

***The future  
is green.***

**ALLIANCE 90/THE GREENS:  
Party Program and Principles**

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ALLIANCE 90/THE GREENS: Party Program and Principles

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## **Preamble**

The principle of the dignity and freedom of each human being is at the very heart of our policies. We begin from the inviolability of human dignity and place this at the core of our vision of self-determination and partisanship for the weakest. As rational beings, we are all capable of a responsible and self-determined life. But we can only live as part of nature if we practice self-restraint in order to preserve the natural necessities of life. Protecting nature and its life forms is also imperative for its own sake. Every human being is unique and deserves to receive equal recognition – today and tomorrow, here and elsewhere too. For this reason, ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS have a policy committed to the benchmark of equitability. Freedom and justice can only be realised in a vigorous democracy. Democracy is the basis, mode and expression of our political behaviour.

Our party was founded twenty years ago, evolving from the culture of opposition in both German states; together we have achieved a lot, but we still have much more planned. Our vision is a world respecting and preserving the natural elements of life. Our vision is a society where human rights are indivisible and universally valid, where they are realisable within the framework of responsibility self-determination. Our vision is implementing the principle of equitability in all its various dimensions, strengthening democracy and making it able to defend itself against attack.

### **I. Our values**

We are united by a set of basic principles, not an ideology. ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS has grown together from diverse roots. As an ecological party we have adopted leftist traditions, traditional values and principles of constitutional liberalism. The women's movement, the peace movement and the citizens rights movement in the former East Germany have all contributed to our party profile. Both in eastern and western Germany, committed Christians were actively involved in the development of ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS. In this way, we arrived at a shared independent perspective on political and social issues. Our basic position reads: We combine ecology, self-determination, expanded equitability and a vibrant democracy. With the same intensity, we are committed to non-violence and human rights. It is the mutual interplay between these principles that indicates the perspective to the ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS vision. We invite all those who feel committed to these goals to work with us. Our aim is to incorporate the ideas, criticisms and protests of citizens, encourage them to take action and develop integrated concepts.

**Ecology is sustainability.** From the very start, our thinking is ecological. We connect the tradition of the Enlightenment with the experience of the limits of industrialism, a completely new awareness derived from ecological principles. We distance ourselves from an uncritical faith in progress, whether in a socialist or capitalist guise.

As the party of ecology, our objective is to protect the natural elements of life threatened by industrial overexploitation and the overuse of resources. Protection cannot be achieved by turning the clock back. Instead, it requires sustainable change to today's industrial societies. Ecology is an essential dimension in modernising our society. With the ecological expansion of the social contract, ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS counters the lack of forward-looking vision in traditional politics with a political programme of responsibility towards future generations and our environment.

The notion of sustainability has lent environmental policy a Green guiding principle that makes it applicable throughout society. Sustainability means the forward looking combination of ecological, social and economic development. We thus attach central importance to the conservation of the natural foundations of life. Today's production and consumption patterns have to be fashioned in such a way that they do not destroy tomorrow's chances for survival. Ecology demands sustainable economic and technological policies. No nation can attain the goal of sustainability in a go-it-alone approach; international cooperation is essential. Our way of life will only become suited for the future if the shift to sustainability is successful worldwide.

Sustainability also means the development of lifestyles which are founded on care and respect for life. Lifestyles reflecting an awareness of ecology embody an increased quality of life for all. Sustainability means quality of life for today and tomorrow.

**Freedom is realised through self-determination.** We are calling for emancipation and self-determination. Our approach to freedom has been shaped by a variety of emancipatory movements, libertarian and liberal traditions. We want a society where people have the opportunity to fashion their own lives, without being told what to do.

We know that freedom of the individual is bound up with certain legal and social conditions. We are committed to ensuring everyone has the opportunity to exercise the freedom to shape their own lives, not just a privileged minority. Self-determination includes ecological and social responsibilities.

We will not leave freedom to those who choose to define it as a synonym for unrestricted markets – the freedom to push others aside. Freedom is the chance for emancipation and self-determination transcending social and ethical barriers or gender differences. But this requires people having the freedom to express their own commitment in freely chosen groups or associations. This is especially true for minorities. Responsibility for the future can only be ensured by self-determined individuals.

We want to strengthen the individual and the society where s/he lives out freedom and realises responsibilities. We are committed to a democratic constitutional state with a clear framework safeguarding freedom and consideration of others.

Self-determination reaches its limits where it restricts the freedom and self-determination of others. That is why we do not want to live in a way which undermines or destroys possibilities for self-determination for people in other countries or future generations.

**Extending equitability.** ALLIANCE90/GREEN policies take the principle of equitability as a basic point of reference. Equitability demands fairly distributing society's goods and this, in turn, requires especial partisanship for the weakest in society. Even in our own society, equitable distribution will continue to be of importance in the future too. But because justice has to give answers to the problems of a changing world, our notion of equitability goes far beyond traditional redistribution policies. ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy stands for equitability for stakeholders, for all generations, in gender issues, and in the international arena. Despite the practical conflicts arising between them, these dimensions of justice must not be played off against each other. Equitability demands solidarity and citizen participation.

**Gender equitability.** Justice is also gender equitability. In this area, the ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy has already scored considerable achievements. But women and men still do not enjoy the same power to define how society will develop. Neither gender is guaranteed the possibility of harmonizing the demands of family and professional life. This issue of equitability will remain unresolved as long as women are disadvantaged by the distribution of positions of power, income and time. Stakeholder justice ensures everyone access to central societal resources: work, education and democratic codetermination. Fair access must be re-established time and again in the face of the existing social imbalance, and needs to be institutionally safeguarded. In our society education is a decisive factor in the ability to shape one's own life. Work lets each person use their own capabilities and it defines a key part of our

identity. Codetermination is a basic requirement for becoming involved in society and helping to shape it.

**Generation equitability.** Our old motto "We have only borrowed the world from our children" is more appropriate today than ever before. Due to ecological over-exploitation and social, economic and financial policies that ignore tomorrow's world, our children's future has been put at risk. Against such a view, we are calling for justice between the generations.

The more the global economy connects people and increases their interdependence, the more important viable international equitability becomes. This notion is especially relevant for people outside the prosperous regions of our planet. Sustainability in the industrialised North must not be defined at the cost of the countries in the South.

**Solidarity.** Equitability requires solidarity and citizen involvement. Solidarity lives through self-confident individuals – it strengthens citizens instead of patronising them. The alternative of either a welfare-oriented, over-governed state or 'the less government the better' is no longer valid. The state must not leave public tasks to the free interplay of unregulated powers. Equally, though, the state should not tackle them alone in place of society, but in cooperation with its citizens. For this reason, we also want to invest in networks and communities that practise mutual help. Citizens will only take on more responsibility for the community when the state supports them in that task.

### **Democracy is the basis**

Our thinking is based on democracy. Over the past decades we have played an important part in making our society more democratic. Democracy defines the interface between the free expression of one's own will and the equal acknowledgement of the other. Our contribution to the evolution of the constitutional state is the introduction of radically democratic, feminist, participatory and multicultural thinking. Our stand against racism and anti-Semitism, right-wing extremism and all other forms of extremism is taken with the full awareness of the responsibility we have inherited through our history. Rather than wanting to maintain the status quo unchanged, we are calling for the evolution of democracy into a diverse democracy with the chance for direct participation for all citizens.

Democratic politics is not simply a matter of making the best out of an inherent necessity. Politics should allow a choice between alternatives. Frequently, necessity turns out to be more assumed than absolute. In ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy, transparency and clarity have a

decisive role to play while alternative decisions are being considered and can help in exposing power structures and vested interests. In an approach like this, involving the renaissance of the political, we want to see parliamentary democracy strengthened and greater citizen involvement in all areas of state and society.

As the world community draws closer together, it will not be possible to limit democracy along national lines. The topic of further developing international relationships from a democratic perspective has a place on the political agenda. In this process, the completion of European unification and the strengthening of the European Union play key roles. We support a democratic constitutional process within Europe that respects the basic rights of all citizens, acknowledges the role of nation states, yet also perceives regional diversity as an asset. Beyond Europe, the United Nations must be strengthened as the political umbrella organisation of the international community.

