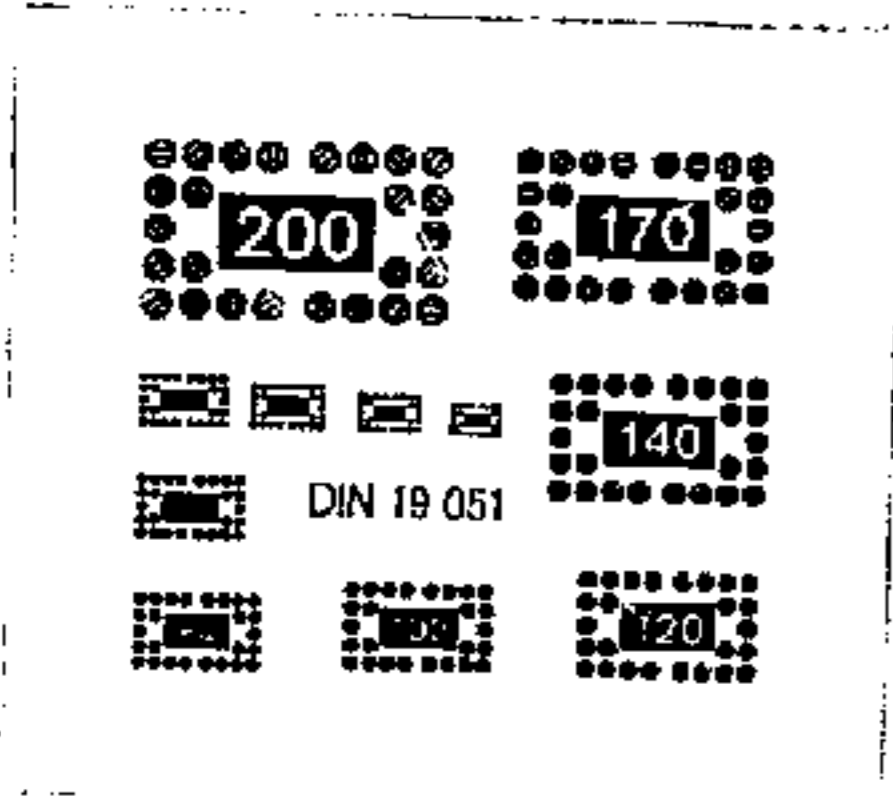


**BASIC PROGRAMME
AND BERLIN DECLARATION**

OF THE
**SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
OF GERMANY**



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BASIC PROGRAMME AND BERLIN DECLARATION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY

ADOPTED BY THE PROGRAMME CONFERENCE
OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY
AT BERLIN ON 20TH DECEMBER 1989

CONFERENCE MATERIAL ON SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC POLICY

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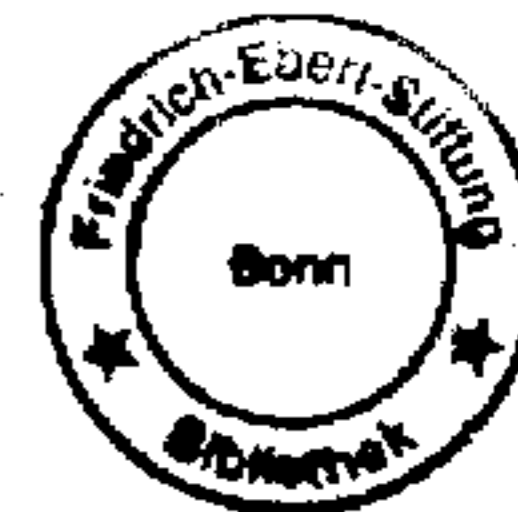
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fields of competence and European economic democracy. We want a social order throughout Europe.

We aim for an all-European peace order based on common security, the inviolability of borders and respect for the integrity and sovereignty of all the countries of Europe. All the countries of Europe should enter contractual obligations in order to make the principles of the Helsinki Final Act a reality.

The rapidly progressing democratisation and humanisation processes in the societies of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe represent hope for all of Europe. We offer our assistance in the renewal of these countries. Human rights, the rule of law and the social state have to be guaranteed in all the countries of Europe.

All-European cooperation must help overcome the North-South divide, ensure the common survival of all peoples by securing comprehensive environmental protection, make individual and collective human rights a reality, expand economic cooperation to the point of mutual interdependence, nurture Europe's common heritage, and promote cultural contacts. For this, we also need all-European institutions.

Germany

Peace must emanate from German soil. We want to breathe life into the community of all-German responsibility and assert the common interests of the two German states in disarmament, detente and cooperation.

The Germans, like all peoples, have the right to self-determination. The question of the German nation remains subordinated to the necessities of peace. We are striving towards peace in Europe in which the German people can find its unity in free self-determination. The people of the two German states will decide on which form institutional community will take within a uniting Europe. The Germans' experience in history and their decision in favour of a common Europe rule out any special German solution. The Polish western border is final.

The significance of Berlin as a German and European centre will increase to the same ex-

tent as communication and meetings between people across the borders increases.

The prevailing reservation rights of the four powers for Germany as a whole and for Berlin must be replaced by an all-European peace order.

North-South Policy

Without a balance between the industrialised and developing countries, the future of humankind will be jeopardised. Where starvation and deprivation rule, peace cannot endure. The South must not be the theatre for East-West conflict. Rather, disarmament in East and West must release means to be used in opening up opportunities for the development of those two-thirds of humanity that are living in poverty.

The wealth of the industrial countries of the North is based on the exploitation of the countries of the South. The present-day world economic structure is still steeped in the tradition of 500 years of colonialism. It is shaped by unequal and discriminating economic relations and terms of trade, and disadvantages the Third World.

Each country has the right to pursue its own development path. The countries of the South must finally be given the opportunity to feed themselves, to preserve or restore their natural bases of existence, to find their own suitable forms of agriculture, energy supplies, education, employment, industrialisation, public health and social security, and to satisfy their basic needs with an effective domestic market and to preserve their cultural identity.

Development in the South can only succeed if the work of women ceases to be undervalued. The central role of women for the autonomous development of these countries must be recognised. Women must be equally involved at all levels of development planning and development projects. They must be able to have a say on all developments. Development must also be orientated towards their interests and needs.

Regional associations are able to facilitate this and to strengthen the influence of the South on the world economy, thus fostering global cooperation.

Where reactionary forces inhibit independent development, we support the forces of liberation. The system of apartheid in South Africa must be abolished.

The choices available to the South are broadened if we correct the industrial society in our own country through ecological renewal, by tapping renewable sources of energy or promoting technologies that can also be used in the South.

Therefore, development policy cannot be the isolated responsibility of a single ministry. For all political decisions, such as economic cycle policy, customs duty reduction and export promotion, environmental, energy, technology and security policy, the considerations of development policy must be taken into account.

North and South still need to find the way to a mode of development that makes lasting progress possible, that respects ceilings for burdens on the ecology, and that is in accord with the needs of present and future generations. Lasting development demands that the utilisation of resources, the direction of technological innovation, and the range, place and purpose of investments are orientated towards long-term development objectives and not short-term profit interests. International institutions need to be reorganised and endowed accordingly with rights. We are striving for a new and just world economic order that makes lasting development for all countries possible.

On the way to this goal, the terms of trade must be altered to the benefit of the South, export earnings for raw materials increased, debt service reduced, the transfer of resources from North to South fostered, public financing of development expanded, and control of transnational concerns enforced worldwide.

Where developing countries leave economic possibilities unexploited, also in the interest of the global community, for reasons of environmental protection, for instance, the industrialised countries must make up the Third World country's financial loss.

These steps will work only if the developing countries are enabled to advance their reforms themselves, as equal partners in the appropriate international organisations. This applies espe-

cially to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The International Community

The global society must shape an order for itself with which world peace can be safeguarded, economic power politically controlled, raw materials, technology and know-how fairly distributed, and our natural bases of existence permanently preserved.

The United Nations can bring us nearer to this goal. Accordingly, its importance must grow. It must become an instrument of nonviolent world domestic policy. We want to strengthen it both politically and financially.

The less it is crippled by East-West confrontation, the better the United Nations can convey peace, counter global threats, and give expression to the interests of poor countries. The United Nations can only do justice to these challenges if the nation states are prepared to transfer more authority and responsibilities to it. We support a strengthening of the International Court of Justice, reform of the Security Council and the creation of international arms control agencies within the framework of the United Nations. The United Nations and affiliated organisations must be restructured and given a greater capacity for action.

The Socialist International concentrates and strengthens the forces of Democratic Socialism. It must be developed further, so that it can point the way towards a democratic world society.

I.

WHAT WE WANT

We Social Democrats, men and women, are struggling for a peaceful world with a viable nature, for a humane and socially just society. We want to maintain what is worth preserving, avert all risks to life and encourage people to fight for and achieve progress.

We want peace.

We are working for a world

in which all the peoples of the Earth live together in common security, waging their conflicts not through war or an arms race, but rather through peaceful competition in order to achieve a decent life;

in which a policy of partnership and civilised controversy eliminates conflict between East and West;

in which all the peoples of Europe work together within a democratic and social peace order, emanating hope and peace for the peoples of the South;

in which a just world economic order gives the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America a fair chance to develop independently.

We want a global society that permanently preserves the existence of humankind and nature on our planet through new forms of economic activity.

We want social equality for women and men, a society without classes, privileges, discrimination and exclusion.

We want a society in which all women and men have a right to decent employment, in which all work is treated as equal.

Through united, equitable effort, we want to attain prosperity for all and distribute it fairly.

We want culture in all its many manifestations to enrich the life of all people.

We want democracy throughout society, including in trade and industry, in factories and at the workplace. We want to limit economic power and to exercise democratic control over it.

We want fundamental economic decisions, particularly those determining what will increase and what will decrease, to be taken democratically.

We want the public to codetermine the shaping of technology in order to enhance the quality of work and life and to lessen the risks posed by technology.

We want a modern democratic state based on the political commitment of its citizens, a state that can achieve social goals and that can constantly adapt to and meet the challenge of new responsibilities.

A mere continuation of old developments no longer leads to a future.

We want qualitative rather than quantitative progress, we want progress that aims for a higher quality of human life. This requires new ideas, new directions, the opportunity to select and structure, above all in technology, trade and industry.

The more endangered the world is, the more necessary progress becomes. Anyone wanting to retain that which is worth preserving must also support change. The progress we need safeguards peace at home and abroad, preserves human life and nature, overcomes fear, and awakens hope. The progress we need graces our society with more freedom, more justice, and more solidarity. Without such progress we open the path to retrograde development. We Social Democrats want to work together with Democratic Socialists all over the world for this progress.

II.

THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR POLICY

1. Basic Experience and Fundamental Values

Modern bourgeois revolutions have talked of rather than achieved freedom, equality and solidarity.

That is why the working class movement sued for the ideals of these revolutions; an equitable society with equal freedom for all people. This movement's fundamental historical experience demonstrates that repairs to capitalism are not enough. A new economic and social order is needed.

Social Democracy continues in the tradition of democratic popular movements in the nineteenth century and therefore wants both democracy and socialism, wants popular self-determination in the political and working world.

Yet, the movement's history has not been without its mistakes and errors. During the First World War, Europe's Social Democratic workers' movement disappointed many people's hopes that it could enforce peace. The movement became disunited on the relationship between the national and international tasks of the working class.

Later, the Communists, who established the dictatorship of their party, allegedly in the name of the working class, split away from the Democratic Socialists, who were striving for a better social order through reforms in the parliamentary democracies. These orders which evolved as allegedly socialist alternatives to capitalism bitterly disappointed the hopes that they had raised. Instead of bringing about a society in which people live together in solidarity, they established the rule of a privileged bureaucracy which was neither capable of securing political freedom nor cultural development.

The Social Democratic Party assumed national government responsibility for the first time at the end of the First World War. It proved to be

the most reliable pillar of support for the first German democracy and began with the construction of a democratic social state. Social Democracy opposed the tyranny of National-Socialism, but was unable to avert it. The many sacrifices it made during the resistance against the Third Reich legitimised Social Democracy's special right to play an influential part in the construction of the second German democracy. Our experience at the hands of dictatorship and terror makes us particularly alert to any attempt to minimise the crimes of National-Socialism or to revive fascist ideology. The resistance deepened the perception that even people of differing creeds and political convictions are able to work together for the same political goals.

The political balance of power, the underestimated dynamism of capitalism and also the inability of Social Democrats to mobilise majorities prevented Social Democratic reform policies from being able to bring about far-reaching change to the basic, undemocratic structures of the inherited economic and social systems. It was possible to restrict but not to overcome the power of big business and the predominance of capital and business management. The distribution of income and property remained unjust.

The Godesberg Programme drew new conclusions from this historical experience. It perceived Democratic Socialism as the task of achieving freedom, justice and solidarity by democratising society through social and economic reforms. The Social Democratic Party presented itself at Godesberg as what it had long been: the popular party of the left. This it will continue to be.

In government, Social Democracy was able to achieve notable successes, extend employees' rights at work and citizen participation, expand the social state and remove legal disadvantages from whole sections of the population. However, Social Democrats also misjud-

ged situations or came to the wrong decisions during this period. The preservation of the natural bases of existence had not yet been accorded the necessary status, the decree on extremism created opponents to our democracy instead of combatting them. The outstanding achievement of this time continues to be reconciliation with the states of Eastern Europe and the securing of peace.

We are proud to be part of the tradition of a movement that has never brought war, oppression, or tyranny to our people, but that has rather transformed a proletariat without rights into self-assured citizens.

The Social Democratic Party has stood up for peace and international cooperation since its foundation. The internationalism of Social Democratic tradition has now become the only justifiable Realpolitik.

The basic values of Democratic Socialism are rooted in our history. They will continue to form the foundation of our reform policy.

Our Roots in History

People of various basic creeds and convictions work together in the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Their concurrence is based on common basic values and like political goals. Democratic Socialism in Europe has its spiritual roots in Christendom and in humanist philosophy, in the Enlightenment, in Marx's historical and sociological doctrine, and in the experiences of the workers' movement. The concepts of women's liberation had already been taken up and developed by the workers' movement back in the nineteenth century. It has taken us more than 100 years to implement these ideas. We welcome and respect personal basic convictions and creeds. They can never be subordinated to party resolutions.

Our View of Humankind

However one explains human dignity, it is both the starting point and goal of our activities. We all agree with the statement introducing the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience, and should act toward one another in a spirit of fraternity.

We are agreed in viewing humankind as a rational and natural being, as an individual, and as a social being. As a part of nature, humans can only live in and with nature, can only develop their individuality in community with fellow humans.

Humankind, predestined to be neither good nor evil, is able to learn and able to reason. This makes democracy possible. Humankind is subject to error, can make mistakes, and can fall back into inhumanity. This makes democracy necessary. The conditions under which a person lives matter because an individual life is open, with various possibilities inherent in it. Accordingly, a new and better order of life committed to human dignity is both possible and necessary.

Human dignity requires that people are themselves able to determine how they live in community with others. Women and men should act together with equal rights and in solidarity. All bear responsibility for decent living conditions. Human dignity is independent of its capacity and usefulness.

Human Rights

We are committed to human rights. The state, trade and industry are there for the people and their rights, and not the other way around.

Full validity of human rights requires equal status given to safeguarding civil rights and liberties, the political rights of participation and basic social rights. They cannot replace each other and must not be played off against each other. Collective rights also serve individual development.

Only where civil rights and liberties have been guaranteed and where they are applied can people live as free and equal citizens and practice democracy. Only where basic social rights have been fully implemented can everyone fully enjoy the civil rights and liberties and political rights of participation. Only where civil rights and liberties and the political rights of participation are respected and free controversy and political commitment permitted can people assert their right to sufficient food, housing, work and education. Only in their entirety can these human rights facilitate a decent life.

