position of the teacher. Classes must not exceed thirty-five children. A ninth school year must be made general. The aim is to provide the same size of classes, number of teachers and allocations for teaching aids as in the corresponding age brackets of secondary and high-school education.

The vocational schools must broaden the range of technical knowledge and educate for social responsibility. Vocational school legislation will commit the states, the districts and the municipalities to establish public vocational schools. Weekly attendance at the vocational schools must reach at least twelve hours.

Teachers in all types of schools must have had at least six terms in college. Their pedagogical training must have been of the same standard. Arrangements with other countries for advanced instruction and teacher exchange must be expanded.

The Sciences, the Arts and Adult Education

The Social Democratic Party firmly opposes the low estimation of the arts and sciences in capitalist society. Their protagonists must be afforded a new station in society corresponding to their significance.

The colleges and universities cannot be allowed to live isolated from democratic society. Besides research and teaching they must fulfill their educational duty. Student youth must not only secure technical and professional

training but also be given a general education that will enable them to grasp the connection between their special training and the facts of life in the community.

Tuition fees must be abolished and adequate study grants provided. Present channels of education must be supplemented by further possibilities for entry into the universities without regard to previous schooling for those qualified scientifically, artistically or technically.

Assistant and associate professors must be given financial and legal security.

Teaching and research, particularly in the arts and social sciences, must be given greater assistance from public funds than before. The treasures of the sciences and the arts must be made accessible to everybody.

Education for citizenship in the main task of independent adult education. It is a task equal to those of the other institutions of education. This fact must find recognition in the financial aid afforded. The work of the people's high schools should receive legislative support and assurance and be backed by the states and the municipalities.

An extensive development and expansion of the public libraries should be promoted by legislative action.

Thanks to the devoted efforts of the labour movement today's citizen enjoys more leisure. Modern entertainment developments tend to absorb this leisure time. The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore supports all efforts that enable the citizen to shape his leisure time independently and according to good sense. The primary aim of these efforts is the defense and the development of values threatened by mechanised society.

Women and Family Life

The Social Democratic Party has always fought for equal political, economic and social rights for women and for their equality under the law in all respects. It demands a reform of marriage and family law. It seeks to establish the right of women to employment and access to all professions that correspond to their capacities and desires. No mother with children at or under school age should, however, be forced by economic need to seek employment.

Women must have the same chances of promotion as men. More of them must be engaged and trained for the public services, also in the higher ranks. Measures discriminating against women in the civil service must be removed.

Wages and salaries must be determined solely according to the nature of the employment and not according to the sex or age of the person employed. The so-called typical women's jobs must be evaluated anew and fairly.

Protective labour legislation must take account of the special situation of the working woman and mother, also after the entry into force of equal rights in marriage and family law. Effective control of the application of relevant legislation must be assured by expanded factory inspection in which women with work experience must have an increasing part.

All attempts to evade the stipulations of the maternity protection legislation when female workers are sought and employed must be energetically fought. Legal maternity protection must be extended to all women in employent, also women civil servants and self-employed women. Working non-employed women are to be equally safeguarded.

Children's allowances must be given to all children. A system of adequate maternity and baby care must be developed.

Kindergartens and children's playgrounds, nurseries, rest homes for children and their mothers should protect mothers from excessive stress and their children from dangers to body and spirit.

Without sound housing there is no sound family life. Housebuilding in the cities and on the countryside must therefore correspond to the demands of rational housekeeping and of modern hygiene. Housing projects must also include bachelor's dwellings.

In marriage law and in social legislation the work of the housewife must be treated as employment.

In case of pregnancy, illness and convalescent absence domestic help must be provided for the housewife. The establishment of municipal advisory offices on education and marriage problems is advocated.

The Rights and Responsibilities of Youth

The new generations must and should secure their place in professional and public life by their own efforts. The Social Democratic Party therefore welcomes every initiative coming from the young. It will support their justifiable claims. It will call the young into responsible cooperation in political

and social affairs. It will seek legislative sanction for the special protection needful to the young in the period of their bodily and mental development.

Every youth has a right to training for a vocation. Grants in aid and a vocational training act will provide the prerequisites for the assertion of this right.

Vocational guidance and the manner of training must be adjusted to modern working techniques. In related vocations a common training basis must be established. By means of retraining courses this will help vocational transfers.

Job selection will be eased by means of elastic and productive vocational guidance, intensified early advisory service for parents and their young and by a greater measure of vocational preparation in the schools.

Training and working conditions in agriculture and in domestic work will be improved.

In order to overcome juvenile unemployment and lack of job opportunities new training and work positions will be established. The means are full employment policies, the activation of unfilled training and work positions in the public and private economy, the establishment of municipal and non-profit apprentice shops attached to municipal enterprises and schools, the extension of opportunities for female youth, the coordination of job placement between localities and the construction of homes.

Workers under twenty will be included in the protective measures against discharge.

A new young workers protection act will assure twenty-four days holiday annually, ban piecework, limit daily working hours to seven and a half and make medical examinations and care obligatory. Penalties for breaches will be increased.

The young worker will be entitled to vote for works councils after seven-teen years of age. Spokesmen of the young workers will be assured access to the works council.

In order to advance spiritual and cultural interests among the young and to strengthen the forces of social cohesion public funds must be made available on an adequate scale.

The democratic youth associations are pillars of democracy in questions of dealing with the young, youth care and education. They are therefore entitled to special consideration.

The international meeting of the youth associations and the international exchange arrangements for the young are to receive public support. The education of the young is aided in particular by the promotion of courses and instructional arrangements, the establishment and expansion of libraries for the young, the promotion of literature for the young; and of juvenile films.

The municipalities must to a greater extent than hitherto create institutions serving the young such as homes, sport- and swimming stadiums. They must be open to all young people free of charge.

Rambling and recreation will be promoted by the construction and expansion of youth hostels, camping space and recreation homes.

In all states of the Federal Republic special holiday legislation will favour the youth leaders.

The Social Democratic Party will ensure the nomination of young candidates in public elections and the participation of qualified young talent as aids to responsible personalities. In the process it will counteract the accumulation of functions in few hands.

The Social Democratic Party is confident that the younger generations recognize their responsibilities to the community and are prepared to cooperate constructively in the evolution of their own destiny and with a view to a more happy future for the German people.

The Social Democratic Party calls upon the German people to commit itself in action to the aims formulated in the above action program. The realization of this program depends on the assent of the nation.

The Party is guided in its struggle by the aims and tasks of democratic socialism as established in the Declaration of the Socialist International at Frankfurt/Main on July 3, 1951:

Socialists work for a world of peace and freedom, for a world in which the exploitation and enslavement of men by men and peoples is unknown, for a world in which the development of the individual personality is the basis for the fruitful development of mankind.