### **The touchstone of our values: Human rights and non-violence**

Two fundamental principles are, and remain, central in our political views: Our commitment to human rights and our policy of non-violence.

**Human rights.** The fundamental value we ascribe to self-determination derives from the universality and indivisibility of human rights. In our view, the statement on human rights contained in the UN Charter is not negotiable – either in the face of political or commercial interests or in the face of a mistaken cultural relativism. The dignity of every human being is inviolable: Safeguarding this principle is a self-imposed duty that permeates national and international Green policy. In our view, the individual right to freedom is inseparable from political, economic, social and cultural rights, the right to development or ecological rights.

**Non-violence.** ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy is a policy for non-violence. The goal of non-violence originates from the fundamental principles of self-determination, equitability and democracy. In order to prevent violence and establish lasting peace, democracy must be promoted worldwide, equitability accepted beyond individual national borders, ecological crises prevented and universal human rights acknowledged all the world over. Our policies are aimed at promoting the operation of law in the international arena, prioritising crisis prevention and further restricting the use of violence. Violence must not replace politics. The general prohibition on violence expressed in the Charter of the United Nations represents a major triumph of civilisation and a significant advance in international law. It was an important step in stripping war of unquestioned acceptance as an appropriate means of resolving political

disputes. The use of military force, and in particular weapons of mass destruction, means killing and maiming human beings, results in destruction and enmity and, today, may also result in a global catastrophe. But we also acknowledge that the use of violence, if legitimised constitutionally and under international law, cannot always be ruled out. We recognise and accept the conflict faced by non-violent politics when genocide or terrorist violence negates the political process. Our objective is to promote non-violent conflict resolution in all spheres of society and in international relations, with the aim of overcoming the political institution of war. To achieve this, we are committed to strengthening the culture of non-violence and violence prevention in all parts of the political arena.

## **II. Challenges in a changing world**

The world around us is being reshaped by revolutionary changes – driven by economic, scientific and cultural developments. The key terms in this process are ecological challenges, globalisation, individualisation, new information technologies, biological and genetic technologies, demographic changes, migration and changes in gender relations.

We can see the dangers, but also the possibilities and opportunities. Our forward-looking policies are designed to provide us with a basis for shaping the political, societal and cultural spheres. We do not want to be subject to external pressures with no other choice, but instead map out a range of possible paths of development. Our starting point is the observation of reality. This is why we criticise an economic system that encourages the irreversible consumption of natural resources, transforming today's profit into the ecological debt of tomorrow. It is why we criticise a wealth distribution between North and South that keeps much of the world from satisfying basic needs. It is why we are trying to use reforms to build a welfare state sufficiently future-oriented to withstand the strains of demographic challenges. It is also why we criticise genetic engineering where it attacks human dignity by ignoring ethical boundaries or irresponsibly creates new dangers by releasing genetically altered organisms.

**The ecological challenge.** In our view, ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS are the political expression of an ecological movement which has itself accomplished a great deal. Nevertheless, despite diverse national and international efforts, environmental damage and emissions of greenhouse gases are increasing worldwide. Climate change has already begun. As yet, we are unable to gauge the exact extent of the global repercussions but if this tendency is not successfully reversed, there is a danger of catastrophes that will affect the entire world. Climate change, though, is by no means the only major ecological risk: Landscape consumption, species

extinction, forest destruction, desertification, the loss of fertile soils, overfishing and ocean contamination all continue apace. The economic system previously followed in industrialised societies is not globally applicable. The ecological challenge facing us all now requires economic and social systems to be restructured.

But ALLIANCE90/GREENS policy has more to offer than warnings. Our expertise lies in giving concrete shape to sustainable development. Ecology forms the essential framework for taking economic responsibility and is the model for many technological innovations. The central task for the next decades is the turn-around to achieving the greatest possible efficiency in energy and resource use. Lifestyles reflecting ecological principles enrich all of us.

**Globalisation.** Globalisation is changing the world. It networks and connects all the societies on our planet. The Greens, as a political movement, emerged out of a worldwide responsibility for the state of the earth. For this reason, we cannot and do not want to limit our policies to the framework of political programmes within single nation states. We view globalisation as a challenge. We are calling for a world without hunger, poverty, and war, a world applying the principles of ecological sustainability, freedom, democracy and solidarity. We will actively participate in building a global network of social and political forces that share these goals.

Establishing a global connection between trade and the financial markets has culminated in dividing the world. The worldwide interconnection of markets and information is making the rift between rich and poor larger, both internally within societies and, above all, across the world, where an ever-widening fault-line runs between the winners and losers of economic globalisation. Destruction of the environment and hunger are widespread in many countries and, like racism, nationalism and violence, the oppression of women and the exploitation of children, are not declining but increasing. For this reason, resistance to globalisation is proper and necessary. Reversing this trend worldwide, and changing course, will be a central political challenge in the years and decades to come

The gap must be closed between economic globalisation, the lack of a political framework for these processes and dearth of political influence on them. At present, the European Union represents the most extensive model for states adopting shared responsibility and, in return, surrendering elements of their own sovereignty. The EU must relinquish the neo-liberal fixation of its economic policy and play an even more active international role in the social and ecological management of globalisation.

The globalisation of insecurity may now be a part of public consciousness worldwide but in fact privatised, commercial and terrorist violence has been increasing for years. It rages most fiercely in the domestic "new wars" that have become increasingly apparent since the end of the Cold War and are accompanied by the disintegration of state authority. International terrorism threatens world peace. The struggle against such terrorism must not only be directed against perpetrators but equally against the causes of the hate that provides terrorists with fertile ground for support in their appalling attacks. Yet at the same time the standards of international law and law enforcement have to be observed. A strengthened United Nations is central to legitimising the fight against terrorism and making it more effective.

**Individualisation.** People in our society have become more independent and self-confident. They want to live more freely. Only a few decades ago, the ways of life and lifestyles accepted today were discriminated against and marginalized. We are happy with the diversity in our society, and pledge to support pluralism where it is still just a promise and not yet reality. Yet individualisation can also exacerbate the problems of social inequality since it can be accompanied by loneliness and decreased solidarity, making traditional social and cultural links weaker. For this reason, new forms of social cohesion must be established and reinforced. A new form of social security is needed, one that makes use of individually established new contacts within networks.

**New information technologies.** The contours of a global society in which knowledge is the key productive force are rapidly emerging. A network of global information exchange and communication is developing, driven by the Internet. The Net offers new opportunities for democratic participation and social organisation. It is changing the economic structure on a global scale, creating new jobs and eliminating old ones. In this context, the right to access becomes a question of particular importance. We stand for free and equal access to information – with no division between the information-rich and the information-poor. We need an educational system which is effective in actually distributing these new qualifications of the knowledge society into society at large.

**Biotechnology and genetic engineering.** The application of biotechnology and genetic engineering in many areas of medicine, agriculture and food production confronts our society with totally new questions. New discoveries and new possibilities of intervention will fundamentally change our image of humanity, our definition of illness and health, and our attitude towards nature. This requires an understanding within society about which opportunities to use and which risks to avoid. Responsible governance must avoid imposing backroom

decisions on citizens. Political decisions which might result in irreversible consequences for society should be based on broad public consensus.

Not everything technically achievable is at the same time ethically and politically legitimate. Human freedom is also reflected in the ability to set ethical and legal limits on the technically feasible to maintain human dignity.

**Demographic changes.** Our society is growing older. Declining birth rates and growing average life expectancy have led to a situation where the proportion of the population working is steadily shrinking. The ensuing cultural change makes the active integration of senior citizens a key issue to resolve. This development also presents far-reaching challenges for the entire social welfare insurance system, since its traditional funding base is being reduced. Additionally, our taxation, education and employment systems have to change in line with these demographic shifts. The on-going demographic changes are reformulating the question of equitability.