All people have a right to their home country, their ethnic identity, their language and culture. Ethnic minority rights in accordance with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights are indispensable.

Our Perception of Politics

Politics is a necessary dimension of social coexistence. It is not restricted to state institutions. Political activity is in progress wherever information is circulated or held back, consciousness altered or living conditions changed, opinion formed, intentions expressed, power exercised, or interests represented.

There are limits to political action. These cannot be overstepped without damaging both the individual and society. Error and fault, illness and misfortune, pain and despair, failure and defeat, even in a free and equal society, are all part of human life.

Politics can only create the conditions needed for a life to reach fulfilment. If it attempts to deliver happiness and fulfilment itself, then it risks descent into totalitarian control.

Politics must, however, aim to be more and different than just the management of what has become unavoidable. In order to be and remain credible, it must secure for itself scope for action and set itself new tasks. If politics leaves the overall direction of technology and growth to economic interests, then it brings about objective necessities which leave it no choice in the action that it takes.

The democratic state draws its substance from forces within society. It is no end in itself; it is, rather, an instrument for shaping society. Political parties are mediators and provide incentives at one and the same time. They mediate between society and the state by recording social impulses and requirements and transforming these into legislation and government action. The parties themselves must initiate considered thought and submit proposals for discussion.

Political activity that aspires to be more than just the implementation of real or supposed necessities must be borne and put into effect by aware and committed citizens. This becomes possible through a free, open-ended dialogue among citizens which challenges and includes

the forces of society, which communicates information, brings about an awareness of problems, stimulates the power of judgment, and finally leads to consensus or clear majorities.

Public dialogue is an expression of democratic culture. It penetrates to the core of political life, where - as in the shaping of technology - decisions are to be made that concern everyone and can only be altered with difficulty at a later date.

Freedom of opinion and the media are indispensable to public dialogue. All citizens must have the right and opportunity to form and communicate their opinion on topics that affect their own or their descendants' opportunities in life. Government, the arts and sciences, and the media must provide the prerequisites for a reasoned formation of opinion and so for democratic and civilised debate.

Public dialogue means more democracy - not more state.

Basic Values of Democratic Socialism

Freedom, justice and solidarity are the basic values of Democratic Socialism. They are our criteria for evaluating political reality, they are the standard for a new and better social order, and they are, at the same time, an orientation for the activities of each Social Democrat, man and woman.

Social Democracy strives for a society in which each can develop his or her personality in freedom and can make a responsible contribution to political, economic and cultural life.

As an individual, the human being is called upon and able to live in freedom. However, the opportunity to implement this freedom is always an achievement of society. For us, freedom is the freedom of each and every person, including, especially, of those who think differently. Freedom for a few would be a privilege.

The freedom of others forms both the limits to and conditions of individual freedom. Freedom requires release from degrading dependence, from want and fear, but it also means the opportunity to develop individual abilities and to be responsibly involved in society and its political life.

Only those who feel sufficiently secure in society can make use of their opportunity for freedom. It is not least for the sake of freedom that we want equal opportunity in life and comprehensive social security.

Justice is based on equal dignity for all. Justice requires equal freedom, equality before the law, equal opportunities for political and social participation, and for social security. Social justice requires the equality of man and woman.

Justice requires more equity in the distribution of income, property, and power, as well as in access to education, training and culture.

Equal opportunity in life does not mean uniformity, but rather scope for all to develop individual inclinations and abilities.

Justice, the right to equal opportunity in life, must be sought by means of state power.

Solidarity, that is the readiness to stand up for one another beyond legal obligations, cannot be enforced. Solidarity has shaped and encouraged the working class movement in the struggle for freedom and equality. There is no human society without solidarity.

Solidarity is also the weapon of the weak in the struggle to achieve their rights and it is the consequence of the realisation that humans need their fellow humans. We can only live together as civilised, free and equal individuals if we stand up for one another and demand freedom for each other. Those who fall into need must be able to rely on social solidarity.

Solidarity also requires that people in the Third World receive the opportunity to live a decent life. The coming generations, whose life opportunities we are deciding on today, have a right to our solidarity. Solidarity is also necessary in order to expand the individual's opportunities for development. Only joint action, not egoistic individualism, brings about and safeguards the conditions of personal self-determination.

Freedom, justice and solidarity are mutually dependent and mutually supporting. In fulfilling their purpose, they are equal in status, elucidating, complementing and limiting each other.

It is the permanent mission of Democratic Socialism to make these values a reality and to perfect democracy.

2. The World we Live In

In some parts of the world, industrial revolution and modern technology have brought about unprecedented prosperity which has been made available to all through the expansion of the social state and the policy of the trade unions.

The elimination of poverty here has been paid for throughout the world with new perils for humankind and nature. The dynamics of industrialised civilisation have left old injustices intact and, furthermore, now pose new threats to freedom, justice, health and life.

Never before has humankind had so much power at its command. With genetic engineering, humankind is able to take evolution into its own hands. The unleashing of the atom could lead to the extinction of the human race. However, the awareness of our increased responsibility is growing.

The danger that humanity will wipe itself out through nuclear, biological or chemical weapons of mass destruction has not been averted. But resistance to the arms madness is increasing. Disarmament has come within our reach. Friend-or-foe thinking is on the retreat.

The forests and seas, plants and animals are dying through the pollution of soil, water and of the air. We are depriving ourselves of the bases of existence. On the other hand, ecological attitudes are gaining momentum. New technologies and processes - as well as others that were prematurely declared to be obsolete - now make environmentally-compatible economic activity possible.

No country can exist in isolation. Changes to the climate and the deterioration of the protective ozone layer disregard national boundaries. Wars also affect uninvolved peoples. Economic crisis or success in one part of the world affects all the other parts. The global society is a reality, but a just peace order is still far in the future.

But there is a growing perception that such a peace order is essential. Common tasks compel us to secure peace and pursue international cooperation.

The concentration of economic power in ever-fewer hands seems inexorable; the worldwide race to secure markets and scarce resources seems unavoidable. Capital streams encircle the planet at an ever-faster pace. All over the world, huge multinational companies are planning their profit-making strategies, are evading democratic controls, and are forcing political decisions to be made. The power of expanding business and the quest for profit create immense wealth, but at the same time degrade countless men and women, and whole nations. They restrict our national scope for action. Crises of global economic cycles and structures cause the collapse of entire economic regions.

But a countervailing force emerges where countries successfully form regional communities and where trade unions transcend national borders.

The South, dependent on banks, commodity exchanges, groups of companies, and the countries of the North, and obstructed in its own development by the protectionism of industrialised countries, degraded into the role of a theatre for East-West conflict, frequently exploited by corrupt elite groups, is struggling for its future. The more oppressive the misery and the more explosive the rate of population growth are, the quicker will be the destruction of nature, the more meagre the chance for countries in the South to produce their own food, the more humiliating the South's dependence on decisions taken in the North. But the poor are defending themselves against patronisation and exploitation. They are joining forces and seeking their own paths. And the North, for its part, is beginning to recognise how dangerous the deprivation of the South is for us all. In East and West the awareness of a common responsibility is increasing.

New technologies, especially in information technology and communications, are leaving their mark on the working world, public life, and, increasingly, private relationships. They endanger the quality of work, jobs, and the democratic development of informed opinion.

Wherever the use of new technologies is governed solely by profit or power interests, it strengthens the tendency towards manipulation and monitoring.

On the other hand, new technologies open up new opportunities for a more humanised organisation of work, for more openness, better information and greater participation.

The state is turning into an overburdened repair shop. It is expected to use social aftercare methods and lagging environmental protection to repair what has been destroyed by ecologically and socially irresponsible economic activity. But more and more people are realising that precaution and planning are indispensable.

The relationship between the individual and society is changing. Any individual who is not firmly rooted in society and who lacks the experience of community ties often feels alone in confronting an alien and anonymous society which, by presenting ever-new choices, both fascinates and overburdens him or her. But the possibility of free choice will only lead to more freedom and individual development if this freedom is integrated within a personal life-scheme and is experienced in solidarity with others.

We are still living in a male-dominated society. The organisation of work and community life discriminates against women. But women are increasingly fighting for and gaining their rights.

Many people suffer from the divide between what politically should be done and what is actually done. Politics no longer holds out any promise for them, they withdraw into the private sphere and into small communities of their own, or flee from reality into new dependencies.

We Social Democrats intend to demonstrate that politics is worth everyone's effort. We confront the perils of our time. Without allowing ourselves to be intimidated by powerful interest groups, we seek dialogue with those who venture to join with us in redirecting the course, in planning and shaping.

III. PEACE WITH COMMON SECURITY

Peace is our Mission

Humanity can only survive together or perish together. These unprecedented alternatives require new approaches to international affairs, especially with regard to securing peace. War must not be a means of political action. This is especially true in an age of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. Peace not only means that the weapons are silent. Peace also means the coexistence of all peoples, without violence, exploitation or oppression. A policy of and for peace also encompasses international cooperation in trade and industry, the ecology, culture, and human rights. A world at peace requires the right to self-determination for all nations.

A policy of peace must de-escalate power conflicts, seek to balance interests, take up common interests, form regional associations to counter the superpowers' efforts to predominate, and wage conflicts between differing systems, ideologies and religions in peaceful competition, within a framework of civilised political controversy.

A policy of peace must break the predominance of military, bureaucratic and arms-industry interests, and convert arms production into the production of civilian goods.

A policy of peace must be supported by peace-promoting education and peace studies. It is not only the responsibility of governments to create peace. Peace also requires a commitment of people all over the world to international understanding, the elimination of weapons and concepts of the enemy.

In case of conflict, the weapons of mass destruction would destroy what was to be defended. We want to transcend the system of military deterrence and organise transbloc security. This includes keeping space free of weapons. We fight for the worldwide elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. The Federal Republic of Germany must not manufacture,

possess or use nuclear, biological or chemical weapons. It must become free of all weapons of mass destruction and must also not strive for any joint disposal over these. A renunciation of all NBC-weapons is to be constitutionally guaranteed.

We want to break the dynamics of the arms build-up and initiate the dynamics of disarmament.

We aim to prevent the export of arms and military equipment.

Common Security

The attempt by East and West to obtain security against each other by having more and more arms has been paid for with more and more insecurity for all.

No country in Europe can enjoy more security today than any potential adversary can. So, each country must, even if only in its own interests, assume responsibility for the security of the others. That is the principle of common security. It requires that each side grants the other side its right to exist and its ability to live in peace.

Common security effects detente, and requires detente. Common security aims to eliminate anxieties caused by constant threat, and to overcome the confrontation of the blocs.

It is our aim to replace the military alliances with a European peace order. Until such time, the Federal Republic of Germany can find the highest attainable degree of security in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), provided that it can represent and assert its own security interests, including its interest in common security, within that Alliance. The radical change in Eastern Europe decreases the military and increases the political significance of the alliances and assigns to them a new task. They must, whilst still retaining stability, organise their dissolution and the transition to a European peace order. This also opens up new

prospects for the end of the stationing of American and Soviet armed forces in Europe, outside their respective territories.

Within the Alliance, the principle of equal sovereignty must apply. The Alliance must remain capable of defence, must be defensive, and must be prepared for detente. Political will must prevail over military strategy, military technology and the economic interests of the arms industry, and not the other way round. Peace is a political mission, and not a task for arms technology.

Common security aims to do away with all weapons of mass destruction and achieve a drastic reduction and reorganisation of the conventional armed forces up to the point of a mutual structural non-offensive defence capability. This process should be accelerated by limited unilateral steps and signals. These include a considerable reduction in arms spending, the reduction of troop numbers, and a general nuclear test ban.

Nuclear- and chemical-weapon free zones in Europe serve common security. We want to establish such zones and extend them throughout Europe.

The armed forces of the Federal Republic of Germany fit into the concept of common security. The Bundeswehr's exclusive task is national defence. Its mission is the avoidance of war via the capability for defence, without a structural offensive capability. The structure of the Bundeswehr must support and promote the disarmament process. Political leadership of the Bundeswehr is incumbent on the Federal Government alone, whose parliamentary control is the responsibility of the Bundestag.

Soldiers must retain their civil rights and duties. We affirm the armed forces and compulsory military service. We reject military service for women. A policy of peace aims to make the armed forces superfluous.

We respect the commitment of pacifists who stand up for their convictions, for the utopia of a non-violent international community. They have a legitimate place within the SPD. We guarantee the basic right of conscientious objection. We support the abolition of the procedure to determine conscience. Civilian Alternative Service must not be organised in such a

way that it deters from such service, or can be made useful to the armed forces.

The European Community and a European Peace Order

The United States of Europe, called for by the Social Democrats in the 1925 Heidelberg Programme, remains our goal. The democratic countries need to combine their energies in order to assert themselves and also to work towards an all-European peace order.

The European Community (EC) is a building block for a regionally structured world community. The EC offers an opportunity for peace and Social Democracy. All of Europe must become a zone of peace.

On the basis of a common foreign policy, the European Community should serve peace, give more weight to its peoples in international relations, and counteract the confrontation of the superpowers. The historic prospects for the EC do not mean it taking on a predominant role itself. Rather than in military strength the EC will find its identity as a sought after partner in trade and industry, in technology and science, standing up for an intact environment and lasting development in the Third World. It must also be prepared to accept all the democracies of Europe as members and to offer various forms of close cooperation to all the countries of Eastern Europe, so overcoming the division of Europe.

By way of a policy of partnership towards the South, the European Community must pay off part of the historical guilt of the European colonial powers and current debt of unjust economic relations. Accordingly, the EC must support the countries and forces of the South in their striving for independent, self-determined development and work towards a just world economic order.

We want to transform the European Community into the United States of Europe, in which the cultural identity of the peoples is preserved, linguistic-cultural minorities are respected, and in which all citizens are assured of equal liberties and opportunities for their development.

This requires full rights for the European Parliament, a capable government which would be answerable to Parliament, clearly delineated

fields of competence and European economic democracy. We want a social order throughout Europe.

We aim for an all-European peace order based on common security, the inviolability of borders and respect for the integrity and sovereignty of all the countries of Europe. All the countries of Europe should enter contractual obligations in order to make the principles of the Helsinki Final Act a reality.

The rapidly progressing democratisation and humanisation processes in the societies of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe represent hope for all of Europe. We offer our assistance in the renewal of these countries. Human rights, the rule of law and the social state have to be guaranteed in all the countries of Europe.

All-European cooperation must help overcome the North-South divide, ensure the common survival of all peoples by securing comprehensive environmental protection, make individual and collective human rights a reality, expand economic cooperation to the point of mutual interdependence, nurture Europe's common heritage, and promote cultural contacts. For this, we also need all-European institutions.

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The Germans, like all peoples, have the right to self-determination. The question of the German nation remains subordinated to the necessities of peace. We are striving towards peace in Europe in which the German people can find its unity in free self-determination. The people of the two German states will decide on which form institutional community will take within a uniting Europe. The Germans' experience in history and their decision in favour of a common Europe rule out any special German solution. The Polish western border is final.

The significance of Berlin as a German and European centre will increase to the same ex-

tent as communication and meetings between people across the borders increases.

The prevailing reservation rights of the four powers for Germany as a whole and for Berlin must be replaced by an all-European peace order.

North-South Policy

Without a balance between the industrialised and developing countries, the future of humankind will be jeopardised. Where starvation and deprivation rule, peace cannot endure. The South must not be the theatre for East-West conflict. Rather, disarmament in East and West must release means to be used in opening up opportunities for the development of those two-thirds of humanity that are living in poverty.

The wealth of the industrial countries of the North is based on the exploitation of the countries of the South. The present-day world economic structure is still steeped in the tradition of 500 years of colonialism. It is shaped by unequal and discriminating economic relations and terms of trade, and disadvantages the Third World.

Each country has the right to pursue its own development path. The countries of the South must finally be given the opportunity to feed themselves, to preserve or restore their natural bases of existence, to find their own suitable forms of agriculture, energy supplies, education, employment, industrialisation, public health and social security, and to satisfy their basic needs with an effective domestic market and to preserve their cultural identity.

Development in the South can only succeed if the work of women ceases to be undervalued. The central role of women for the autonomous development of these countries must be recognised. Women must be equally involved at all levels of development planning and development projects. They must be able to have a say on all developments. Development must also be orientated towards their interests and needs.

Regional associations are able to facilitate this and to strengthen the influence of the South on the world economy, thus fostering global cooperation.

Where reactionary forces inhibit independent development, we support the forces of liberation. The system of apartheid in South Africa must be abolished.

The choices available to the South are broadened if we correct the industrial society in our own country through ecological renewal, by tapping renewable sources of energy or promoting technologies that can also be used in the South.

Therefore, development policy cannot be the isolated responsibility of a single ministry. For all political decisions, such as economic cycle policy, customs duty reduction and export promotion, environmental, energy, technology and security policy, the considerations of development policy must be taken into account.

North and South still need to find the way to a mode of development that makes lasting progress possible, that respects ceilings for burdens on the ecology, and that is in accord with the needs of present and future generations. Lasting development demands that the utilisation of resources, the direction of technological innovation, and the range, place and purpose of investments are orientated towards long-term development objectives and not short-term profit interests. International institutions need to be reorganised and endowed accordingly with rights. We are striving for a new and just world economic order that makes lasting development for all countries possible.

On the way to this goal, the terms of trade must be altered to the benefit of the South, export earnings for raw materials increased, debt service reduced, the transfer of resources from North to South fostered, public financing of development expanded, and control of transnational concerns enforced worldwide.

Where developing countries leave economic possibilities unexploited, also in the interest of the global community, for reasons of environmental protection, for instance, the industrialised countries must make up the Third World country's financial loss.

These steps will work only if the developing countries are enabled to advance their reforms themselves, as equal partners in the appropriate international organisations. This applies espe-

cially to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The International Community

The global society must shape an order for itself with which world peace can be safeguarded, economic power politically controlled, raw materials, technology and know-how fairly distributed, and our natural bases of existence permanently preserved.

The United Nations can bring us nearer to this goal. Accordingly, its importance must grow. It must become an instrument of nonviolent world domestic policy. We want to strengthen it both politically and financially.

The less it is crippled by East-West confrontation, the better the United Nations can convey peace, counter global threats, and give expression to the interests of poor countries. The United Nations can only do justice to these challenges if the nation states are prepared to transfer more authority and responsibilities to it. We support a strengthening of the International Court of Justice, reform of the Security Council and the creation of international arms control agencies within the framework of the United Nations. The United Nations and affiliated organisations must be restructured and given a greater capacity for action.

The Socialist International concentrates and strengthens the forces of Democratic Socialism. It must be developed further, so that it can point the way towards a democratic world society.

IV. A FREE, JUST, AND EQUITABLE SOCIETY: A NEW CIVILISED FORM OF COEXISTENCE AND COOPERATION

A New Civilised Form of Coexistence

Civilisation - and each society encompasses many patterns of civilisation - manifests itself in the way people deal with other people, with other creatures, and with inanimate objects.

Civilisation is also rooted in intellectual-ideological and religious traditions. Wherever this heritage is alive, asserting itself in dialogue, there ethical and social impulses emanate.

Civilisation expresses itself in all forms of coexistence, and in concern for those who are weaker. The social state and the constitutional state, and also domestic and foreign peace, are civilised accomplishments of the first order.

However, civilisation must also assert itself in its approach to nature. Nature requires regard for her own laws. The preservation and care of a viable environment will become a vitally important accomplishment of civilisation.

Civilisation is also the quality of work - paid employment as well as home and family responsibilities and work of one's own. We do not want civilisation manipulated by economic interests; not the commercialisation of every sphere of life, but rather an economy which suits a pattern of civilised coexistence.

The social aspects of civilisation can be experienced by most people in cities and towns. Civilisation on a local level becomes manifest in person-to-person relations and human solidarity at work, in the neighbourhood, during dis-

cussions on matters of public interest, and at social gatherings.

The art of coexistence proves and intensifies itself in political culture, in the ability to reconcile the requisite basic consensus with the requisite controversy.

1. Equality for All People in an Equitable Society

Social Equality for Women and Men

We want a society in which women and men live together equally, in freedom and solidarity.

We want a society in which women and men are free to act in all areas of society, in which they still have the time and energy for education, art, sports, or social commitment after house and family responsibilities and paid work.

We want a society which is no longer divided into people with either supposedly feminine or masculine ways of thinking and acting; in which highly-valued paid work is no longer assigned to men, leaving undervalued house and family responsibilities to women; in which one half of the population is no longer brought up to dominate over the other half, with that other half brought up to subordinate itself.

It is still true that the dominant culture in society is masculine; the constitutional requirement of the equality of man and woman has

not been turned into a reality; women are more strongly affected by poverty; women are disadvantaged in training and at work; they are neglected in trade and industry, science and art, in politics and the media; they are assigned to the private sphere, to housework and child-raising; the role that women have played in history is ignored or distorted; the times allowed for and the organisational forms of paid employment and voluntary activity are determined by masculine needs; women are victims of male violence; women's rights to sexual self-determination are disregarded.

But women's consciousness is changing rapidly. They realise more acutely than most men do that both women and men are constantly suppressing some of their wishes, possibilities and abilities. Many women are fighting against a world that has been structured by men and are fighting against men who want to preserve this. Among men, too, there is an increasing insight that the supposedly masculine subordination of feelings and imagination to rationality and the power of assertion makes them poorer, or even ill.

Both women and men suffer from the division between a masculine and a feminine world. It deforms both genders, alienating them from each other.

We want to overcome this division. We are making a start in our own ranks. Legal equality must be followed by social equality. This does not mean the integration of women into a male world, but rather the restructuring of society.

Education should prepare young people for this society. It must help overcome the division into a male and a female world, and break out of the rigid role pattern that this division consolidates again and again.

We must re-evaluate work, and distribute it differently. Anyone wishing to distribute not only paid employment, but also house and family responsibilities and work of one's own more fairly must give priority to reducing daily working hours. We are initially striving for a general six-hour working day in a five-day working week, so that women and men can better coordinate paid employment with house and family responsibilities, voluntary activity and cultural participation.

We need a law on the equality of the sexes, an end to wage discrimination, we need plans for fostering women's careers, equality in social security and civil service law by granting women independent rights and assistance with re-integration into the sphere of paid employment. Maternity protection, social security rights for periods of parental leave and for nursing care must be financed by a system of equalisation of burdens designed for families so that special burdens for individual enterprises do not become an occupational risk to women. Public financial assistance and government contracts are to be made dependent on the recipient's observance of equality.

Day nurseries and all-day schools are among the prerequisites for making paid employment and family responsibilities compatible for both men and women. New housing forms along with decentralised social services for children and the old, the sick and people with disabilities should help release family responsibility from its isolation.

Women must have the same participatory opportunities as men with regard to voluntary activities in parties, unions, clubs and associations, as lay judges, members of supervisory boards in firms, or as parents' representatives. Women and men must be equally represented on all bodies. Where the power of persuasion does not achieve this equality, statutory regulations are called for. To achieve equality in political life, it may become necessary to alter voting systems at the federal, Länder and local levels.

The future demands that we all, women and men, do much that for a long time was considered feminine. We must have compassion for each other, respond to each other, accommodate each other, deal imaginatively with unforeseen difficulties, and above all, work with each other in partnership.

Anyone wanting a humane society must overcome the male-dominated one.

The Generations Side by Side

In a society in which more and more old people are living side by side with fewer and fewer young people and in which the forms and conditions of coexistence have changed noti-

ceably, community relations are more important than ever. They must be maintained, expanded, protected and supported.

Tension between the generations can also be intensified by rapid cultural and technological change. Our cultural, educational and social policy aims to make this tension productive for all of society. It is not a lack of understanding and feeling of competition, but rather an exchange of experience and solidarity that must determine relations between young and old.

Families and Partnerships

The transformation of society is reflected in the changes in the way people live and relate with each other. In their partnerships, people seek love, security, recognition and warmth. To these ends, they enter into many forms of long-term cohabitation. Of these, marriage is the most frequent. Like the family, this is especially protected by the Basic Law. However, we regard all forms of cohabitation as having a right to protection and security in the law. None, including homosexual relationships, may be discriminated against.

The family as a long-term partnership between adults and children presupposes the mutual responsibility of parents and children for one another. This partnership does not end when the children have become adults. Family solidarity must not be burdened with tasks that are the responsibility of the social state.

By overburdening career and social life, there is also a backlash effect on the private, family sphere. Not every need that is unable to find a place in the career world of merciless competition can be satisfied in the family. Therefore, we must also transform the working world, so that women and men can take on responsibility in the family, for each other and for their children, as partners, and can contribute equally to earning a living, to education and housework.

Families and other forms of cohabitation are essential to the personal development of each and every person. Therefore, the state and society must recognise, protect and promote them. The state and local authorities are obliged to balance out, at least partially, material burdens for families, to reduce and finally eliminate instances of discrimination, and be prepa-

red to provide special assistance to lone parents, families with ill or disabled children, and close relatives in need of nursing care.

We want to bring about living conditions in which women do not feel compelled to seek an abortion. However, we are well aware that we cannot resolve all human conflicts. The treatment of abortion as a punishable act has not contributed towards protecting nascent life, but has rather always represented more of a threat to and a humiliation of women. Criminal law is not a suitable means for resolving pregnancy-related conflicts. Therefore, we want to make the necessary legal arrangements outside of criminal law. We want to protect nascent human life. This can only occur with and not against a woman's will. We, therefore, recognise a woman's responsibility and right to self-determination.

Children

We want a child-orientated society. Children need encouragement in order to be able to orientate themselves in a world that is hard to comprehend. They need support and stimuli from an educational system that accommodates their inclinations and interests. They need room for play and movement; they need protection against mental and bodily overburdening and violence; protection, too, against an unrestricted consumption of the media. We Social Democrats want children to be regarded as independent legal personalities and their interests and needs to be taken more into consideration in political decision-making than has hitherto been the case. In addition to family assistance, it is necessary to secure a strictly child-orientated policy in the context of urban and rural development, above all, in housing, traffic organisation and with regard to the provision of sufficient numbers of kindergartens and day nurseries.

A Future for Young Women and Men

The reality of life for young people has changed thoroughly. Young people go to school longer and achieve higher school-leaving certificates or qualifications. For many, an independent life-style has been made possible by the different social situation. However, youth unemployment, the destruction of the environ-

ment and the nuclear threat have also changed and differentiated young people's values and expectations of life. Youth has become an independent phase in life. Young people's value orientations and expectations of life have changed. The great majority of young people today expect more of social structuring and their individual prospects in life. This is especially true of young women. More than ever before, young people are exposed to attempted interference by the media and the leisure industry. Conservative forces are trying to anchor social division as early as in youth and to transform individual expectations of life into individual assertive strategies. We Social Democrats, men and women, fight against this. Individual development is only possible on the basis of secured social opportunity for all.

Young people want to shape their lives themselves, to try out different ways of living and relating, to experiment with cultural forms of expression. To do this they need material independence. This is why we are in favour of educational assistance that meets young people's requirements and is independent of their parents' income. Minimum social security also includes young people who are without work. We will give all young people the opportunity of living an independent life. Therefore, all young men and women must receive training, and later, a job as well. This is why we want to create new, qualified and future-orientated training vacancies financed through a system of contributions. In order to give young women equal opportunity, half of all training vacancies must be kept open for women.

So that young people can shape their own free time and are not dependent on the commercial leisure sector, we want to promote the expansion of public and self-determined leisure and cultural facilities for young people, including the promotion of youth association work and political youth work. We want pupils, trainees, apprentices and students to be able to represent their interests independently and with all democratic rights. For German and foreign students the opportunity to get to know and understand each other must be increased. In this way we want to make a contribution to an equitable international community, also beyond the borders of Europe.

Political education is a necessary part of youth work. It is not restricted to conveying knowledge. It should form a practical capacity for action and develop understanding for one another, solidarity and a sense of responsibility. We promote political education especially in youth work because the combination of learning and action increases the ability to cope with the future.

The Older Generations

The process of ageing today is experienced differently than it used to be. The development of new prospects in life does not end with the departure from the working world. Rather, a stage in life with different living conditions, for many with new content and new opportunities in life, now begins.

Continuing training and social involvement are also a natural part of life for older people. They must be enabled to express and represent their needs and interests in the various organisational forms, develop and test their own concepts. Older people must also be given the chance to assume their social responsibility, their rights and duties. We want to encourage them to do this.

The older generations' experience in life and work is valuable for all. The rigid borderlines between training, career and retirement must be dissolved so that a sensible division of responsibilities and cooperation can develop between the various generations.

Old age may continue to be connected with social and personal risks. Support from the social state and solidarity, also in earlier stages in life, increase equal opportunity in old age.

Secure pensions for all, insurance for old-age medical and nursing care, housing forms, urban and social planning that permit an independent life-style and free choice of way of life should facilitate the equal and responsible participation of old people in society. The social services should be extended and linked in such a way that old people are able to remain in their familiar surroundings for as long as possible. Measures that complement and support the family are required for the home-care of old people.

We want to prevent old people from becoming isolated and lonely. We want to make sure that their human dignity is preserved and their achievements in life recognised by society.

Solidarity between Different Cultures

In the Federal Republic of Germany people of various nationalities, cultures and religions live side by side; the countries of Europe have become multicultural. In the same way that foreigners live in the Federal Republic, there are also many Germans who live abroad. Many of our foreign fellow-citizens still suffer from cultural and social isolation, and are the victims of discrimination. It is above all their children, growing up between two cultures, who are affected.

Cultural variety enriches us. Therefore we want to do anything that promotes understanding of, respect for, and cooperation between different nations and cultures, and that facilitates integration and participation.

We want to improve the right of residence for foreigners, men and women, and grant them voting rights in local elections. The right of asylum for the politically persecuted must remain an absolute basic right. This includes political persecution for reasons of gender and race. Each spouse has an independent right of residence.

Overcoming the Class Society

Our society is characterised by old and new privileges. The unjust distribution of income, wealth, and opportunity divides society into those who use others and those who are used, whose self-determination and political participation quickly come up against limiting factors. This also influences the formation of opinion in politics and the state.

We are striving for an equitable society in which people are free and equal, without class privileges, in which all people have an equal say in decisions affecting their lives and their work. The new and better order that Democratic Socialism aspires to, is a society liberated from class barriers. We want to reach it by dismantling privileges and by perfecting democracy.

2. The Future of Work and Leisure

The Significance of Work

Work is not only a condition of existence but also a decisive dimension of human life. Through work, people not only produce the goods and services which they need to live, but also determine their circumstances of life. Work satisfies human needs and gives rise to new ones. Work and nature are sources of wealth.

How much work is to be done, how it is organised, shaped and distributed, depends on how the productive forces develop, on the balance of power within society and on cultural traditions. This applies equally to paid employment, to family responsibilities, to work in the community, and to free work of one's own. All these forms of work are mutually dependent. When taken together, they all determine our quality of life. The division of labour and the organisation of work, working hours, extent of work, content and forms of work are determined by people and can, therefore, be politically shaped. Each form of work creates values, can fulfil and enrich human beings, but can also bring about alienation and inflict suffering. Each form of work is dependent on other forms. When taken together, they all determine the quality of our life.

Happiness at work and suffering at work have always been elements of human life. When people make creative use of materials, tools, and machines, when they elaborate drafts and plans, organise, provide services, cooperate and share work with other people in society, in factories and offices, and in the household, they develop their personality. Suffering at work stems from people being overburdened or underchallenged, from health hazards and inhumanely organised work, from oppression and alienation at work. Suffering at work can also be caused by an inhumane division of labour or by socially isolated work.