**Migration.** All over the world, the streams of migrants are growing – the result of economic and cultural upheavals, armed conflicts and ecological crises. International political structures must face up to and deal with this development. Europe cannot seal itself off from the rest of the world as an island of affluence. European communities are dependent on immigration, not least for demographic reasons. But we additionally defend the individual right to asylum for historical and humanitarian reasons. Immigration is a productive force. For hundreds of years, Germany used to be a country of emigration but it has now become, to all intents and purposes, an immigration country. Immigration also requires equal political, social and cultural participation on the part of migrants. The way we deal with new arrivals and foreigners is an indicator for the openness of our society. Our guiding principle is equal coexistence for people of different ethnic origins and the acknowledgement of their cultural diversity; it is a process given a political framework by the German constitution.

Changes in gender relations. Over the past few decades there have been enormous changes in the ways women have defined their goals and aspirations. Modern models have become established where a professional career and family life are considered equally normal parts of life. Nonetheless, hierarchies and the discrepancy of power between the genders still have not been overcome. The present gender relationship, still marked by inequality, is also a structural power relationship. ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy intends to replace this with a new, egalitarian and non-violent relationship between the genders creating a real gender democracy and a culture of peace. Thanks to the political successes of the women's movement, women have been able to

expand their social, political, private and professional spheres of action. However, life's realities for women – and many men – continue to be determined by the divide separating their aspirations from reality. Changes in personal expectations for private and social gender arrangements are hampered by persistently male-dominated social structures, cultural patterns and attitudes. Often politics is still based on models of social division of labour, and family and professional biographies that bear no correspondence to women's notions of their life. Despite all advances, women's self-determination and their equal participation in economic, social and political life has not yet been achieved – and this applies as much on a national as an international scale. For this reason, ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS accepts the emancipation of women and gender democracy as a central challenge in all areas of politics.

### **III. Where we come from – who we are**

It's impossible to step twice into the same river. It's not only the world around us that has changed since our political programme of 1980, we have changed too.

After the major changes in 1989, ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS came into being through the merger of the West German and East German Green parties with groups from the GDR citizens' rights movement. The final fusion as ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS and the basic consensus achieved in 1993 finally made us into a party for the whole of Germany. Without our idea of "something totally new" we surely would not have achieved the successful introduction of ALLIANCE90/GREEN ideas into the political systems in east and west. Now, we are no longer the 'anti-party party' but represent an alternative in the party system. The decisive difference for us was that, in order to stay successful, we wanted and needed to develop into a party of reform. Today we are setting out to attain our political goals and realise our vision by implementing a long-term reform strategy.

The main reason why our role has changed since our founding is the consequence, in particular, of our extraordinary success over the past twenty years. Topics which we initially introduced as outsiders have long since taken centre stage in society. Ecological responsibility has been widely recognised as the corner stone of any forward-looking policy, even if it hasn't yet been thoroughly implemented. Expanded democratic stakeholding for all, gender equality, acceptance of minorities, openness towards cultural diversity – these are only some of the perspectives we, together with societal players, have anchored in our society.

But ALLIANCE 90/THEGREENS haven't just introduced new issues over the past twenty years, we have also played our part in the renewal of political culture – as, for example, in our

support for a quota system. This is the tradition we refer to in our self-imposed task of evolving democracy; political parties are not an end in themselves but have a responsibility to serve. A key to developing democratic institutions and strengthening the separation of power lies in a reform of the parliamentary system leading to increased responsibility for individual parliamentarians. At the same time, we are concerned with pursuing greater civil society involvement and encouraging its increased commitment in shaping the world we live in. But this depends on making as many people as possible involved in their own affairs – and this is especially true for the economic and scientific spheres, which increasingly determine society's direction.

As successful modernisers, we have established a basis for broad alliances in society wanting reform, and now we are meeting support where decades ago there was only resistance. At the same time, we know that there are still many battles to be fought in attaining the fundamental social change we believe is essential. We are certain that we can drive these changes forward with the self-critical development of imagination and creativity in society.

#### **IV. Twelve for 2020**

Our key projects are designed to modernise society in line with our basic values instead of simply coping with the challenges by using traditional structures. It is in this way that we want to direct modernisation into a Green path.

**Towards the solar age** develops the issue of Green energy policy as an answer to the ecological challenges of our time. **Ecologically mobile** sets Green goals for sustainable mobility.

**Transparency for consumers** names Green priorities regarding the renewal of the market economy. **A new form of agriculture** presents the perspective for a new balance of interests between farmers and consumers in the spirit of sustainable development. The key project on **the future of a united Germany** develops Green options for eastern Germany. The concept of a **basic standard of living** describes our perspective of a new foundation for social security. In **policy from the children's perspective** we want to ensure practical equality across the generations. The **citizens' rights to access knowledge** presents the central challenge ahead of us in education policy. **Women into positions of power** takes the key issue of equal opportunities for both genders in defining and promoting social development. We see **the immigration society** as a chance to develop an open-minded multicultural democracy. On the question of European integration, **a Europe belonging to its citizens** puts democracy squarely in the centre

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of attention. Finally, within the framework of our commitment to international justice, **fair world trade and international standards** are central issues.

### **Towards the ecological age**

More than anything else, ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS owes its existence as a political force to the growing awareness that the natural foundations of life are threatened by industrial over-exploitation and overuse of resources. Before the emergence of the ecology movement, the prevailing political and economic policies were blind to "the limits of growth". Just as the social movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries softened industrial capitalism, the Green movement has brought the issue of ecological renewal of our production and consumption patterns onto the political agenda, and we intend to make sure protecting the natural basis of life remains there as a subject for debate.

Ecological policy is social policy, and for this reason it has consequences for many different political spheres: In shaping the economy and the transportation system, or research and technology, or taxation policy. Anyone who wants to safeguard the natural foundations of life must be prepared to reform the economy and society.

It is thanks to the international ecology movement and the Greens that environmental consciousness and environmental responsibility have become central social and political values since the 1970s. These values have initiated extensive national and European environmental legislation, and also led to progress being made on a global level in the form of environmental agreements, programmes and institutions. Environmental research has become established as a science, and industry and the trades have developed new, environmentally friendly technologies.

In recent years, there have been new alliances for ecological innovations formed such as, for example, local community coalitions for sustainable development, Agenda 21 initiatives, or ecologically oriented business networks. Additionally, many unions have developed far greater ecopolitical openness, the churches are demonstrating increased commitment to ecological justice in the international arena, and there are growing numbers of ecological research institutes. Ecological innovation and the development of environmentally friendly technologies, products and services have become the key for prosperity today and tomorrow. As a result, the likelihood that ecological policies are used effectively has considerably improved.

In a globalised economy, non-governmental organisations are important international players in the balance between economic, ecological and social interests. Thinking globally and at the

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same time taking action in global ecological networks is a central challenge today in the sense of creating an alternative, sustainable globalisation.

We are in the middle of a race with the various dimensions of environmental destruction. Time is running out if we want the earth to support life easily in future. Despite all the statements by politicians to the contrary, climate changing CO<sup>2</sup> emissions are increasing world wide. Continuous population growth, poverty and migration from the country to the cities, and uncontrolled industrialisation are culminating in the threatening over-exploitation of nature. Human short-sightedness is leading to ever more natural catastrophes such as drought, desertification or the increase of floods and heavy storms. These are all reasons why we can't relax and take things easy.

### **I. The fundamental principles of our environmental policy**

Ecology and equitability. Environmental protection is a question of justice. The poorer strata in society always suffer most from traffic noise, air pollution, unhealthy foods, contaminated soils or the lack of drinking water. The conservation of the natural basis of life is also a question of justice between generations. "*Après moi, le deluge!*" is not an acceptable principle in shaping policy. For this reason, we have to reverse the exploitation of nature to a level that does not overtax the ability of ecosystems to regenerate. The guiding principle for this task is best expressed in the term sustainable development. Environmental protection is also a question of international equitability. The highly industrialised societies of the North consume a disproportionately high share of natural resources and they cause an equally excessive share of the environmental burden on our biosphere. It is therefore a duty to reduce the use of resources and energy to a fraction of today's level. We need an international mechanism for ecological burden sharing between rich and poor countries. The "North" does not have the right to use the earth's resources more than the "South". Ecology is also a question of gender equality. The consequences of ecological damage are often absorbed in the unpaid care and reproductive work of women. At the same time access to natural resources and their use is uneven between the genders.

Ecology and self-determination. Environmental destruction causes new constraints restricting the lives of people. The overuse of natural resources reduces the range of choices for future generations and restricts their opportunities for self-determination. This is also the case for 'inherited burdens' such as the threat of climate collapse or the nuclear active waste from nuclear power plants that will continue to emit radiation for thousands of years. This is why ecological

common sense is the basic condition for self-determination today and tomorrow. Ecological common sense demands that flexible and adaptable technologies are given preference over irreversible large scale technologies. But ecological policies can only be successful if they convince people and respects their civil rights.

Ecology and democracy. In our view, ecology and democracy are inexorably linked. The experience of the international environmental movement has shown that environmental protection advances quickest in societies where citizens are able to express their concerns and present them in an open political decision making system. We want to ensure that decisions on principal ecological and economic issues are made with the democratic involvement of the people instead of by the ruling global players. That is why we are pursuing a dual approach: on the one hand, building on a democratically responsible regulatory framework and, on the other hand, trusting to ecological information and education, ecological incentives for environmentally friendly technologies and products, and agreements with industry. We support expanded information and participatory rights for the public at environmentally-related planning processes and demand transparency of public environmental data from businesses and administrations.

## **II. Sustainable development as a principle for action**

Our aim is to make the principle of sustainability the touchstone of our way of life and economic system. Sustainable development means nothing more than that, in the face of restricted ecological room for manoeuvre, improved efficiency and economic use of resources in industry combined with alternative consumption patterns will create better social development opportunities for people in the South. Furthermore, it implies that today's generations cannot simply satisfy their needs at the expense of future ones.

Old-style economic growth, coupled to the growing exploitation of nature, is not fit for the future. The ecological and social follow-up costs created by our economic system have previously never been considered, but they easily exceed any social gains. In future the economies of the highly developed industrial societies must develop in such a way that a distinct reduction in resource use and emissions can be achievable simultaneously. The turn-around onto a sustainable course is not only ecologically sensible but also economically reasonable. Ecology is economics for the long-term.

The workers' movement has succeeded in asserting a social regulatory framework for the marketplace. Today's challenge is to install an ecological regulatory framework for the global

economy. For this reason, we are working towards binding ecological goals at national and international levels, subscribed to by governments as well as industry. The dynamic power of the economy can then evolve within these ecological guidelines. Our priorities include the prevention of environmental diseases and the protection of nature from pollutants. We have to move away from a political climate that simply reacts to disclosures on the dangers of the pollutant of the week. That is why we are calling for the input of dangerous substances, especially those which accumulate in the environment, to be stopped in the medium term.

### **III. Economical use of resources and the efficiency revolution**

Our goal is an ecological circular-flow economy where resources and energy are used economically and efficiently. Regional circulation of goods has to take priority over long distance transportation chains and foodstuffs are to be produced locally, where possible. This is a trend that will be encouraged by consumer demand. Environmental compatibility must be a central criteria for research and development.

In order to re-establish the global ecological balance and secure the necessities of life for a growing world population we need an ecological-technical revolution that will reduce the consumption of resources by a factor of ten within the next decades.

In the past, environmental clean-up was the primary issue at the centre of environmental policy. We have been able to score major successes here by preventing air pollution or improving water quality. But the future however belongs to production and product-integrated environmental protection. Rather than our goal being the subsequent removal of environmental damage, we have to aim at preventing environmental problems by using pollution-free, resource-saving technologies and products. Prevention is better than clean-up.

By focusing on resource protection and ecological efficiency we are concentrating on what is most important for ecological modernisation: New production and management procedures and environmentally compatible technologies which reduce the requirement of energy, resources and space. Production and product-integrated environmental protection means reduced use of energy and materials. Greater efficiency in materials use culminates in lower costs and greater economic advantages. The less resources that are used in a product or service, the lower the purchase cost they have.

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With production and product-integrated environmental protection we offer new possibilities to industry. On European, East Asian, South and North American markets the demand for energy, water and waste efficient technologies is increasing rapidly.

#### **IV. Ecology and lifestyle**

There is no ecological future without an efficiency revolution. But sustainability is more than technical innovation, it also has a cultural dimension. Sustainability also means that we value things that are can have no price put on them: Near-natural landscapes, the diversity of flora and fauna, the importance of free time, self-determination at work and an active cultural and social life.

Sustainability is a normative role model for politics, the economy and society. Sustainable development will only succeed if as many people as possible incorporate its principles in their areas of responsibility and fields of activity. Although upbringing, education and training, or private and public discourse, cannot concretely prescribe sustainable consumption patterns and lifestyles, they must play a more significant role in helping people learn to act responsibly in the sense implied by sustainable development. The individual's fundamental freedom to act is limited by reference to the principle of sustainability in exactly the same way as it by laws and decrees.

Only those who have choices have freedom. These choices include information about the ecological quality of products, their availability to a broad public at reasonable prices, environmentally friendly transportation, or urban structures offering work, leisure and housing all within a reasonable distance.

Ecological responsibility and the enjoyment of life fit together well. This is true for nutrition as well as architecture and our choices of housing, leisure, travel and involvement in groups and associations.

#### **V. New energy - from the fossil and nuclear age to the solar future**

The future of our energy supply lies in solar and decentralised sources. Sun, wind, bio-mass, geothermal, water power, or energy from the sea – renewable energy is there in abundance the world over.

Everyone, worldwide, needs a dependable energy supply - prosperity, health and mobility are dependent on it. It is a well-known fact that these necessities cannot be secured using limited

fossil energy sources. It is, above all, the energy sector and traffic in the industrialised nations that are responsible for warming the atmosphere and the greenhouse effect. All the indications are that climate change has already begun.

Atomic energy is not a responsible option for the energy industry of the future. Nuclear power plants and nuclear waste disposal sites are not safe from military and terrorist attacks. The terror attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 put the term 'residual risk' in a new light. An MCA (maximum credible accident) such as Chernobyl with its immeasurable consequences for humans and nature cannot be prevented no matter how much care is taken. This is a risk we must not take. No solution has been found anywhere for the disposal of nuclear waste that will emit radioactivity for tens of thousands of years. This is irresponsible to future generations. The use of nuclear energy brings with it further dangers: Tonnes of weapons-grade plutonium are created impeding global disarmament and leading to new security risks in the multipolar world. Nuclear power is no solution for the energy problem; it only creates any number of further problems. This is why the nuclear power phase-out must be completed as swiftly as possible within the given legal framework. But this requires readily available replacement energy sources. Our criticism of nuclear power applies equally to fusion technologies. Its realisation – though unlikely - would cause insoluble follow-up problems for the environment and health.

A safe energy supply can only be achieved with technologies suitable for future standards and needs. We can already build houses that create more energy than they consume; we can already work in emission-free factories. These models have to become tomorrow's benchmarks for low resource consumption and a society worth living in. We need lifestyles and consumption patterns compatible both with the earth's finite natural resources and fair distribution of them to everyone.

We reject new large scale open pit mining projects. Over the medium-term, fossil energy sources such as natural gas and coal will have a decreasing yet still important role to play. For this reason, we are calling a significantly better efficiency rate with, for example, a key role played by the sensible use of excess heat during electricity generation, although this is only feasible with a decentralised structure. Decentralised systems offer a supply security that large power plants cannot achieve at all or can only achieve with over-capacities.

In addition to the advantage of supplying a decentralised energy supply, hydrogen technologies offer the benefit of energy production from regenerative sources.