The history of work is simultaneously the history of technology. Technology facilitates wealth and human well-being. It can ease work. Its application in society has, however, also brought about poverty, illness, dependence and alienation for those who possess hardly more than their labour.

Our future is decisively influenced by how we work. Paid employment and unpaid work at home, in the family or community, all of which are equally essential to society, are unequally distributed and unequally valued in our society. This is demonstrated in the different working and living conditions and different opportunities for fulfilment available to the two sexes.

Paid employment is of central importance to human awareness and self-confidence. Such work provides independence and social recognition, determines life's circumstances and opportunities for fulfilment, facilitates social and political commitment, and secures material independence.

All forms of socially necessary work must be valued equally and distributed equally between men and women. Anyone who engages in family and community responsibilities must not be disadvantaged in their working life. The wealth of society, which we have achieved through the development of the productive forces, has made drastic reductions in working hours possible, and has broadened the opportunities for improving circumstances at work and in life. So, old Social Democratic goals can be turned into a reality:

- * general prosperity and social security;
- * an expansion of the social infrastructure;
- * a fair distribution of opportunities at work and in life;
- * a just distribution of the various forms of socially necessary work between men and women;
- * education and continuing education or training for all;
- * more time available for family and private life, for leisure time and work in the community;
- * creative activity and participation in cultural life;
- * self-fulfilment at work;
- * improvement of the quality of work;
- * expansion of alternative forms of work organisation;
- * and extension of codetermination and democratisation in trade and industry.

Structural Change in the Working World

Work today is undergoing radical structural change. As regards paid employment, this change is characterised by the flexible automation of production, services and administration, by the application of biotechnology and genetic engineering, and by the rapid proliferation of new materials, products, processes and services.

People are having to handle more and more information, and to adapt to ever-quicker changes. Planning and developing, controlling and monitoring, discovering and correcting errors are all becoming increasingly significant. In future, everyone will have to inform themselves more thoroughly and learn more new things than ever before.

On the one hand, the growing intensity and productivity of human labour makes a better quality of life, more prosperity and leisure possible. On the other hand, it can also result in rising unemployment, the exclusion of many people from paid employment, new physical and psychological stress factors, as well as new hazards and dangers from the working world.

Hazards for Employees

In view of the extent and the duration of this radical change, it is apparent that mass unemployment will remain one of the central problems of society if there is no new labour policy committed to the implementation of the right to work. Then, the number of long-term unemployed will continue to rise, more and more older or disabled people, poorly-qualified people, women, young people, and foreigners will be excluded from the labour market and the numbers of unprotected employment relations will increase.

This can lead to an unendurable polarisation of life circumstances and to the division of our country into well-off and impoverished regions. Competition is already intensifying among employees. It is becoming harder to achieve solidarity. New forms of inequality are developing. Qualifications and a willingness to do well are becoming less important than the question of when a person was born, whether male or female, whether German or foreign, whether a person lives in the North or the South

of the Federal Republic, in a rural area or in one of the urban agglomerations.

At the same time, not only will the total number of persons in retirement increase, but also the average age of those at work.

There are plenty of capital and neglected needs at hand. In view of our society's prosperity, in view of the many undone tasks, mass unemployment shows a failure of society which, in the long run, can also jeopardise democracy. There is no lack of work in our society.

For a New Policy on Labour

The right to work is a human right. It is the duty of a democratic and social constitutional state to ensure full employment. Unemployment is not an individual, insurable risk for a limited period of time, but rather a problem caused by society and so a problem that can be politically resolved.

The more heavily the economic and social costs of mass unemployment burden the peoples, the more often the attempt will be made to use protectionism to gain advantages for one country's economy at the expense of the others.

We, by contrast, consider common action against unemployment by the countries affected to be essential. The prerequisite for this is, however, that we be prepared to launch an effective employment policy in our own country.

What is needed is a combination of measures to

- * bring about meaningful, lasting employment for all, and, at the same time, to:
- * effectively and quickly reduce environmental burdens, especially energy consumption,
- * create more humane working conditions,
- * maintain the Federal Republic of Germany as a location for industry that is able to compete on an international level,
- * promote human knowledge, personal commitment and creativity, and
- * facilitate new social and cultural developments.

Many people are still without the necessities of life. A fairer distribution of income ensu-

res a social balance, creates additional demand and so, jobs.

Ecological renewal creates additional jobs. This applies to the recycling of inherited waste and to making ecological provisions, adopting more natural farming methods, and restructuring transport and communications networks and the energy system. Jobs are created wherever energy is saved, energy utilities decentralised, waste recycled, environmentally-harmful goods replaced by environmentally-friendly ones. Cities, towns and villages must be renewed, housing built and modernised, regional transport systems enlarged, cultural heritage preserved.

The need for the social services is also increasing. We want to improve the public services and extend the range on offer, especially for disadvantaged people and groups. Education, continuing training, culture, research and science need people. Children need to be cared for, youth work done, the sick and increasing numbers of old people attended to, foreigners and their children integrated, people with disabilities assisted and integrated, preventive work undertaken against addiction and addicts cured, those at risk from mental illness accompanied, offenders rehabilitated, guidance towards self-help organised. The social services must be transformed into a comprehensive network of out-patient and in-patient services.

A Reduction in Working Hours - A Contribution to Full Employment and Sovereignty of One's Own Time

We want to use the increase in productivity in order to reduce working hours, with fewer working hours not automatically signifying fewer machine hours. Reductions in working hours will continue to make a significant contribution to a better quality of life in the future. It reduces the burden of paid employment and creates room for necessary activities outside of paid employment, provides time for leisure, cultural and social activities. It creates jobs.

Reduced working hours are all the more necessary when all women and men have access to paid employment. If the division of housework between partners is to succeed, then the daily working hours must be reduced. This is why we are striving for a general six-hour

working day in a thirty-hour week.

With fewer working hours as a norm, a fair distribution of income will become even more important. Wages and salaries should, therefore, be differentially increased, according to income brackets.

More flexible working hours lead to more sovereignty over one's own time only when they reflect the interests of the employee and are collectively secured. We need to consider work patterns that are reconcilable with personal health, efficiency, and social relationships. Saturday must not become a regular working day. Sunday work should be allowed only in compelling exceptions. We want to restrict night work to exceptional situations, because it is harmful to people's health. Overtime is to be limited by law. Anyone working at unusual times, has a right to offset this appropriately.

All men and women should be enabled to reduce or interrupt their time spent in paid employment so that they can devote themselves to bringing up children, engage in continuing education or training, also in an educational year set aside for this, care for aged, ill or disabled persons, and find a gradual transition to retirement.

We will make sure that a person's place in the working world and their social-security coverage are guaranteed by law in such cases. We will elaborate models for financing this and implement these together with the unions and management. Moreover, we want a labour law to create opportunities for a temporary departure from working life and a subsequent return to the workplace at a later date.

There must be no unprotected employment relations. Contracts with temporary employment agencies must be prohibited. We call for a Labour Code in order to bring all employment relations under the protection of a uniform labour law. All forms of paid employment must be safeguarded in the same way as normal employment relations. This does not mean the maintenance of rigid working hour structures, but rather a relationship protected by labour and social law for all forms of paid employment. Wherever possible we do not want to finance unemployment but rather jobs. We want anyone who loses their job to be offered

new work or the opportunity of additional qualification

For a More Humane Arrangement of the Working World

Our demands for the organisation of paid employment cover: humanisation, qualification, and democratisation. These three elements necessitate each other

A humane organisation of the working world initially requires that people are not worn out by unhealthy working conditions. Working materials that are hazardous to people's health, noise, heat, gases, radiation and dust, as well as technologies that increase monotony and nervous tension, intensify monitoring and alienation, and reduce personal responsibility are unacceptable. In all occupations, the conditions and requirements of work must also be compatible with people who are at a disadvantage on account of their inadequate qualifications, impaired health or their age.

This is why, we want to develop health care and safety at work, to promote humane technologies and forms of organisation. It is the responsibility of the state, to support the unions and management, industry and science in the testing of new operational solutions and to ensure the spread of available know-how on humanisation.

Moreover, humanisation of the working world starts with people's creative, organisational, professional and social abilities. People need meaningful work, more freedom, more autonomy, and higher qualifications, as well as increased codetermination and participation.

The quality of work can only be improved through the better qualification of all employees. They must have a right to life-long initial and continuing training during their paid working hours. This, along with increased educational leave, should be established in law.

New technology makes new forms of work organisation possible. Monotony and the fragmentation of work can be overcome, cooperation in partnership can become the rule. That is not only more humane, often it is more efficient, too. Where technical innovation makes work under hierarchical constraints superfluous or surmountable, while making the decen-

tralisation and democratisation of work possible, that opportunity must be grasped. Paid employment that can frequently replace outside control with community and individual patterns is no longer utopian.

People whose paid employment is exhausting, numbing or degrading cannot undo this damage in their free time. That is why humane, democratically and socially organised work is decisive for a decent life.

A humanisation of the working world must create decent working conditions at each stage of technology and organisation. The rising expectations of people have to be taken into consideration for this.

Democratisation aims for liberation at work. It must be implemented by the workers themselves, whilst broadening the scope of codetermination. Economic subjects are transformed into economic citizens.

Employees must be able to codetermine what work is to be done at which times, with what goals and in what organisational forms. Codetermination continues to be necessary where decisions are to be made about new possibilities of employment, about the ecological and social compatibility of jobs. We will create the requisite legal framework for this, including in the civil service.

Family Responsibilities

Bringing up children and family responsibilities make our society viable. They must be recognised by the community and must be socially safeguarded. Humanisation, a reduction in and appropriate distribution of paid employment is also beneficial to house and family responsibilities. Like paid employment, house and family responsibilities must be taken on by both sexes. Like other forms of work, they provide the opportunity for self-fulfilment; yet they can also overburden people and impede their development.

Jobs close to the home can improve the quality of life and ease the combination of paid employment and house and family responsibilities. Such jobs must be maintained or new ones created. Family-orientated housing, decentralised shopping facilities, and an expansion of the local infrastructure facilitate the compatibility

of work done to earn a living and work done at home in and with the family.

Periods spent bringing up and caring for children must be taken into account in the old-age pension scheme. In a child's first three years, father and mother must have a right to paid parental leave. Anyone who leaves work in order to bring up children must have a right to reintegration. For the purposes of recruitment and advancement, periods spent bringing up and caring for children must be taken into account. Moreover, there is a legal right to further qualification and promotion in accordance with personal suitability and interest.

Free Activity and Leisure

Human life proceeds in a rhythm of work and leisure, effort and relaxation. With the reduction in hours spent in paid employment, the available time for self-determined activities increases. We do not want to leave this recovered time to the leisure industry. Everyone must be given the opportunity to become committed to their neighbourhood or the environment, to trade union or political tasks. It must be possible for everyone to become creative, each to their own choice. Society must improve the preconditions for this.

Cultural Life

Educational Goals

We see the goal of education as not only being the qualification of people for their careers and advancement. Education has an intrinsic value for a person's development.

Education should awaken appreciation of a person's own heritage and equip people to understand themselves and others, including different civilisations and their peoples. Education should open up the opportunity to self-determine one's work, and to use the time free from paid employment and family responsibilities for work of one's own, for artistic or other cultural interests, social or political activities. Education must enable people to engage in a critical analysis of society and the demands of the working world, and to participate in shaping these. Education should help people to find their way in a society that is becoming more and

more complicated, to sensibly use technology and the means of production, and to protect their natural environment. Education should foster creativity and equip people to deal with the abundance of available entertainment and information. It should help young people to deal with basic human experiences and to grow from them.

Emotion and reason, intellectual capabilities and practical ones, all require education. Education should make people receptive to an appreciation of nature, lead them to a sense of responsibility for their fellows and help them to learn solidarity.

Education must enable people to experience the variety of European cultures as an enrichment for their own lives.

All-round education also serves as purposeful preparation for a person's working and career life. In a working world in which teamwork and active participation are called for, in which new tasks are constantly to be managed, career fulfilment and indeed career success, will come all the quicker, the less narrow and one-sided education concentrates on this.

Education must be open to all. Pupils, trainees and apprentices, and students are to be given financial support in such a way that they can autonomously pursue their choice of career, without dependence on their parents' income. Qualified schooling and initial training open up the opportunity for life-long learning and social, cultural and political involvement.

Reform and Improvement of Education

We regard equal opportunity in education as being indispensable. In the past few decades we have come nearer our goal of education for all. We have opened up access to qualified education for children from all levels of society. Compulsory education has been prolonged. Girls and women have been included in education and training to an unprecedented extent.

Our education system faces new challenges. Quantitative enlargement must be accompanied by qualitative improvement.

We want to integrate general and political education and career training. This applies to all educational and training facilities.

We want to provide all-day schools, because they promote equal opportunity and social learning, and make interaction between the communication of knowledge, community work, and play possible.

Schools must be opened up to the working world, particularly, however, to the towns and local communities, they must be integrated into local life. We want more codetermination by those involved, including choice of school stream, and more educational freedom for teaching institutions. The state must structure the framework in such a way that it can be complemented at the local level by informed public opinion. We promote the concept of model schools which test new forms of learning and instruction.

We want co-education for boys and girls, for foreigners and Germans; for children with and without disabilities so that prejudices and discrimination can be reduced.

The communication of knowledge is to be linked with social learning, also in order to counteract the increasing competitive pressure from the working world.

Social Democratic educational policy aims to promote rather than select. We want schools that offer a wide variety of educational possibilities and leaving certificates, take account of the differing inclinations and abilities of their pupils, are discerning in their support, and therefore make more equal opportunity a reality. The comprehensive school is best suited for translating our education policy goals into action.

Career Training and Continuing Training

Career training is of essential importance to personal and vocational development. All young people, therefore, have a right to a training vacancy. The training must enable them to carry out an occupation, to engage regularly in continuing training and be involved in shaping our community. Therefore, this training must encompass broad-based basic career education and convey both career-specific and general career abilities. The state also bears special responsibility in this dual system of career training.

Girls and women are not to be disadvantaged in their initial training, continuing training, and their transition into the working world.

Rapid structural change makes it necessary to promote continuing training on an equal status with schooling and initial training. Therefore, general, career, political and cultural continuing education and training must be expanded as the fourth pillar of the education system as a compulsory social responsibility. It is above all people who are disadvantaged in the working world and in training, or whose career know-how is devalued by technological developments, for whom the state must make qualification for a new career available.

As a counterbalance to job-related continuing training, there must also be an adequate range of public and publicly sponsored continuing training. Trade and industry must contribute to the expense of initial and continuing training.

The length of time made available for continuing training during a person's working life should correspond at least to the time spent in initial training.

Higher Education, Science and Research

Our aim is to open up higher education. Studies and continuing education should also be made accessible to those who have gained their qualifications through their work or through other social activities. Research and teaching must give more consideration to the problems of the working world than has been the case until now.

All groups in higher education must be granted effective rights of codetermination. We want to broaden the freedom of higher education institutions in undertaking reform and offering new degree courses. The social sciences and the humanities must be promoted to the same extent as science and engineering. Science, the social sciences and the humanities are inseparably linked.

We want to do all in our power to ensure that the quality of science and research remains at international standards.

There is an interdependence between scientific freedom and responsibility. Any scientist

who makes a claim on society for freedom of research must also be prepared to assume responsibility for the consequences of this research when it is applied. Society must safeguard the freedom of science and of individual scientists against state and economic power. Scientific freedom includes free, unhindered scientific debate and the ongoing publication of research findings.

We note with concern that more and more research facilities are coming into existence in which research is subjected to military or to exclusively industrial purposes. They tie down available research potential, and obstruct alternative research initiatives. They hinder the process of obtaining knowledge by withholding the results of this research from the public.