But we do not only need these kind of logistics and technologies that save resources and increase efficiency for the transition from the fossil fuel age. We need these technologies as a basis for supplying eight, perhaps ten billion people with regenerative energy. We consider a highly efficient transition and locally appropriate, largely minimal energy consumption primarily as start-up technologies towards a just and sustainable energy supply – in other words, total supply from solar energy sources.

This evolution of this in technological terms, the market launch and constant cost reduction all present a challenge for Germany as a base for innovative solutions. Yet the worldwide growth in energy demand present a major opportunity for Germany as an export nation with a pioneering role in this innovative market.

The transition from the nuclear and fossil age into the solar era has already begun and is supported by large number of people. In future too, we will be actively encouraging and promoting a sustainable energy sector with as just much commitment and conviction.

#### **A key project: The solar era**

Over the last few years, ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS have developed an entire range of political instruments for the transition from the fossil/atomic age into the solar era. We have implemented many of these already during our time as a coalition partner in government. We have already initiated a change of course in energy policy and taken bearings for a new destination. It only remains to ensure that we can start down this road.

This requires swift and definite action. By 2020, CO<sup>2</sup> emissions must be reduced by up to 40% over 1990 levels, with a reduction of 80% over the same marker by 2050. We can and will make the transition from fossil fuels to the solar era within a few decades. The entire array of technical measures needed for a complete changeover is already at our disposal, but before this happens there will have to be more effort put into changing political attitudes.

The turn-around from burning fossil energy resources to regenerative energies is more than just a technological revolution. It culminates in a new decentralised structure for the energy industry. At the same time, there has to be correlation between increased energy efficiency and reduced use of resources. Our medium-term objective is *Factor 4*, multiplying resources productivity by a factor of four; in the long-term, a factor of ten is not only possible but necessary.

For decades, solar technologies have been eclipsed by other approaches. We are committed to continuing our promotion of solar technology research and improving their presence in schools,

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universities and colleges. First and foremost, though, we want to ensure that the market framework for solar technologies reflects their importance to the economy as a whole, i.e., evolving further technical standards for energy use in buildings for products and services, and continuing the ecological tax and fiscal reform.

Liberalising the energy markets offers the prospect of creating decentralised supply systems. We want to make use of this opportunity to provide as many people, local authorities, and independent energy suppliers the chance to shape the energy market of the future, applying the principle of self-determination and leaving them free from any imposed bias. The basis of our approach is the concept of fast, efficient and flexible systems; the logic behind the supply systems of the old energy monopolies does not match the needs of the future.

Energy is a public good. In the interests of all of us and the generations to follow, we cannot simply use it indiscriminately, without thought.

Solar energy production already enjoys a positive image among the general population. We want to build on this development by giving political support to the social commitment shown by numerous initiatives. They will then function as multipliers, helping us achieve a majority across society in favour of implementing a global solar programme.

Our climate does not stop at national borders; protecting the climate is an international task. We will continue to call for international agreements and their implementation. We want to see measures introduced that secure the transfer of regenerative energy technologies especially in developing countries, since, in addition to climate protection, provision of regenerative energies is also a vital element in the battle against poverty.

Renewable energy use will contribute to reducing the causes of wars.

### **Sustainable development in towns and local areas**

The social and geographical structures of urban landscapes and residential areas are being fundamentally altered by on-going social, economic and demographic changes. The increasing competition between locations in a regional, European and global context forces towns and cities to redefine their roles and the opportunities they have. The guiding principle behind regional planning demands that all parts of Germany should enjoy similar social and economic conditions, but in reality the inequality gap is widening between the north and the south, and particularly between the west and the east.

Our society is in the process of change, and the decline of traditional industries, demographic developments and migration are all factors intensifying it. The main challenges faced by towns and regions come from economic setbacks, high unemployment, population decline and increased social costs at a time of reduced financial means. This requires – in particular in eastern Germany – a move to organise contractive processes. Ever more families with children are moving out of city centres into the surrounding areas, while the cities are experiencing a growing trend to social and ethnic marginalization, with entire city districts and residential areas stigmatised. The competition between urban centres and the surrounding countryside culminates in extensive use of space and resources, environmental pollution, and increasing costs for infrastructure provision. Despite the population figures stagnating, the amount of land area used for residential estates in Germany is growing by 129 hectares daily. The surrounding countryside is a focus for shopping centres or commercial and leisure parks that really have central functions. We want to counter this trend by strengthening the urban centres and favouring them over "green field" development.

Our objective is to curb land consumption and the creation of suburban sprawl by reinforcing the role of towns and local areas as vital locations where people can live, reside and work. We are calling for strengthening the links between our architectural, cultural and democratic heritage in urban and local areas.

Our model is the city where everything is within easy reach, where the town's various functions are more tightly interwoven again. Whether for living and working, leisure or learning, or shopping, all the facilities needed should be as easily reachable as possible, without long journey times. Many urban and residential areas need to see improvements in the surroundings and the quality of housing – both for children and the increasingly aging urban population; such improvements include creating attractive green and open areas, reducing traffic, noise and accident risk, improving schools, sports and leisure facilities and ensuring neighbourhood services. Towns and cities must be more positive in their approach to mobility and play facilities.

We are calling for an adequate supply of affordable housing. We equally see the need for a differentiated policy on property ownership that comprised individual and shared ownership as well as property owned by a cooperative society. The aim of our policy is to grant the residents more space for identification, co-determination and shared control, so strengthening their own links to "their district". Keeping and developing the supply of housing for specific incomes or number of occupants is not only crucial in housing provision for low-income groups but in

gearing the social mix in urban districts. We want to give greater support to the "Social City" programme, linking initiatives on labour or economic policy with construction planning and policy decisions in the social and cultural spheres to promote neighbourhood integration and self-help groups.

Sustainable urban development stands for building within the existing housing stock. We want to transform subsidies facilitating the building of residential estates into instruments for helping urban areas and renewing existing housing stock. Reforms are needed in the grants provided for owner-occupier home building, the flat-rate allowances for distances to work, and degressive depreciation in constructing rental accommodation. Land law and land tax should be used as one means to help reduce the land price gap between inner cities and outer areas. Developing new building land must be linked to establishing funds for recycling land areas. Local land management must come to be the accepted norm.

Self-administration at the local level must be encouraged and promoted. However, since local regions are becoming increasingly interdependent, local policy has to be embedded in a system of acceptably harmonised regional coordination.

## **VI. Environmentally-friendly traffic systems**

Mobility is precisely the freedom of movement essential for individual development and participation in social and economic processes. Although freedom of movement and travel are an integral part of an open society, motorised vehicles impair life quality in cities, towns and the countryside: They causes noise, tailbacks, and an environmental damage that, at its extreme, leads to climate collapse; they makes people ill, and year after year causes unacceptably high numbers of fatalities and injuries.

Consequently, our policy aims at avoiding irrational traffic use, putting road and air transport on the railways, and reducing emissions. These steps demand transport prices that reflect costs, improved planning, logistics and technology. In our view, these measures are the only way to reduce the negative effects of traffic in an expanded Europe. But we are equally committed to securing access to all main destinations for supply and employment, at a reasonable price and in a reasonable time, and ensuring that public institutions, popular leisure locations and recreational facilities are all easily reachable.

We have already set key signals for a turn-around in transport policy by introducing the ecological tax, increasing investment in the railways, supporting a toll for trucks and lorries, and

developing our *FahrRad* concept. On the local level we have pushed through plans for traffic calming zones and improvements in public transport services. But after decades of pursuing a policy biased entirely towards car use, a turn-around in traffic policy can only be implemented gradually.

Our touchstone is the ideal of sustainable mobility. Any measures planned in the transport sector must be set against criteria of ecological, social and economic compatibility. The consequences of applying the principles underlying our transport policy will lead to transport prices that truly reflect real costs, priority for the bus and rail systems, and improved public transport service quality too. We also support the passengers' right to enjoy full consumer protection.