As a rule, scientific research comes under social control only when the findings are to be applied. But where scientific projects violate ethical norms or lead to unacceptable risks, the law must forbid research methods and processes. This applies to the development of weapons of mass destruction, to medical experiments on human beings, to intrusions on personal privacy and to developments in genetic engineering, especially changes in human genetic stock.

We want to achieve social control of ethically controversial experiments by encouraging public debate on the admissibility of scientific procedures and by establishing committees on ethics. When human dignity, the right to life or the preservation of nature so require, then the state has the right and the duty to intervene into research with prohibitions and conditions.

Cultural Activity in a Democracy

Since its beginnings, the workers' movement has also perceived of itself as a cultural movement. In the tradition of European Humanism and the Enlightenment, this movement has advocated the freedom of artistic expression and has tried to enable everyone to share in the cultural wealth. We remain committed to these goals.

Our use of the term culture encompasses more than literature, music, art and science. It is precisely within the context of comprehensive civilised coexistence that these areas shift from the fringe of society to its centre.

With the increase in leisure-time, the possibilities of undertaking individual cultural activity have multiplied. In such activity, there is an evolution of intellectual and emotional abilities, imagination and creativity; there is an emergence of values, images and patterns of thinking which will also determine the future of our democracy. We will have to use all our strength in order to tackle trends and groups that are contemptuous of humankind, for example neo-Nazi and fascist ones.

We orientate our cultural policy and cultural work along the lines of our basic values and our traditions. We want to foster critical awareness, encourage an active and equitable shaping of life, and further personal and social emancipation.

We know that we can only have a formative influence on society's cultural life if Social Democratic cultural work begins within our own party, in its attitudes, the way in which it works, in its ability to receive cultural impulses and to process them.

We promote a large variety of cultural forms of expression in groups and projects, in urban districts and in residential areas. Art must become a matter for as many people as possible. We want to eliminate all obstacles hindering access to art and education, in so far as they are not part of the cultural product itself.

However, we regard a vivid and varied cultural life that resists the leisure industry's standardised consumption as more than just the sum of unconnected activities. We want the different milieus and subcultures to be exposed to one another. Contradiction and provocation are expressions of cultural vitality.

Art and culture need places where they can present themselves to the public. It is up to politics to provide the conditions for such exhibitions, to promote artists. Cultural policy is the duty of the public authorities. The state must not be the guardian of culture, it should, however, be the guarantor of cultural variety.

A Responsible Media

Our patterns of civilisation, our social and political life, are being increasingly shaped by the media, particularly the electronic media. Considerable power, including over cultural life

and over people's feelings and thoughts, has accrued to a new media industry, ruled by huge national and international concerns.

We Social Democrats stand up for cultural and media variety. We want to safeguard and extend media independence from the state, but also from powerful economic and social groups. We want codetermination for all who work in the media, above all, for those involved in programming and editorial work.

Newspapers, magazines and books maintain their special significance as thorough and comprehensive products, even in the age of the electronic media. Our culture is dependent on reading. We will promote this.

Public radio and television are responsible for essential basic provisions, consisting of all-round information, the political formation of opinion, entertainment, education, counselling and culture. The continuing existence and development of public radio and television facilities must therefore continue to be guaranteed. It must, above all, be safeguarded against party political influences and be economically independent. We expect public radio and television to provide a programme culture which is not only measured by audience and viewing ratings and in which critical or provocative contributions are not sacrificed in favour of a more comfortable balance. In journalism and entertainment, we support all who aim to critically analyse reality and who have new ideas.

German and European film must be fostered. They can help to maintain the cultural identity of Europe, its countries and regions.

Sport

Sport is an essential part of culture. It contributes to the quality of life and the joy of life. Therefore, we adopt the workers' movement's principle of sport for all. This is why our main interest is in mass-sport and sport for the disabled. But we also support competitive sport, as long as it does not violate human dignity and does guarantee the self-determination of the athlete. It may be necessary to introduce legal measures in order to safeguard these conditions. Sport is to be supported by the federal, Länder and local authorities, in cooperation with the autonomous sporting bodies.

3. Through Social Justice to an Equitable Society

Social Policy - Solidarity Implemented

Social policy aims to make solidarity come alive as the central concept for society as a whole. Therefore, we regard solidarity as social policy, a dimension of all political action.

Solidarity does not replace personal responsibility, does not tolerate patronisation. It should also take effect as guidance towards self-help. For generations now the workers' movement has struggled to establish the social state. We will maintain it and expand it.

In an equitable community based on partnership, the young stand up for the old, the healthy for the sick, people without disabilities for those with, those with work for those who are unemployed. We are against any privatisation of the elementary risks of life.

Any social policy that restricts itself to repairing existing damage would be inhumane, and, moreover, rapidly financially overburdened. Prevention is the most effective form of protection. Social policy does not merely aim at repairing damage and acting in emergencies; it also looks ahead and organises. It should provide decent living and working conditions. Ecological policy on health protection, on the humanisation of work, on combatting unemployment, and on a fairer distribution of income are the main tasks of preventive social policy.

We want healthy and reasonably-priced housing to be provided in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of families and individuals. A place to live is a fundamental right, just as are work and education. Everybody has the right to a decent place to live. Protection for tenants must be permanently safeguarded by a socially-orientated law on rents. The state and society are responsible for helping those who, on their own, are not able to assert their justified right to a place to live or who are confronted with rejection on the housing market because they belong to a minority. Publicly assisted housing, rented and owner-occupied, therefore continue to be indispensable.

The Right to Social Security

The obligation to evolve a social state as laid down in the Federal Republic of Germany's Constitution assigns to the state social responsibility and a duty to bring about social justice.

The main pillars of the social state are guaranteed by government: these are formed by social security and participation, by the legal right to social services, and by the legally safeguarded status of the employee.

Human dignity is involved in the question of whether people receive social services as a legal right, or as a charitable donation, whether they are subjected to the arbitrariness of the employer in their employment relations, or whether, just like any businessman or businesswoman, they can avail themselves of legal rights and duties. Anyone who claims social assistance must not be discriminated against.

Social security must be dependable. Economic, financial and social policy must be so coordinated that overall policy is orientated towards the obligation to evolve a social state.

Rebuilding Instead of Dismantling

The precept of quality before quantity also applies to social policy. We must rebuild in order to prevent dismantling.

Profit interests must be repelled, bureaucratic incrustation must be broken open. The recipients of social services must be placed in a position in which they can assert their interests to their satisfaction.

For over a century now social security has been diverging into numerous institutions. Social law has become difficult to comprehend. Professional delimitation results in similar situations being treated differently. We want to overcome this divergence.

We aim for social security that

- * treats all equally, given that the circumstances are comparable;
- * enlists everybody, according to their capacity to pay, to contribute to the financing of the system;
- * activates self-government;
- * provides guidance for self-help;

- * eliminates the discrimination of women;
- * facilitates the compatibility of a family and a career;
- * includes the self-employed;
- * and guarantees the integration of people with disabilities.

We want income-related, basic social security which supplements the contributions and payments-based system but which does not replace it. This should cover the necessities of life in old-age, in case of invalidity and unemployment. Basic social security should return state welfare assistance to being support in particular emergencies and should simplify social law. The additional costs to the system are to be financed from tax revenue.

We shall see to it that pensions continue to be safeguarded. If the number of contribution-payers decreases and the number of people on pensions increases, then the additional burdens must be fairly distributed between contribution-payers, pensioners, and the state. The unfavorable age structure also affects the special and supplementary insurance schemes. So, the old-age insurance systems have to be gradually brought into line. Everyone must be given the opportunity to choose to combine parts of their pension and earned income.

Companies and enterprises which replace labour with capital and energy are paying fewer and fewer social contributions, whilst labour-intensive ones are paying more and more. We want the employers' contributions to social security to be based on value-added performance, that is in relation to the capacity of the company or enterprise.

Health Reform

We are striving for health insurance in which the interests of those insured are given precedence over the interests of the medical profession, the pharmacological industry, the manufacturers of medicines and adjuvants, and hospital administrations. The health-insurance companies must be enabled to assert the rights of those insured against the interests of the manufacturers, and to strengthen the interest of insured persons in preventive and economical, yet effective, treatment.

Our health system is extremely successful where infections are to be combatted, severely wounded people rescued, and operations performed. Often the system is helpless when faced with the growing number of persons with chronic, psychosomatic and mental illnesses. The fight against the addiction-related hazards is a high-priority task for society as a whole. Here, too, we need help rather than punishment.

Preventive and curative medicine must be given equal status. Preventive health care and health education are becoming the central tasks. They must begin at kindergarten. Living and working conditions that bring on physical or mental illnesses must be better researched, and more vigorously transformed. Environmental protection and safety and health at work, housing and nature-compatible farming must contribute to preventive health care.

The range of sensible medical approaches, including naturopathy must not be repressed by the power of specific interest groups.

Each and every patient, regardless of income, must be able to receive treatment that corresponds with state-of-the-art medical science. Everyone has the right to free choice of doctor or physician and method of treatment, including alternative medicine.

Intensive medical treatment can save lives. Problems arise when this prolongs death and takes away its solemn dignity. High-performance technology, medical treatment based on complex apparatus, and chemotherapy must not displace simple and economical methods of treatment.

The social and psychological aspects of illness should be given greater consideration. People with mental or physical disabilities must not be pushed to one side, must not be institutionalised and isolated. In this special emergency which they are experiencing, they must be looked after, respected, and, as far as possible, integrated. Out-patient and in-patient treatment close to the place of residence must be created and interlinked. With regard to social benefit rights, the mentally and the physically ill are to be treated equally. Mentally ill patients must be guaranteed the same standard of care

as the physically ill, with more personnel and better rehabilitation facilities

We want to give out-patient medical care priority over in-patient care. What is needed for this is the establishment of a network of individual and group practices that are as closely-related to the local community as possible, health centres, larger social centres, day clinics and rehabilitation facilities.

The necessary reduction in the cost of public health not only requires a different balance of power, but also a humane conception of illness. It is not a matter of getting people back to work through a superficial removal of symptoms, but rather of making people healthy. For this, there needs to be a trusting partnership between doctors, patients and the non-medical healing professions.

We reject additional cost-sharing by patients beyond their normal contributions to the statutory health insurance scheme.

Guidance Towards Self-Help

We want a society of independent people who assume responsibility for themselves and others. We want to provide help for those who try to tackle their problems themselves or together with others. That is why new forms of cooperation between the social security administrative bodies and self-help institutions are to be supported. We want to encourage the self-help movement and to make their ideas and experiences available to the social state.

Self-help cannot make large communities based on partnership or the professional services dispensable. But self-help can ease the burden on these and supplement them, measuring up more flexibly to new needs. The willingness to provide self-help was also the starting point for the welfare associations, such as the Workers' Welfare Association (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) or the social welfare and charitable work of the churches, which we hold in high regard and support.

4. Ecologically and Socially Responsible Economic Activity

All economic activity must serve the community. It should provide people with sufficient goods and services, guarantee the right to work and preserve and safeguard the natural bases of existence. Capital must serve humankind, not humankind serve capital.

In modern, democratically constituted industrial societies, goods and services are provided by a mixed economy in which competition and government measures complement each other. This system has proved itself to be exceedingly productive and superior to all forms of centralised economic government.

A key problem in the history of the competitive system lies in its connection with private ownership of the means of production. This connection has produced the capitalist economic order and has led to uncontrolled economic power and an unjust distribution of labour, income, and wealth.

Democratic control of the economic power of capital requires a state with the ability to act, strong trade unions and codetermination.

The inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income have increased further. A just distribution of income, wealth and time necessitates autonomous collective bargaining, government fiscal and social policy, and the accumulation of property by employees.

The competitive system is unsuited to providing people with public goods and services. The establishment of an infrastructure and the provision of social services is primarily a public responsibility.

In its tendency towards an unrestrained consumption of natural resources and uncontrolled technological innovation, the competitive economy has caused wastefulness of raw materials and the destruction of the natural bases of existence. The state must counter these ecological dangers and bring about the introduction of environmentally-compatible products and processes.

Competition can be directed towards the public interest, without a loss of efficiency, if it is

possible to provide a binding framework against capital interests. In Western industrialised countries this can be achieved by means of government control, the countervailing force of the trade unions, the decentralisation of decision-making and social consensus based on a broad reform alliance which also involves new social movements.

The International Setting

Internationalisation

Up to now, the establishment of state frameworks has, for all practical purposes, only taken effect on the nation state level. Meanwhile, however, capitalist economy has been and is transcending national borders. So, multinational companies can use the advantages at the expense of society and can evade their obligations.

For most industrial products and many services, competition has become global. We want to maintain the Federal Republic of Germany's opportunities in global competition and open up new opportunities for the developing countries. We reject an expansive export orientation. In order to open up new opportunities for our trade partners, and especially the developing countries, and to remove imbalances in international trade, we must strengthen our domestic economy and open up our own market.

In order to avoid competition among economic regions on questions of industrial location resulting in worldwide pressure on wages, a deterioration of working conditions, social services and environmental standards, we need binding international rules for the social and ecological conditions of production.

Moreover, the internationalisation of the capital and financial investment markets has reduced national opportunity for controlling the capitalist economy. Currency speculation leads to dramatic exchange rate fluctuations, distorts the international patterns of competition and endangers industrial locations. The internationalisation of the markets narrows the scope of national interest-rate and monetary policy, and deprives economic-cycle policy of its effectiveness.

Wherever the loss of national competence is not compensated for by international regulations, the law of the jungle prevails. National economies everywhere become more susceptible to crises. Therefore, we want to regain, broaden and extend the possibilities of controlling the economies through international cooperation and frameworks, without absolving national economic policy of its responsibility.

A Fair and Efficient World Economic Order

To a greater extent than us, it is the developing countries that rely on a new economic order. They are living in humiliating dependency on the banks, enterprises and governments of the North. It is also Western industrialised countries that dominate the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, whose conditions the developing countries have to obey.

In order to accommodate the demands of their creditors, the debtor countries are taking steps which destroy their natural bases of existence and which aggravate mass deprivation even more. The clearing of the tropical rain forests, the karst development and erosion of mountain landscapes, along with increasing desertification, affect the climate of the whole world.

Therefore, it is in the interest of all the peoples of the world not to leave the world economy to those who are economically strongest and most ruthless. National and international control mechanisms must ensure that international capital does not withdraw from its social and ecological responsibilities and tax obligations.

We are in favour of international conventions on the preservation of the natural bases of existence. These include treaties on the protection of the forests, the atmosphere and maritime systems. The Antarctic must be protected against economic exploitation.

It is in the interests of all people that development in the South is neither strangled by overindebtedness nor by our protectionism. The debts of the poorest countries must be remitted. In other countries, partial remission and ceilings on debt service are necessary. The regions of the South must be enabled to come

to joint agreement on their development priorities without patronisation by the World Bank or the IMF. Debt relief must not be bound to conditions that mean social deprivation for the peoples of these countries.

The dependence of the developing countries on fluctuations in commodity prices must be reduced by means of an international commodities fund. The more agricultural production for domestic requirements is promoted, the sooner incentives for overproduction can be avoided.

Fair world trade must be ensured through international rules, including sanctions. Preferential treatment, not based on mutuality, can open up the markets in the industrialised countries for manufactured goods from developing countries, and can temporarily safeguard these countries' young branches of industry, which indeed require protection.

A democratically-controlled international monetary order is necessary so as to decrease currency speculation and harmful exchange-rate fluctuations. This monetary order can facilitate the required lowering of interest rates and the harmonisation of the countries' monetary and budget policies.

A new world economic order will only be better if thorough reforms of the economic, social and political structures in the societies of the South open the way to permanent development and so prevent a relapse into renewed indebtedness and one-sided economic dependency.

A just world economic order cannot be constructed without the close international cooperation of strong trade unions.

The European Community as a Regional Association

The creation of a just, democratically legitimised world economic order is furthered by regional associations. Where countries concentrate and harmonise their interests, they create building blocks for a better world economic order.

The European Community opens the way for the freedom to act. The EC provides a chance of self-assertion and influence in the world market. The European Community must

grow together as a unified economic, monetary, and social region.

The European Community should:

- harmonise the economic policies of its members, make the Single European Market a reality, and create a European currency;

- * pursue an active employment policy and dismantle regional imbalances;

- * bring about genuinely effective financial adjustment between the Community's richer and poorer Member Countries,

- * treat social policy on an equal footing with economic policy;

- * make the exemplary social achievements of individual countries available to the whole Community;

- * establish codetermination by employees and their unions;

- * make European economic democracy a reality, so as to counteract the concentration of economic power;

- * merge the energies of all its members in science and research;

- * introduce effective measures to promote women;

- * foster ecological renewal through taxes, duties, and strict, binding norms on environmental protection;

- * preserve the natural bases of existence, while safeguarding consumer and farming community interests, by reforming the EC's agricultural policy;

- * and safeguard a diverse European identity by promoting regional and national culture.

National Responsibility

In view of the Federal Republic of Germany's economic power, the country disposes over considerable scope for action. Its influence on economic policy decisions is great. The more determinedly we make use of our national scope for action for ecological and social reforms, the stronger will be our influence on international decisions. Those who only wait for European or global regulations will not get them in the end, either.

Although some of our concepts can only be fully implemented on a European or even global level, our action must begin where we bear direct responsibility.

Ecological Renewal

The environmental crisis is a global crisis. By tackling it on a national level, we want to advance what is necessary on an international level. The preservation of the natural bases of existence must be embedded as a state objective in the Basic Law. The advancing destruction of the earth's atmosphere, the pollution of the seas and an impending climatic catastrophe, the death of the forests, ground water pollution, environmentally-caused illnesses and the high rates of extinction of plant and animal species are the dramatic indicators of a comprehensive destruction of our natural bases of existence. The ecological restructuring of our industrial society has become a matter of survival.

It is especially the industrial nations that have advanced far in the destruction of their natural bases of existence. With the long-term effects of their production and consumption they are damaging the seas and oceans, exterminating plant and animal species worldwide and destroying the earth's atmosphere.

This is why the industrial nations must bear the main responsibility and so the expense for the global restoration of the natural bases of existence. They must progress with ecological renewal in their own societies and put an end to the wasteful use of energy, raw materials and land areas. They must enable the peoples of the Third World to make their contribution to preserving the natural bases of existence.

We are all ethically obliged to treat nature caringly, even where no immediate advantage can be seen for humankind. Environmental protection, nature conservation, protection of animals, these are all part of our concept of an equitable society. Great respect for life is the principle of our policy. The preservation of nature must become a mission for all areas of politics.

For the overall economy, nothing can be rational that is ecologically irrational. Ecology is no addendum to economics. It is becoming the basis of responsible economic activity. What is

ecologically necessary must, therefore, also be the principle of all managerial action. We can only demand of nature what she can give us without herself suffering any permanent damage. We must manufacture and use goods that are in line with nature's cycle of matter. This ecological restructuring of our economy ranges from product concept via production process to product use, to the reclamation of the used raw materials and finally to the completion of the full cycle of matter. This requires an ecological assessment of all forms of energy production and energy conversion. The main focuses of this ecological restructuring must be placed on chemicals, transport and agriculture.

The increasing danger to our environment leads to a worldwide intensification of social inequality. Therefore, it is all the more important that ecological restructuring be socially patterned.

Ecological restructuring is based on clear objectives:

- * to replace environmentally-harmful products, production processes and systems with environmentally-compatible ones;

- * so, to accelerate the requisite technological innovations;

- * to advance recycling;

- * to effectively organise unavoidable waste management;

- * to promptly recondition inherited waste;

- * and to use land sparingly and caringly.

There can be no ecological renewal without an economical and rational use of energy. With tariffs, prices, taxes, duties and norms, we want to make such use an economic must. We promote the use of waste heat, power-heat coupling and decentralised, especially local, energy supplies, but, above all, renewable energy sources. These represent the path for the future. We must help them achieve the breakthrough. The indispensable use of domestic coal should be combined with environmentally-friendly technologies. We want to have a safe, environmentally-compatible energy supply, without nuclear power, and as quickly as possible. We consider the plutonium-based economy to be a mistake.

With the rapidly increasing number of substances unknown to nature, the burdens on nature and the dangers to human health are also increasing. Ecological restructuring must, therefore, also provide a new orientation for a policy on chemicals. Chemical products and methods of production must be integrated into the cycles of matter. The least risk concept must become the guiding principle for chemical research, development, production and application. The use of genetic engineering must be restricted and monitored in accordance with these standards.

Nature as well as our towns and cities have come to the limit of their traffic bearing capacity. Uncontrolled competition between the roads, the railways, air traffic and the inland waterways has resulted in multiple investment, land usage and additional ecological burdens. We want transport systems which are both economically and ecologically acceptable. We want to change the conditions of competition to the advantage of those systems that use less energy and are less of a burden on the environment. Accordingly, the railways must be given priority in freight and passenger traffic. Speed limits on motorways, other roads and in residential areas must relieve the strain on the environment and increase traffic safety.

Development planning must quickly reduce the consumption of the countryside, while at the same time avoiding any ecologically dangerous concentration. Restoration, renovation and rebuilding have precedence over new construction. Environmentally-friendly construction must be promoted. The land needed for building housing and organising the infrastructure must not be expanded unconditionally at the expense of nature and the environment. Inner-city development and the sparing use of land must have preference as objectives of meaningful urban development, if need be, with increased regard given to the social obligation of land ownership.

Farmers must be freed from the economic compulsion to produce unsalable surpluses, to overburden their soil, and to pollute the air and ground water through the excessive use of chemicals and energy. The intensification of soil usage and livestock farming should be neither worthwhile nor necessary. The family farm is

also an ecologically-compatible operating unit. We shall protect our farmers against the mass livestock farming of the agro-industry with area-related ceilings for livestock.

Environmentally-compatible land cultivation which makes use of organic cycles, facilitates natural livestock farming, and maintains a variety of species and a diverse countryside, is not cheap. The achievements of the farming community for our cultivated countryside must be remunerated appropriately. This is the only way to succeed in avoiding the industrialisation of farming and in maintaining rural forms of land cultivation as a basis for ecologically-responsible farming. Thus, our food may also become more tasty and healthy.

We want to bring about ecological renewal wherever this is possible not through individual administrative decisions, but rather through a policy framework. Anything that is ecologically harmful must become more expensive, anything that is right for the environment must become economically more advantageous. Duties and taxes on the one hand, financial incentives on the other, serve this purpose. Energy must become more expensive.

We still need rules and prohibitions, ceilings and special conditions attached to licences and permits. Moreover, we need environmental compatibility testing, a stricter environmental criminal law, and a law of liability, with a reversed burden of proof. We want to introduce the right of petition through associations, strengthen the position of the environment commissioners, and broaden codetermination in matters of health and environmental protection.

Environmental protection begins on one's own doorstep. Local communities and districts must be the motor of the ecological restructuring process. This is also why their financial capacity must be increased.

Progress, Growth and Structure

Not all growth is progress. Anything that secures the natural bases of existence, enhances the quality of life and work, reduces dependence and promotes self-determination, protects life and health, secures peace, increases opportunities in life and in a future for all, and supports independent and creative work, must

increase. Anything that endangers the natural bases of existence, reduces the quality of life and obstructs future opportunities, must decrease or vanish.

A policy that selects areas of growth must earnestly consider people's wishes, needs, worries, uncertainty and concern about the future. This policy must change the structures of production and distribution, law, culture and the education system.

Meaningful structural change does not come by itself. Structural policy must influence and control the direction and speed of structural change so that the following objectives can be achieved:

- * ecological restructuring of the industrial society;
- * the elimination of mass unemployment;
- * improvement of living conditions;
- * retention of economic efficiency;
- * establishment of equal living conditions in all regions;
- * and disarmament and the conversion of arms production into the production of civilian goods.

A foresighted structural policy can improve the quality of life and of the environment, liberate creativity and open up prospects for the future. We must make the disadvantageous consequences of structural change socially controllable.

For structural change to serve equal opportunity among the regions, we will arrange all structural programmes, in addition to the transfer of funds, in such a way that they promote the economic power and capacity for innovation in the weaker regions, create long-term jobs and improve the quality of life.

Shaping Technology - a Political Responsibility

By means of technology, humankind has fundamentally changed nature and produced social wealth. But humankind has also destroyed nature with technology and has jeopardised the foundations of civilisation. Therefore, not all technological innovation is progress. The possibilities of technology are expanding at an unprecedented rate. However, the effect of

technology on society is not neutral. Technology, science and commercialisation are increasingly overlapping and interlinking. The production of scientific and technological knowledge is shifting increasingly to the multinational enterprises and transnational research institutions. So, *faits accomplis* are being created which are increasingly beyond the influence of society.

Technological-scientific development is neither autonomous nor unalterable. It increasingly provides more possibilities than can be put into effect. In any case a choice is made. Thus, it is a matter of which criteria are applied and whose interests are pursued. So far, the pursuit of profit and military interests has dominated. And so the shaping of technology is becoming a key political responsibility. We do not want to adapt humankind to technology. We want a humane, socially just and environmentally-compatible technology.

Technological innovation, which is indispensable for any dynamic economy, should serve ecological renewal and rationalisation, humanise work, protect basic rights, and implement basic values. It should increase productivity, facilitate reduced working hours, ensure competitive ability, economise on raw materials and energy, liberate people from alienating work, and further the rational organisation of work processes.

Technology must be shaped and applied in such a way that errors are controllable and corrigible, and so that erroneous developments can be revised by future generations. We want to prevent technological innovations whose risks cannot be calculated or democratically controlled. Since this is often not possible on a national level, we need international conventions on the exchange of information and mutual control. Support for research into new paths of development whose risks can only be assessed with difficulty must be linked to a simultaneous political evaluation of technology. An evaluation of the possible consequences of technological development and application must be undertaken as early as at the research planning stage. There, alternatives in research planning are to be made possible and discussed in public.

Decisions on the orientations of technological systems and, therefore, also on areas of growth are not the responsibility of administrative bodies, but rather of politics. Such decisions can only be taken democratically, with employee codetermination and - as the controversy on energy policy shows - only as the outcome of public dialogue. Wherever dialogue is conducted on technological alternatives, the help of science is needed. Society must protect scientific freedom, however, science owes it to society to provide information on the goals of research, its findings, and its possible applications. This presupposes intensive research on the consequences of new technology.

Agencies for evaluating the consequences of technology are to be established, above all, such with accountability to parliament. Advisory bodies should make it easier to overview a topic, should compile information and make this generally accessible, point out opportunities, risks and alternatives, and present the evaluation of these aspects for discussion. We want to promote research into the social and ecological consequences of technological systems.

The establishment of an Institution for the Assessment of Technological Consequences and Technological Evaluation, accountable to parliament, is a necessary, but not in itself sufficient approach to public debate on the risks of scientific-technological innovation. We Social Democrats call for the expansion and networking of social science and scientific institutions of technological evaluation and their accessibility for public dialogue.

Economic Democracy

Human dignity and social justice demand the democratisation of the economy. Economic democracy is an objective in itself, because it secures and fulfils political democracy. At the same time it is an instrument with which

- * to provide people with goods and services and to justly distribute social wealth;
- * and so to make socially-compatible use of scientific and technological progress;
- * to guarantee the human right to work;
- * to facilitate democracy, codetermination and self-determination in all areas of life;

* and to preserve the natural bases of existence. Economic democracy meets the requirement stated in the Basic Law that: Property obliges. At the same time, its use should serve the public good.

In an economic democracy, social goals have priority over the objectives of the use of capital by the private economy. Economic power or market-dominating enterprises must not be allowed to determine policy, rather democratically legitimised decisions should establish the framework for and the goals of economic activity in the public interest.

Ecologically and socially responsible economic activity can only be achieved where the priority of democratic decision-making is asserted over profit interests and economic power.

Economic power is exerted as:

- * the market power of big business which asserts its interests at the expense of customers, suppliers and competitors;
- * the dominance of capital power over people in the work process and in the labour market;
- * the ability to transform economic power into political power; and
- * the possibility (particularly of big business) to influence the structure and development of the entire economy through their investment policy.

Economic democracy serves to assert the public interest and control all forms of economic power and the shaping of economic development. It must be open and diverse. It combines private with public property, personal initiative with responsibility for the community and state activity, competition with the government establishment of statutory frameworks, entrepreneurial freedom with control over power, and self-governed codetermination. Economic democracy is a necessary prerequisite for the development of a society which is as free of crisis as possible. None of the elements of economic democracy constitute an end in themselves; their value and significance is determined solely by the principles and goals of a social and democratic economic and social order.

We want everyone to have a say and a share. This means codetermination by employees and their unions at all levels and a share for all of the productive assets.

A Framework for Society's Democratic Control

We want development of our society that is orientated towards qualitative criteria. This should above all serve full employment, the preservation of ecological cycles and so the quality of life. The requisite control must be politically determined and asserted by society as a whole.

This results in responsibilities for politics, the state and the economy. So the question is not whether the state influences the economy, but rather and solely what goals and means it employs to do so.

It must look ahead in its planning, initiate desired developments, head off recognisable erroneous courses, and continuously keep its planning open to correction. It should implement the political opinion of the majority which originates from public discussion.

The state establishes a general framework for economic development. It must make sure that social and ecological costs which burden the general public are, as far as possible, already integrated in company decisions and their costing.

The state, that is federal, Länder and local authorities and the European Communities, plans its economic action. This results in annual budgets, medium-term financial planning, specific planning, regional development plans and catalogues of measures to be taken. Wherever this is purposeful and possible, these plans must be combined and evolved into overall development plans. These legislative frameworks and plans set standards for the autonomous decision-making of business.

Improved information and coordination instruments are needed for the democratic control and coordination of planning:

- * structural reporting and forecasting must be expanded;
- * companies which are so large that they determine structures must inform the state and

local authorities regularly and in good time on plans and location planning that are relevant to economic policy.

* economic and social committees are to have rights of information, counselling and initiative against parliaments, governments and authorities on the local, Länder and federal levels. Along with the trade unions and employer representatives, these committees should also include consumer representatives and representatives from environmental associations. Such committees can contribute towards elucidating public interest in shaping the setting of political frameworks and make coordination between company, state and regional planning as realistic and flexible as possible.

The Market and Control

Within the democratically established setting, the market and competition are indispensable. The incalculable variety of economic decision-making is effectively coordinated through the market.

Public and private companies in agriculture, industry, the craft trades, commerce and the services form the basis of our economic life.

Economic democracy requires entrepreneurial initiative and performance. We respect this and support this. However, it must also prove itself in its social and ecological responsibility.

Competition benefits consumers and their free purchasing choice. The market is an instrument for attaining a balance between supply and demand. It is, when embedded in a correspondingly orientated framework, also an efficient instrument for controlling demand and supply. It can provide information on possible economic and structural developments. However, the market can neither bring about full employment nor effect just distribution nor protect the environment.

Competition as far as possible - planning as far as necessary.

The effective scope of the market is cancelled out by any excessive concentration. Concentration may make small and medium-sized companies uncompetitive and curtail the state's democratically-legitimised control instruments. Therefore, we support a great variety of companies and above all strengthen small and

medium-sized ones. They are capable of innovation and are able to adapt flexibly to the manifold needs of the market. They are also especially important in the battle against regional structural weaknesses. We want to strengthen them. We support the setting up of small firms and companies.