In particular, in our view, unnecessary goods transport must be avoided. A substantial proportion of freight can be redirected onto the rail network or transported via nature-compatible inland waterways. However, we reject the idea of expanding near-natural rivers. Larger trading estates and industrial zones must be linked into the rail network. Road haulage must bear the costs for the damage it causes to the roads, and pay for environmental costs too. The rail network needs systematic modernisation. It has to be opened to increased competition between private rail companies. By the same token, air traffic prices have to fairly reflect the costs for climate damage, health and security in line with the perpetrator principle. A pan-European tax on aviation fuel is long overdue.

Traffic growth and the continuing expansion of urban sprawl into countryside areas are inexorably linked. We want to apply new guidelines to traffic system planning. Applying these ideas would culminate in bringing housing, work and leisure closer together, cutting traffic instead of encouraging it, protecting people and conserving landscapes rather than encouraging further land use, keeping and modernising existing networks, putting noise protection measures above simply building anew, and improving systems rather than expanding them. We are calling for an integrated mobility policy where urban structures and space use saves the need for traffic and there are fluid borders between individual transport and public transport services. Public transport services must become more individual and attractive; individual transport must become more public and socially-oriented.

In our view, the fight against accident risks, especially for children, is a key issue. Traffic noise is evolving into a primary cause of illness among those living in cities or on estates, and those living along heavily used main traffic arteries and around airports. Our objective is to achieve a distinct, noticeable reduction in traffic noise. Noise pollution at night particularly leads to

impaired health. Legislation protecting citizens from traffic noise must be effectively rooted in the principle of prevention. Since we believe the citizens' desire for quiet at night around airports has to be given priority, we support a ban on night flights. We are equally ready to put the issue of a speed limit on non-urban roads onto the political agenda – reflecting the limits found on road networks among the majority of our European neighbours.

### **A key project: Ecologically mobile**

The key element in our system of mobility is provided by an integrated environmental network – with freedom to go on foot, by bike, or by bus or train. ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS are committed to improving the quality of public transport services by regulated competition. We want to strengthen regional structures providing rural services and supply networks for countryside areas. We want to promote promising designs for regional rail services or buses on call. Our objective is to allow people to reach work or school, the shops or the cinema, or even their holiday destination easily and in an environmentally-compatible way. This can be done by making it easy to transfer from one form of transport to another. Real freedom of choice comes from door to door travel, where one can take advantage of different transport services with fluid borders between them, e.g., via electronic passenger information, cashless ticket purchasing, and an easily understood price system. This requires not only expanding the present provision of public transport services but also developing new service forms. Car-ownership is not the key part of the mobility chain, but car use: car sharing and taxis used in combination with buses and trains save the need to find a parking space and unnecessary space use. Within the next decade, we are looking to double the number of bike users in cities and the countryside via cycling-friendly urban and estate design. This will lead to a distinct improvement in local area life quality.

In traffic too, energy use can be reduced. This automatically reduces CO<sup>2</sup> emissions too – and it's a trend we want to see reinforced. We are calling for a reduction in CO<sup>2</sup> traffic exhaust emissions of at least 33% over the next ten years. This is a move requiring greater impetus being given to the revolution taking place in vehicle efficiency. The blueprints for a car that can do one hundred kilometres per litre of petrol already exist, but they must be turned into reality. In a parallel step, we want to accelerate the launch of emission-neutral engines on the market – using solar hydrogen systems, fuel cells or vegetable oils. This requires a range of combined factors to be successful, including integrating research geared to practical applications, tax incentives, sanctions and clear technical objectives.

Integrated traffic planning means letting those affected participate. We are committed to citizen involvement in planning processes and passenger consultative bodies where a common point of reference can be established, based on the different mobility needs of women and men, young and old, or people with disabilities.

The proportion of freight on the rails must be swiftly increased, and the rise in freight haulage on the roads has to be curbed. We are calling for opening the rail network for private freight trains and a fair truck and lorry toll in line with perpetrator principle.

We want traffic noise substantially reduced, especially at night. In our view, this measure requires an overall national-level plan for noise reduction. We are looking to implement noise certification in all traffic sectors, promoting low-noise vehicles, penalizing high-noise vehicles and reducing their numbers. We want additional noise protection measures even on the new railway lines that are more heavily used. A ban must be placed on night flights.

## **VII. Nature and landscape conservation**

ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS regard nature and landscape conservation as crucially important. Human beings cultivate nature and use the earth, yet are simultaneously a part of nature and, despite all the scientific and technical progress, remain dependent on it. Not only do we protect the diversity of nature, the richness of species, and the irreplaceable uniqueness of near-natural countryside out of respect for their inherent worth, but also because an intact environment is of immeasurable value for people themselves. A price cannot be set on the beauty of nature.

For this reason, we are calling for unspoilt natural areas and historic regions in the countryside to be maintained. We want areas of nature protection and landscape conservancy to be integrated into a larger regional network. In our view, nature protection, green tourism and the new style of agriculture form an essential part of new concept of nature conservancy, including a kind of farming, forestry and fisheries that defines good professional practice as showing consideration for the concerns of nature and landscape conservancy. In global terms, the last major natural spaces, such as the Antarctic, the world's oceans or the remaining rain-forest and jungle, must be protected from economic exploitation and destruction by agreements binding under international law. These areas belong to the shared, inalienable natural heritage of all humankind. The rights of indigenous peoples must continue to be safeguarded.

Protecting nature and conserving natural space for future generations raises the major issue of the present sealing of landscapes. We want to counter this trend by finally giving priority to

preserving existing green space in local recreation areas and within conurbations as a habitat for animals and plants, for cultivated plants, or high-quality ground for farming and forestry, and noise protection. These uses must be given precedence over transforming these areas into housing estates or parts of a transport network. Forest is an essential natural resource, important for the diverse ecosystem it offers. For this reason, the protection of all forests is a central objective of our policy, whether in tropical regions or in Germany. The forced use of old buildings and derelict industrial wastelands, combined with targeted promotion of local public transport services in rural areas, will stop unreasonably large amounts of non-developed free space being turned into housing or roads and introduce a redirection that is long overdue. We are committed to keep improving the quality of ground and surface water. By 2020 it ought to be possible to swim in all of Germany's rivers again.

### **VIII. Animals need rights**

It is time to rethink and redefine the relationship between people and animals; it is time to acknowledge that animals have rights. For this reason, particular attention must be given in ecology to topics dealing with issues relevant in animal protection. In addition to conserving habitats and species diversity, protection is important for the sake of the animal as a living being itself. This requires rethinking many different areas – and this is why we advocate reinforcing awareness of these issues in kindergartens and schools.

The way people treat animals in farming must be coined by the responsibility towards the animals. Keeping livestock in suitably natural conditions culminates in a situation where animal protection and environmentally-friendly economic use mutually determine one another. Forms of livestock husbandry that are cruel to animals must be stopped.

ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS regard cruelty to animals in farming and killing animals for luxury goods as found, for example, in fur coat production, as ethically untenable.

We are calling for a fundamentally new concept of hunting, where animal protection and ecological necessity are given a far stronger role. We see a role for animal protection in fishing and angling too.

Our understanding of animal rights aims at overcoming animal experiment use, substituting alternative test methods and improving species protection. In an united Europe, animal protection must be regulated on a pan-European level. If cross-border harmonization with other

states were to lead to a worsening in our animal protection standards, then a national go-it-alone approach might not only make sense in its own terms but also provide a role model for others.

Animal protection organisations have to enjoy an enhanced position in planning and authorization processes to allow them to actually do justice to their role as the animals' advocate.

## **IX. A global perspective for the environment and development**

In the 21st century, ecological crises will be among the main causes of international conflicts. For this reason, a central element in preventing civil crises and violence is an international environmental policy based on the principle of solidarity, built around reducing own resources use and simultaneously providing technical and financial aid for less-industrialised countries to help them take the initial steps on the road to sustainable development. The protection of natural livelihoods must be given greater prominence in UNO and North-South cooperation. This requires new instruments and institutions, centred around a significantly stronger and better funded environmental organisation. This world environmental organisation could then perform an umbrella function for existing and new environmental treaties, reinforcing the implementation of such environmental agreements even against the World Trade Organisation.