Our economy cannot do without large enterprises. Their strength lies in their ability to engage in long-term research and development, and to produce efficiently. Their danger lies in their tendency to make small and medium-sized companies dependent through the development of market power, to disengage themselves from the political frameworks or even to determine these.

Because competition can control market power, we want to tighten the legislation on competition. Capital's dominating power must be kept within bounds by strong trade unions. The conversion of economic into political power must be countered by the greatest degree of openness possible. That is one of the essentials of social control.

In order to reduce the influence of banks and insurance companies on fundamental economic decision-making, we want to limit their power over companies by decartelising capital participation. We also want to impose restrictions on the appointment of supervisory boards by banks, and on their exercise of the voting rights of nominee shareholders.

Not only the market, but the state, too, can fail. We need to take measures against both dangers.

We are striving towards a reform of the public sector and the social economy in all its various forms. Public companies and those serving public economic interests are essential where the principles of a countervailing force of public economic interest require this, where private initiative is lacking or where huge risks, despite recognised need, prevail. Not bound solely by profit interests, they can often best satisfy socially recognised demand. They must not, however, be restricted to unprofitable companies and branches of industry.

We consider ourselves particularly committed to the concept of cooperatives. These combine community self-help with democratic self-

government. To facilitate the founding of new cooperatives, we want to improve the economic and legislative frameworks.

Where other means cannot guarantee a socially responsible pattern of economic power relations and the establishment of qualitative criteria of economic development, public ownership is appropriate and necessary. Public ownership cannot make a claim to any freedom in our economic and social order and must measure itself against the conditions of this order. At the same time socialisation must be both a democratic element and an economic policy instrument.

Employee Codetermination

Economic democracy requires equal participation and equally represented codetermination by employees and their trade unions in economic and social decision-making

* at the workplace, during work and the conceptual, planning and introductory phases of new technologies or new forms of organisation;

* at the factory, plant or office, when decisions are to be taken about working conditions, work organisation, health care and safety at work, further qualification and continuing training, the application of new technologies, as well as about products and production methods;

* in all large enterprises and companies with equal representation for capital and labour and equally represented codetermination on the supervisory boards;

* on an industry-wide level on economic and social committees in which the interests of the workforce, the environment and the consumers are to be voiced; and

* through Europe-wide codetermination and international regulations for codetermination in multinational companies.

Economic democracy can only develop on the basis of a practicable law on competition, a decartelisation of the banks and big business, and a reform of the Company Constitution in order to strengthen the monitoring and decision-making rights of the codetermining bodies. The continuing development of the rights of the supervisory and decision-making bodies

must open the way to the possibility of a representation of the interests of society, whilst maintaining the equal representation of capital and labour.

Collective-bargaining autonomy is an essential condition of economic democracy. Equilibrium between management and labour demands that lockouts be prohibited by law.

Workforce Participation in the Ownership of Production Assets

An element of economic democracy can also be represented by the participation of the workforce in the ownership of the production assets. In this way, the workforce receives a share of profits and of the increase in capital which they have helped to create, without the financial means for requisite investments being reduced. So the workforce and their representative bodies receive a growing share of the ownership of their own means of production.

We want to prepare the statutory framework within which management and trade unions can agree on an industry-wide fund for workforce participation in the production assets.

Land Law

Land is an element of nature and an essential basis for our life. It satisfies elementary human needs, such as food and recreation and provides room to live. Land cannot be renewed and increased. This has made it a factor of investment and speculation.

We want a land law with which ecological and social goals can be asserted in local and regional planning. This applies to housing and to how residential surroundings are designed. To this end we need:

* a more simple law on compulsory purchase and compensation;

* the right of preemption, including price limits for local authorities;

* equalisation of planning-related changes in land value;

* a tax on increases in land value; and

* priority given to hereditary building lease rights for the disposition of real estate.

Consumer Participation

Economic democracy must also assert consumer interests through:

- * health protection;
- * protection against economic harm,
- * a right to compensation,
- * a right to information;
- * a right of representation; and
- * a right to a healthy environment

Public Finance

Public finance is an important instrument for running the economy. Taxes and duties, budget plans and financial incentives, public contracts and investments, monetary, credit and borrowing policy should be so coordinated that they serve political objectives.

Only the rich can afford a poor state. Increasing and new state responsibility can, in the interest of all, hardly permit lower overall tax burdens in the future, even given strict efficiency and economising. We want to eliminate spending that is no longer justified.

Public incentives and subsidies may only be granted to specific projects and with appropriate and effective monitoring of the success of the relevant project.

Public investment must improve our infrastructure, introduce ecological renewal, create jobs, and bring about a higher quality of life in all regions. Moreover, more public services need to be provided. Budgetary policy must measure up to its responsibility for providing employment. In times of economic recession, spending must not be reduced. The consistency of expenditure must stabilise the economy, even if this requires borrowing. We will eliminate subsidies that cannot be justified for society as a whole.

Exclusively or largely credit-financed public programmes for important areas of growth can temporarily ease cyclical economic slumps, stimulate ecological renewal, and create employment. Comprehensive and long-term employment programmes and investment funds can be considered only for precisely defined ecological or social goals that are of structural signifi-

cance. They must be financed primarily by levies on non-invested profits or higher incomes. The statutory prerequisites for this should, together with a reform of fiscal legislation, foster the purposeful utilisation of profits and hinder their speculative use.

Fiscal legislation is in need of thorough reform. In order to distribute income more fairly, we want to have subsistence-level income classed as tax-free, disburden lower and middle incomes, replace income tax allowances for children with direct payments for children, eliminate unjustified tax subsidies, clearly favour reinvested profits over distributed profits, and not treat income from financial investments more advantageously in the tax system than income from work.

Moreover, fiscal law must be an instrument of ecological renewal. We wish to levy higher taxes on environmentally-harmful products, and, especially, to broaden and gradually increase taxes on energy, while, on the other hand, reducing taxes on income from work.

5. Democracy in State and Society

Democracy as a Way of Life

We are fighting for democracy. It must become the general way of life, because it alone gives expression to a respect of human dignity and to individual personal responsibility.

Democracy is the life-form of freedom. Freedom exists only where people are prepared and able to assume responsibility. No one in state and society must be excluded from democratic participation or denied access to such participation through social barriers.

Democracy draws its vitality from society and its political culture. Democracy becomes threatened through the concentration of economic or media power and through the accumulation of any dominance of knowledge (*Herrschaftswissen*) in either the private or the public sector.

The Democratic State

The democratic state is based on the equal rights and duties of all its citizens. The basic rights are laid down for it as the rights of free-

dom and of participation and establish it as a value-based social order. Guarantees for and the protection of basic rights and the provision of protection against hazards are the foremost responsibilities of the democratic state.

The state should make democracy along with social justice in society and the economy a reality and guarantee the requisite openness of its decision-making. It cannot, however, resolve all the problems of society. To overburden the state would lead to excessive bureaucracy with waning efficiency; a bureaucracy that could be neither controlled nor financed. We oppose state ownership of society.

The state must assume responsibility where individuals or groups do not enter into the socially necessary obligations of their own accord or where services that are necessary for the general public good cannot otherwise be produced. The principle of subsidiary proceeding, that is priority for smaller units over larger ones, can limit power and encourage participation, when it is not overstretched.

The Law and Politics

The constitutional state ties all exercise of power to justice and the law. This commitment to the democratic constitution and to the principles of the separation of powers and mutual checks and balances also legitimises the state's right and duty to uphold the law and to be the sole executor of power. The constitutional state is not only harmed by the violation of the law through individual citizens, but rather by the misuse of power through the state. Modern information technology shifts the balance further to the benefit of bureaucratic instruments. This means that democratisation is not possible without a further safeguarding and expansion of the rule of law.

We profess obedience to the law, even where we oppose a law. In order to bring about changes in the law, we fight for a majority in the parliaments. A legal order also encompasses the principles of proportionality and commensurability. In order to implement and protect superior law, subordinate law must be overridden by the responsible application of proportionality. This means that not every violation of the law is also an infringement of the principles of the rule of law, but rather that it may be legitimised through its commitment to superior law.

Democracy and the Public

Democracy lives from the principle of public openness. The state and its administration, and not the citizens, must be transparent. The citizens must control the state, not the state the citizens.

All must have the right of access to information. Citizens must be able to inform themselves and form an opinion about matters that involve the community or themselves. Only then can they control the power of the state which is being exercised in their name. Therefore, a statutory right of access to files and public data bases needs to be created, as long as the interests of data protection and the justified need for secrecy are not violated.

Self-determination over one's own personal data is a basic right. Accordingly, data collections must be subjected to social controls, the protection of personal data held by authorities and private bodies must be constantly improved. Data collections and their networking must be restricted to what is most necessary.

The freedom of the print media and the electronic media also requires internal freedom of the press. We shall safeguard the right of free expression of opinion, the freedom of demonstration, of association and of assembly.

Federal Government Structure

Everyday life and coexistence and the way in which citizens identify with the community are significantly determined by action at a local level. Therefore, we aim to consolidate and expand the principle of local self-government as guaranteed by the Basic Law. Strong local self-government requires a modern administration under political authority and supervision. The state's share of the national product must be determined according to the tasks that have been assigned to it. The development of income from public funds must follow the development of tasks, including its distribution to the regional and local authorities. This is why we reject the assignment of tasks to the local authorities without appropriate financial arrangement being made. The financial efficiency of the local authorities must be improved. They must be autonomous in their decision-making on budget income. No financial compensation

is able to replace independent local taxes. The constitutional freedom of the local authorities must be extended. Their possibilities for co-determination in decisions affecting them must be embedded in law.

Federalism has proved itself. It restricts state power, promotes citizen involvement and regional variety. Federal, Lander and local authorities must be safeguarded in their constitutional and financial scope of action. Federalism must also become the organisational principle of the European Community (EC). With the transborder cooperation of the regions of individual nation states, old traditions can make a constructive contribution to forward-looking action.

We want to develop the European Community into the United States of Europe. By transferring sovereign rights to the EC in accordance with Article 24 of the Basic Law, the existing state structure will already have been complemented. The citizens of the Community are to be enabled to participate in its decision-making. A Europe for the citizens must be evolved from the economic community, a Europe in which citizenship is only of secondary importance. We aim for a Community Constitution which combines democracy with the principles of the constitutional and social state.

Parliamentary Democracy and the Majority Principle

We are committed to parliamentary democracy. In it, free elections grant controlled and temporary political power.

Majority rule requires self-restriction. Majorities must lay themselves open to an ongoing dialogue with their critics, both in and outside of parliament. Since majorities, too, can be mistaken, majority decisions must be reversible, especially where the bases of existence are affected and the welfare of coming generations is at stake. Future generations must be able to decide for themselves about their living conditions.

Parliamentary democracy neither reduces nor replaces citizen responsibility. Accordingly, we want to broaden citizen participation and devise a more effective right of petition. Within statutory limits, referendums and plebiscites at local, Länder and the federal level should sup-

plement parliamentary decisions. The constitutional restrictions to majority rule also apply to direct citizen participation.

The role which the parliaments and the members of the various parliaments play in the process of political decision-making must be consolidated. Therefore, all members of parliament must be made independent of information from the government. They must lay open their economic interests in public. Women and men should be represented in the parliaments in accordance with their share in the population.

Parliamentary democracy is unimaginable without the parties, which facilitate the process of political decision-making. In order to bring about effective political participation by the citizens, internal party democracy and the openness of decision-making processes within the party are needed. Party decision-making, party attitudes and party organisation must correspond with our fundamental reform objectives and with the new social demands for more popular codetermination.

The process of democratic decision-making is stimulated by citizens' initiatives and social movements in which a different awareness is reflected. Even if they frequently only represent partial interests, they do enforce discussion on important questions, stimulate our democracy through new forms of political decision-making and enrich our political culture. They are able to and indeed should challenge the parties time and time again, but they cannot replace them.

Associations are a legitimate expression of social interests. Where associations are orientated towards the public good, we seek cooperation with them. Where they try ruthlessly to push through advantages for their own special interests, we oppose them.

Trade Unions

Without free trade unions, there is no democracy. A shared history and common goals link us with them. They determine their tasks themselves. For us, their free activity is inviolable. Wherever employee interests are affected, the trade unions should participate in social and political tasks. We respect the trade unions' independence of political parties.

We support trade union demands for employees to receive a just share of the proceeds from their work, for codetermination in economic decision-making, and for active participation in community life. We count on their support in the democratisation of the economy and society.

We affirm and defend the unitarian union, evolved from bitter experience, as one of the most important achievements of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The autonomy of the collective-bargaining partners is a key component of democracy. We will defend this autonomy against any attack. Wage and salary agreements that safeguard and strengthen the legal status of the individual employee require strong trade unions, capable of waging a strike. Organisational freedom for the trade unions and the right to strike are inalienable.

Social Democratic employees in factories and offices are called upon to participate actively in trade union work.

Churches and Religious Communities

The Social Democratic Party of Germany acknowledges the particular significance and legal status that the Constitution accords to the churches and religious communities. The churches and religious communities are autonomous and subjected to no state exertion of influence in their proclamation of faith, in their spiritual welfare and social welfare activities.

We defend all freedom of thought, conscience, belief and the proclamation of faith, and we welcome it when churches and religious communities, church groups and religious individuals influence the shaping of social and political life through their criticism, ideas, and practical cooperation, and in doing so also subject themselves to public criticism. We see in this a major contribution to social and political discussion which requires tolerance of and respect for people who think differently. Accordingly, Social Democrats take the initiative in seeking discussion, and, wherever both sides see common purposes, cooperation with the churches, religious communities and church groups.

Anyone who confesses to no religion must not be disadvantaged. Generally valid employee rights must also be guaranteed in establishments belonging to the churches, religious and spiritual communities.

Citizen-friendly Government

We need government that is close to the interests and concerns of the citizens and which is efficient. Liberated from the traditions of the authoritarian state, such government must be open and controllable at all levels. It should not discourage, but rather promote citizen self-help, responsibility and participation.

We support early and comprehensive citizen participation in administrative planning. There must be legal protection of the right to take legal action against administrative decisions, and this right must be extended to include petition by associations. Anyone with a grievance should be able to turn to an ombudsperson.

The legal status of employees in public service should be established on a uniform level. The status should include the right of representation through a staff council. It should also include the right to strike. Requirements of loyalty to the Constitution should be interpreted in the liberal spirit of the Basic Law itself. We want to overcome the spirit and practice of the decree on extremism.

Law and Justice

In a democratic, constitutional state there can only be power that is legitimised and restricted by law. The administration of justice should serve the need for justice. We want to use the law to implement our basic values, particularly the protection of the weak and the preservation of the natural bases of existence.

The courts are to be equally accessible to everyone. We want citizens to obtain justice within a reasonable period of time. Judicial verdicts are binding. A judge must be independent; the opportunities for the involvement of honorary judges are to be increased. The judges at the Federal and Länder Constitutional Courts, the Supreme Federal Courts and Supreme Länder Courts must be elected by qualified majorities at the democratically legitimised bodies of

the Bundestag and the Bundesrat or Länder parliaments, following open and public hearings.

In the fulfilment of their mission to protect citizens, to track down criminal acts and to safeguard law and order, the police need the assistance and criticism of citizens and state institutions. Political conflicts are not to be waged at the expense of the police forces.

Criminal law and sentencing also serve the implementation of our constitutional order. The aim is to protect the citizen and the community, and to rehabilitate people who break the law in society, not to take vengeance. Society must care especially for the victims of criminal acts.

Reform Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany

The Constitution is both opportunity and mission. We, together with and in competition with other parties, have constructed the Federal Republic of Germany on the foundations of the Constitution. We feel responsible for it. To that extent, it is our Republic. It has many defects. That is why we want its reality to approach the constitutional norm. We contribute Democratic Socialism to this Republic so that it can become what it should be according to the Constitution: namely, a democratic social state. To that end, permanent reform is needed. We are the party of reform.

Reform work often takes place in small steps. Still more than with the size of the steps, we are concerned with making sure that the direction we are going in is recognisable.

Reform work must overcome the resistance of powerful special interests. Reform is not only a matter for governments, parliaments and parties. Important reforms can only succeed if the active support of the majority is achieved in public discussion.

Political Culture

Politics is inconceivable without controversy. The way in which we wage our conflicts must clearly show what goals we are contending for. Nor does the end justify the means, even in the struggle for power.

Controversy without any basic consensus leads to intellectual civil war. We affirm basic consensus with all the forces of society that avow the basic rights and fundamental rules of the Constitution. This consensus must remain visible in the forms of controversy and dispute.

Political culture languishes without the tension between a plan for the future and the way things are now. Plans for the future become effective only when millions of self-assured citizens see their hopes reflected in these plans.

Only where people can help to shape and can experience politics, where there are no restraints on them bringing their ideas into politics, will the forces be liberated that are needed by political culture in an equitable society. Only then can politics free itself from the objective necessities, only then undertake what has to be undertaken, only then implement vitally necessary reforms.

V. OUR WAY INTO THE FUTURE

Hope arises not from the suppression of danger, but from enlightenment through public discussion.

Hope is what reform policy relies on. Where we can only rescue what is worth preserving by means of reform, then it is there that reform work is the only responsible course.

Our plan for the future is an offer to engage in a reform alliance, an alliance composed of social movements old and new. The core of this alliance continues to be our cooperation with the trade unions. However, the alliance must include all who through their everyday experiences or their commitment in new social movements have become convinced of the need for far-reaching reform.

We need a broad reform alliance with as many groups and forces as possible, because we have to overcome the resistance of those who would call progress anything that benefits their profit expectations, their economic or political power. The only countervailing force against the excessive power of the few can be formed by the common will of the many and information on how special interests harm the public good.

We do not promise a paradise on earth. But together we can avert dangers, minimise risks and reach a new and better order:

a democratic community of nations that assumes joint responsibility for a flourishing future for the earth;

a humanity that frees itself from the madness of war and of the arms race, that settles conflicts without violence, engaging its energies in the preservation of nature and overcoming starvation;

a society in which income is more justly distributed, in which employees increase their share of the production capital and social security remains reliable;

an ecologically and socially renewed economy that makes sparing use of energy forms that are compatible with nature, and that clears away the inherited burden of the nuclear age;

a society that, despite a reduced rate of growth, a smaller proportion of paid employment, and more personal activity, increases its prosperity and improves its quality of life through a healthier environment, less anxiety, a more humane working world, and more time at the disposal of the individual;

a society with decent work for all, a society that justly divides paid employment and house or family responsibilities between the sexes, that promotes codetermination and self-determination at work;

a society of equality and solidarity for women and men, young and old, Germans and foreigners;

a society in which citizens, wherever they feel affected, have an equal say in making and implementing decisions.

Our programme can only become a reality through critical dialogue. We call upon all of those who would contribute with their cooperation, their solidarity, their criticism and their imagination to stimulate and strengthen the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

GERMANS IN EUROPE

The Berlin Declaration of the Social Democratic Party of Germany SPD

I.

On German soil a democratic revolution is taking place. Subsequently to the Soviet Union's policy of revision, the people of Poland, of Hungary, of Czechoslovakia, of Bulgaria and of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) are struggling peaceably and nonviolently for their right to freedom and self-determination. Peaceably and nonviolently they have overcome the wall, have compelled the opening of the border, and have put an end to the unnatural partitioning of human beings.

These events bring a Social Democratic dream nearer fulfillment: That which belongs together is now growing together. In Germany and Europe!

II.

We have not forgotten the forced merger of the SPD and the East German Communist Party (KPD) in 1946, and the sacrifices that many Social Democratic men and women had to make in that period. Unforgotten is the SPD's political struggle to seek and make use of opportunities for German unity: after the Stalin note of 1952, before the Federal Republic of Germany's accession to NATO, and with the Germany Plan of 1959.

Since the building of the Berlin wall in 1961, by means of hard effort and going step by step we have made the wall more permeable, have achieved alleviations for the populace, have upheld and strengthened the entity of the nation, and, through the Berlin Agreement, have freed West Berlin from its vulnerability to crises.

We have anchored the question of the nation in the Basic Treaty. With the Letter on German Unity, we have kept claim to and kept up hope for "working toward a condition of peace in Europe in which the German people, in free self-determination, regain their unity".

We remain committed to these goals.

III.

Courageous people in the German Democratic Republic and in other Central and East European states have opened the doors from Germany to Germany, from Europe to Europe. The doors must never again be closed. For this development we have also to thank courageous, farsighted statesmen such as Willy Brandt and Mikhail Gorbachev and our friends in the West who have worked with us for détente.

Now we can begin to realize what long seemed utopian: the completion of Germany's unity and freedom.

The unification of Europe and the unification of the Germans are closely linked. One is not to be attained at the expense of the other. Whoever talks of the restoration of our country within the German Reich's 1937 borders, whoever is for Germany's pursuing a course of its own, he is blocking the unity of Europe and the unity of Germany. European as well as German interests demand the recognition of the Polish Western border without ifs and buts.

We want a Europe in solidarity, in which borders no longer separate people. A Europe in which wars are no longer possible, a Europe without hostile military blocs, a Europe that does not direct its energies against itself, but, rather toward meeting the great human tasks - namely, the protection of the natural sources of life, and the overcoming of the North-South gaps.

We want the Germans in the heart of Europe to be able to live in peace and assured freedom - under social conditions in which the populace determines the course of development, and which enable everyone to live a life in dignity, justice and prosperity, and in a healthy environment.

We do not want to return to the era of nation-states, in which these states because of the supposed national interests fought bloody wars in Europe. A new nationalism of the Germans would resolve neither the economic problems of the GDR nor the practical tasks of the two German states. We want to go forward in a united Europe, in which the people of the continent, under the protection of a European peace order, can experience the riches of their variety. A revival of nationalism, in the West or the East, would endanger that goal. The process of attaining European security and cooperation that began in Helsinki points the way to the future.

During the history of German Social Democracy we have constantly linked together national, European, and global perspectives. The United States of Europe, since 1925 in our programme, can now become a reality.

IV.

On the way to European and German unity, a task is to steadily increase and broaden the cooperation of the various policies of the two German states - political, economic, environmental, energy, transportation, cultural and disarmament policies - and immediately to invest these policies with a new quality. This can be done on the basis of the Basic Treaty in the form of individual accords; a contractual community; a confederation; and, finally, also in the form of a unity of federated states. The forms and tempo of these processes are not determinable in detail today. We want to attain our goal not against but with our friends and partners. The people of the two German states will decide which steps are to be taken and when. We want soon to achieve a confederation in the realizable form of a constitutional order that gives institutional expression to the desire of the populaces of the two states for unity. This confederation pattern avoids the dangers of major-

ity domination and of tutelage, this model makes it possible for both sovereign states to contribute within their pact systems and economic communities to the establishing of a European peace order and the creation of a United States of Europe. Accordingly, that course is possible at a time when the two alliances are still in existence.

The goal of the confederation is to develop a common policy and legislation, and to set up paritatively constituted commissions, especially in the areas of the economy, social policy, the environment, transportation, energy, post and telecommunications, and culture. The seat of these confederative organs is to be Berlin.

We in the Federal Republic of Germany have no cause to feel complacency. The Federal Republic is constituted as a socially conscious democracy. But in many areas the reality looks different: With mounting prosperity for the majority, there is an increase in the number of people who live in the shadows of this prosperity. The ecological deficits are obvious.

Accordingly, we too need the renovation of and basic reforms of state and society. The Germans in the GDR can depend on our solidarity with them. They are deciding with what goal and in what way to exercise their right of self-determination. Whatever decision they reach, we shall respect it. The Germans in the GDR are now implementing free, direct and secret voting, a free press, independent courts of law, and independent labour unions. They alone are determining their economic order and the status of property. It is our desire and our duty to provide political and economic support without tutelage.

We recognize that an inter-German equalization of burdens from the Federal Republic of Germany to the German Democratic Republic is necessary, in view of the numerous burdens that the GDR citizenry, differently from us, have had to bear in the postwar era.

V.

1. The SPD proposes that the two German states agree on an emergency programme. The goal of this programme is to support reforms and reformers, and to provide economic insur-

ance for the nascent democracy. The project is meant to give people the well-founded assurance that it makes sense for them and their children to stay in the GDR or to return to it. If it is not possible in coming weeks and months to prevent threatening bottlenecks and breakdowns in important supplies in the GDR, and to improve the living circumstances, departures from that state will increase by leaps and bounds. The existing shortages of personnel would get enormously worse - and accordingly the process of economic reform would be nipped in the bud.

Therefore short-term effective measures, with participation of the Federal Government, the states and the communities, for breaking supply bottlenecks are necessary, in particular:

- The delivery of technical medical equipment in co-operations with manufacturers in the Federal Republic of Germany;
- The support of medical care in the GDR, with the participation of charitable organizations and chambers of physicians;
- The preparation of short-term supplemental facilities for storing electricity, in view of the bottlenecks anticipatable in energy, and especially in electricity, in winter, as well as the acute problems of air pollution;
- The delivery of hard coal for power plants and domestic heating, also from supplies of energy-producing plants;
- The making available of modern construction technologies, along with support in project management and in the establishing of markets for building materials;
- Mediation of co-operation by travel firms of the Federal Republic of Germany with partners in the GDR, by the inclusion of vacation homes and private accommodations, as well as concerning the exchange of holiday and vacation offerings in touristic regions of the Federal Republic;
- Common measures to promote sports among the people of the two German states.

Politically and economically, the following immediate measures are to be taken:

- Currency-policy co-operation both in the sector of foreign trade and within Germany, so

as to avoid for both states economic disadvantages stemming from unrealistic monetary exchange rates;

- A start on the expansion of the infrastructure, particularly the communications networks, the environmentally acceptable production of energy, traffic, especially railway traffic, and city renovation, including the preservation of historically important buildings and areas. To this end, projects are to be agreed upon which are supported by the Federal Republic financially and through the delivery of machinery and material. For these purposes, the instrument of credit overdrafts (Swing) is to be used in intra-German trade;
- The setting of frame conditions for joint enterprises and private investments in the GDR by firms from the Federal Republic of Germany;
- Joint measures to promote internal German air transport, including to and from Berlin.

2. The new quality of shared intra-German living demands practical solidarity and social justice. It is necessary to develop a common German economic policy so as to prevent a disadvantageous effect on the two German states' social-welfare systems and their labour and housing markets. The financially and socially weaker members of our society are calling for social justice. These people must not be disadvantaged, in either the labour or the housing market.

The regional freedom of movement has the result that the risks in the social-welfare systems of the two states can no longer be calculated separately. Therefore, there must be a re-examination of those of the Federal Republic's laws that are related to, in particular, the postwar situation and the former non-freedom in the GDR and in the East European countries. We should take a new look at regulations that encourage leaving the GDR. The same applies to the regulation on claims for pensions. Such re-examination is important for the GDR's economic and social development - and the procedure also is in the interests of the people of both states, who must find their way to a border-transcending cohesive community.

3. The SPD proposes agreement on a contractual community with medium-range goals. This community should provide joint commit-

tees, institutions and conferences as preparation for a confederation. The contractual community should extend, particularly, to the spheres of economics, traffic, the environment, energy and culture, and science and technology. It should aim at equalizing the living circumstances in the two German states.

Among the corresponding measures are:

- Free choice of place of residence between the two German states, with a regulation on nationality that gives every German the possibility of living in either of the states with the same rights and duties;
- Preparations for a monetary union;
- Reconstitution of the relations of the German Democratic Republic with the European Community;
- Lifting of all trade restrictions in intra-German commerce.

Within the just-mentioned context of trades, we favour doing away with the COCOM list.

4. The size of the task also demands new initiatives for reducing the armaments budget. We want the modernization of the Eastern and our economies, instead of the modernization of weapons. We want construction of social housing and modernization of the housing in the GDR instead of new barracks. We want billions spent on new transportation links between East and West instead of on more military airfields. We want young people to be able to help in reconstruction instead of putting in a long term of military service. We in the West, too, need to learn new ways of thinking. Accordingly, the two German states must mount joint initiatives to accelerate disarmament. This process suggests the making of proposals

- for the second phase of the Vienna disarmament negotiations, with the goal of attaining structured inability to attack;
- for the elimination of all atomic weapons on German soil, particularly all nuclear short-range and theatre-of-combat arms;
- for a considerable cut in armament spending.

VI.

Berlin will now be fulfilling its role as a German and a European metropolis in new ways. It will become the seat of European institutions and the site of international comings-together, such as the Olympic Games

The citizens of East Berlin are affirming their basic democratic right of voting. West Berlin must not remain a preserve where there is only a limited voting right. The West Berlin citizenry must attain the right to vote for the Bundestag and the European Parliament.

West Berlin needs effective support by the German Federal Government in order to shoulder the special burdens that are being placed on the city by the new freedom of movement, and so as to make use of the possibilities for economic development of Berlin and the surrounding region, enriching the lives of those who reside there. Berlin is to be seat of intra-German confederative organs

VII.

Concern that the Federal Republic of Germany could turn from the West is groundless. We are aware that the European Community has a key role to play in the process of European integration. The EC fosters European co-operation to supersede nation-state activity. Only a strong European Community can make an important contribution to the construction of Europe. Therefore, we want to continue helping to see to it that the EC develops into a democratic and social union, and becomes a solid foundation for constantly closer all-European co-operation.

To this end, the European Community must further open itself for co-operation with all European countries, especially those of Eastern Europe and Eastern Central Europe. Toward this same purpose, the European Community and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) are agreeing on a common economic and social area, in which co-operation in all fields of community policy except foreign affairs and agricultural matters is being realized. In addition, the European Community is creating the possibility of a special EC association for the reformed countries of Eastern Europe. More-

over, the EC is seeking the setting-up of all-European institutions as well as agreements with the various parts of Europe (EC associates, EFTA, the Soviet Union) in the spheres of environmental, energy and disarmament policy. The possibility for all democratic countries to affiliate themselves with the EC - as foreseen in the Treaties of Rome - is of growing significance, and it opens up the prospect of developing into a new, all-European community. We wish and hope for our partners in the EC and for the United States of America and Canada that they will give effective and prompt support to the process of democratization in Europe through a comprehensive development plan for the political, economic and ecological renovation of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union.

Such a plan would include the abolition of restrictions on trade, along with creating a European capital fund for the financing of private and public investments that serve to modernize enterprises and foster the carrying out of environment-protection measures and scientific co-operation.

VIII.

Whoever wants to advance the process of German unification must consider the interests of the Great Powers and those of Germany's neighbours in Europe. Recognizing this reality, we have pressed for progress in the Helsinki project. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), in which 33 European countries, the United States and Canada are participating, will bring about a European peace order that also comprehends the living-together of the Germans.

At the latest by then, the Four Powers (the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France) should relinquish their remaining reserved powers in regard to Germany. The Helsinki Conference has evened the way toward confidence and disarmament. The CSCE principles should become binding under international law. The Helsinki process must establish its own institutions - for example, for environmental protection - and a security authority that helps to supervise enforcement of the Vienna disarmament agreements. The SPD favours a summit

conference of the 35 countries in 1990, so as to put into force the then existing results of disarmament.

Immediately after the first Vienna disarmament accord, further negotiations should be agreed upon, with the aim of reducing military forces by at least 50 percent, and attaining structural, dependably verifiable inability to attack. The existing alliances can then be replaced by an all-European system of security. It is the goal of the Social Democratic Party of Germany to have the military alliances superseded by a European order of peace.