Our aim is to realise minimum ecological standards in the frame of the World Trade Agreement.

In many regions of the world women bear the responsibility of feeding the family and bringing up the children. First and foremost, a sustainable development policy has to underline the social, cultural and political rights of women, enabling them to have equitable access to resources.

The countries on the threshold to industrialisation need help in developing an environmentally compatible infrastructure and gearing their economy to principles of sustainability. In the new industrial countries mobility has grown exponentially and energy needs have soared; for these reasons, it is an issue of ecological survival to organise this development using the most up-to-date, environmentally low-pollution technologies. As a result, policy on the German export industry must promote a transfer of modern environmental technology and the requisite know-how.

Introducing a global system of tradable emissions certificates, especially for CO<sup>2</sup> emissions, is one international instrument designed to equalize the ecological burden. Using a system like this should help Third World countries find new ways of servicing debt and financing imports of more environmentally-friendly technologies.



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## **Towards an ecological and social market economy**

The decisive challenge facing modern economic policy is located precisely in making the transition to an economic system that is sustainable, ecologically feasible and socially equitable. We are calling for our economic system to evolve into an ecological and social market economy; in this way, it will secure the quality of life for today and for the future. Only if a market economy balances economic dynamism with environmental protection and social safeguards, can it be sustainable. An ecological and social market economy releases people's creative powers by enabling them to be equal stakeholders in all aspects of economic, societal and political life. Furthermore, due respect is paid to the finite nature of the ecosystem Earth that forms the framework for our economic activity.

The future ecological and social market economy needs a stronger sense of society; it stands opposed to an economics where maximising private profit is the sole goal. Long-term unemployment must be overcome and everyone provided with the opportunity to participate in economic prosperity. The previous social market system, with its emphasis on corporate profit, is incapable of attaining its own goals and desperately needs overhauling. The social cannot be allowed to be reduced to the state's functions merely being exercised through official authorities: If no freedom for societal forces exists, and there is no self-determination for the general population or any principle of secondary liability, solidarity in society becomes transfixed and paralyses into mere bureaucracy. In our view, funds from the public coffers must be used to support civil society, but we want simultaneously to limit the sphere of state action. It is this approach that distinguishes us from the political models behind state socialism, conservatism or free market liberalism.

In an ecological and social market economy, gross national product is not the sole criteria of prosperity. Instead, it is expanded to become an "environmental and economic sum total", including ecological follow-up costs. Society's wealth needs to be defined in more comprehensive terms, with the gross national product expanded to become an ecological national product including ecological follow-up costs. Prosperity includes things that cannot be expressed in euros and dollars. We measure the economy by how it has further enriched everyone's cultural and social relations, and expanded the possibilities of living freely and equally together – without citizens being disadvantaged by class, status, gender, ethnic origin or way of life.

We want the concept of work to be understood in a differentiated way. Work is paid employment but work is equally housework, nursing and care, and voluntary work for the general good of the community. Unemployment and lack of income are not identical. A future ecological and social market economy must acknowledge all forms of work, evaluate them and distribute them fairly between women and men.

An ecological and social market economy must be founded on a theory encompassing the entire economy, taking account of all the direct and indirect economic trade relations, including private households and products and services arising from unpaid labour. Asymmetry in gender relations, screening off non-market standard economic practices, and undervaluing work on human resources all culminate in substantially damaging the economy as a whole. The unilateral devolution of unpaid "care sector" tasks onto women is unproductive and a central obstacle to economic and social growth. In the face of this tendency, we are calling for equality between women and men as an independent criteria in shaping the economy and as a benchmark of quality in a social market economy. The principles behind gender mainstreaming have to be recognised, in particular, as of relevant concern in all financial and economic policies. The state budget policy needs to introduce gender budgeting.

### **I. The foundations of our economic policy**

Prosperity for everyone assumes equitability, self-determination, ecology, and democracy. These are the fundamental basic values that also determine our economic policy.

**The economy and ecology.** We are calling for an ecological modernization of the economy. Ecology opens up an important sphere for growth and means more than just technical innovation based on ecological concerns. We are calling for our society to agree on long-term goals in economic policy, setting the market a clear basic ecological framework. We want our society to agree on long-term ecological aims and guidelines for the market, including, over the coming decades, drastically reducing emissions damaging to our climate, preserving near-natural countryside, protecting biological diversity on our planet and, equally, putting a stop to the production of atomic waste. From this initial starting point, a choice then needs to be made of instruments best suited to implementing these ecological goals in each specific case.

**Ecological economies create new jobs.** For this reason, ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS strategy of pursuing sustainability details an economic model for success. A decentralized energy economy sector working on the basis of regenerative energy sources offers more

qualified jobs than the extremely capital intensive atomic energy. Moving from a waste society to a circular flow economy will provide new jobs in maintenance, repair, and recycling. Our objective of driving ecological structural change forward acknowledges the need for this process to be made socially acceptable.

In an ecological and social market economy, one basic principle is that an individual should not make profits at the cost of society as a whole. This means prices must reflect real costs instead of being passed on to the public at large - and it is here that the introduction of the ecology tax was a decisive breakthrough. We advocate further evolving our tax and fiscal system in line with ecological principles, sparing the environment and promoting employment. Environmentally harmful subsidies have to be systematically reduced, both in the national and international arenas.

**Economy and equitability.** Equitable treatment for all cannot be achieved by everyone simply pursuing their own best interests, especially since this race is run from unequal starting positions. For this reason, we expressly support the social obligation property imposes, as it is anchored in the German Constitution. Economic equitability means, in particular, equitable taxes and levies, both for private individuals and companies. We are calling for a regulatory framework guaranteeing ecological, social and cultural interests and balancing out chances for a start in life. Only when such a framework exists, can competition actually promote justice and equality.

Participating in the world of work and having the ability to earn one's own living are central to each individual's personal development and their social integration. In this context, it is fundamental that everyone wanting to be employed has the chance to find work; similarly, each person needs access to retraining and further training schemes or to enjoy the possibility of starting one's own company. We want to remove hurdles in access to particular professions and abolish regulations designed to exclude migrants.

Long-term unemployment creates marginalization and poverty – for these reasons alone it is unacceptable in an ecological and social market economy. Our policy aims at curbing unemployment. In addition to initiating a campaign for qualifications and introducing labour market measures to stimulate employment, policy must be directed at making investment in employment easier. In our view, high ancillary labour costs must be systematically reduced. Our social insurance system is almost totally fixed on wages and salaries, with the result that labour becomes more costly, investment is hampered and moonlighting encouraged. We are

not only calling for reforms of the social insurance system but advocate an expanded assessment base; we also want to see greater financing of a basic social welfare provision from taxes, applying the principle of a more equitable distribution of the tax burden. A social society is one that manages to end discrimination and poverty.

**The economy and self-determination.** The ecological and social market economy also provides a framework for realizing self-determination. Rather than economic confirmation only serving to secure a person's financial existence, work also provides a place where many people would like to put their own ideas into practice and realize their own life-plans. For this reason, an economic system directed both towards individual freedom and economic efficiency pursues the goal of granting everyone a substantial degree of economic self-initiative. Freedom and self-determination require an equitable system of ownership. The transformation taking place in the world of work has partially eroded the job security of the past, replacing it by demands for all members of society to show greater flexibility; yet at the same time, they are exposed to greater risks. Such an approach can only be tenable where provision is also made for offering people a new chance if they are unsuccessful. A culture of independence cannot be restricted to a small number of privileged people. We want to generate a real choice between different life models. For this reason, we are calling for a guaranteed functioning system of social safeguards, combined with both an efficient tax and revenues system and substantial freedom of information. The precondition for genuine cooperation is self-determination. Globalisation is governed by precisely those conditions that require inter-company cooperation for economic success (e.g., networks). Both women and men must enjoy access to all types of work and economic activities; to develop their skills comprehensively both genders have to participate in work and care.

**The economy and democracy.** Our concern is to enable as many people as possible to become active players in economic life. To this end, we advocate the right to codetermination and co-organization, so that employees are put in a position where they are able to promote their own interests while simultaneously enabling them to make efficient, long-term oriented corporate decisions.

The tradition of a social partnership within the Federal Republic is founded on the notions of autonomous collective bargaining and strong partners in collective pay agreements. These cannot be allowed to be eroded. We stand by area-wide pay agreements and strong work's councils. If a modern economy aims to safeguard peaceful social relations, it needs innovative entrepreneurs, competent unions and work's councils ready to accept reforms. This applies

equally where economic development and the employment structure are subject to increasingly varied forces, making regional and sector-specific tariff agreements necessary. In principle, we are in favour of keeping area-wide pay agreements since they are valuable achievements in protecting employees and already offer sufficient opportunities for a flexible structure. In our approach towards the tariff partners, we stand by our aim of taking into account the interests of the unemployed too .

We support the demands of consumers to be actively involved in shaping the economy instead of merely being its objects. Society too must participate more in planning processes. We support the sectors of our society directed towards communal welfare, cooperation and self-administration and aim to reinforce them wherever economic efficiency is linked to a shared economic task in providing communal care or is required by communal self-help, above all in housing, health and the social economy.

We are committed to greater employee participation in company success and productive capital, and support expanding co-determination. We perceive this as an initial movement towards further evolving the idea of economic stakeholders.

### **A key project: The future of a united Germany**

We consider the gradual development of economic capacity in eastern Germany as a central national task for the decades to come. In both the society and the economy, we advocate continually and actively providing support for the process of adjusting living conditions in the eastern and western parts of Germany.

Eastern Germany's future, though, should not exclusively be discussed from the perspective of catch-up development. Our aim is to use the critical dialogue on today's structural problems in the east and the west to find new forward-looking approaches to development, particularly where these combine economic and ecological innovation. We want to ensure that the development supported in eastern Germany is not merely a copy of what had been successful in western Germany under completely different conditions and which itself now needs to be reformed, for instance, in the transport and power sectors. We are relying on regional skills and specific features to form the basis for independent development in eastern Germany. In this way, we want to move away from indiscriminate support towards a policy giving sufficient weight to regional development potential, targeting subsidies rather than using tax write-down models. We want to ensure that mechanisms are introduced to monitor subsidies to prevent inefficiency and abuse.

We give a particular place to developing "Knowledge, Training and Research Regions " in eastern Germany. Against the background of the fundamental changes created by the knowledge society, we regard a productive scientific and academic infrastructure as the basis for economic development and hence as the precondition for creating and keeping training places and jobs. This includes – in the sense of 'learning regions' – new forms of further training, cooperation between training organizations and networking within the regions.

Our goal is to provide over-proportional additional means for research and tertiary level educational facilities and, by creating an innovation fund, support the establishment of regional core centres of development. We understand it as a part of equal opportunity that own equity resources and capital accumulation are targeted for support.

The eastern German Laender have a bridging function to those eastern European countries applying for EU membership. Our aim is to make use of and promote the chances arising from this in both the cultural and economic spheres.

## **II. Market economy and regulative policy**

The social market economy combines economic freedom with a social and ecological regulative policy. The state needs to guarantee the basic requirements for functioning markets, with free market access, legal certainty and contractual compliance, extensive transparency and monopolies either prevented or dismantled. Monopolies and oligarchies can only be prevented or dismantled if there are stringent controls on mergers and cartel formation in place on the regional and national level and at EU domestic market level; additionally, effective decartelisation regulations must be introduced. For the benefit of consumers, we are committed to efficient competition. The theory of free markets is frequently very different from the economic reality present in everyday life. Moreover, the market and competition do not automatically result in a desirable outcome by themselves either in the ecological and social spheres nor in the economy as a whole.

The stereotypical models of either competition or state intervention have long been left behind. Competition needs a framework established by the state, especially where it is supposed to lead to socially and ecologically acceptable results. Simultaneously, state intervention must ensure the continuation of the market economy's functions and, especially, its innovative force. Bearing this in mind, the choice of instruments best suited to solving any given economic policy problem has to be specific to each case. We want a state able to shape and create, building on and promoting the commitment of all members of society.

The readiness of every tax payer to make their contribution is encouraged by having a simple and transparent tax system, with fair rates of tax. Exceptions and special legal definitions distort the actual amounts contributed, resulting in a complex, opaque set of regulations. For this reason, as well as from a democratic perspective, tax system simplification is absolutely essential. Tax dumping creates unfair competition.

### **A key project: Transparency for consumers**

Transparency, information and labelling are essential for consumer choice and a functioning market economy. Only informed consumers, with comprehensive access to facts about the type of production, product contents and possible dangers, are in a position to make responsible choices when deciding on purchases of foodstuffs or other products. Our aim is that, for example, allergy sufferers are able to recognize the foods they can consume safely and the products they can use without endangering their health. We want to see the law on liability extended to ensure a producer's responsibility for the quality of their product.

We intend to improve the requirements on information provision and labelling so consumers' purchasing decisions can influence manufacturers, leading to healthier, better quality products that are ethically tenable. In future, consumers must be able to tell at a glance the product's origin and the social, environmental, and animal protection standards used in its production. It is here that consumer protection agencies can make a significant contribution.

Authorities must have the duty and the right to report regularly on their work, issuing representative results and providing information on any infringements of regulations.

Since national laws are linked to EU standards and international law, we want to see established standards consolidated and extended on the international level.

### **III. Ecological fiscal reform**

The actions of the state must be congruous with the guiding principle of sustainable development. This is especially true of its fiscal and budgetary policy. The first important steps have been taken towards integrating nature and the environment in our tax system by introducing the ecological tax reform and agreeing on a truck toll for motorways. However, this can only be the beginning.

The entire system of taxes and revenues needs to be reformed on ecological lines, providing financial incentives for environmentally-friendly producers and consumers while minimizing

damage to the environment. This is a main milestone on the road to an ecological and social market economy. For this reason, we want to keep evolving the principle of ecological taxation, extending it to other areas outside energy consumption, i.e., as tied monetary compensation for use, for example, in air traffic or shipping. The ecological fiscal reform must be reinforced in the agricultural sector too, countering land consumption and ecologically harmful production methods. Tax and fiscal policy must reward reduction of ecological damage and increase the burden on those harming our environment, without demanding a larger total amount from society as a whole. Furthermore, the German tax and fiscal system contains any number of ecologically harmful subsidies, especially in the coal mining, agricultural and transport sectors. Reducing and restructuring these subsidies will provide support for environmental protection and, at the same time, combines with a sustainable fiscal and environmental policy. An ecological fiscal reform contributes to more international equitability too. In this way, climate protection goes hand in hand with greater equality in taxation and the efficient use of public money. Additionally, we are calling for ecological aspects to be integrated into the scheme for fiscal equalization between the German Laender.

#### **IV. Consumer protection**

In contrast to professional market players, consumers are structurally disadvantaged; they cannot be just as well informed in all consumer and service sectors as suppliers, each with their special product or service. We are calling for organised consumer protection to balance out the consumers' "natural" disadvantage on the market place and encourage fair competition. This is particularly needed in areas covering security and health issues, possible consumer indebtedness, and where new market structures are emerging. Consumer protection has to be understood in a wider sense: on the one hand, offering 'protection' to those needing active advice, or unable to be sufficiently well informed due to their lack of opportunities, yet on the other hand, ensuring sufficient transparency for those trying to obtain information by themselves. In the former case, consumer protection also has a social dimension.

#### **V. The knowledge economy**

Information processing and data transmission are accelerating exponentially, not only pushing the globalisation of financial markets and manufacturing onto a new level, but also altering work processes and the economic structure. An ever larger part of value added is derived from research, development, information processing and communication. Innovative cycles are rapidly becoming shorter. The level of qualifications among employees is rising;

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the key to vocational success is found in education and further training. Participation in these areas cannot be dependent on income or social origin.

Simultaneously, work relations are in a state of flux. Centrally organised mass production - the era of 'Fordism' - has come to an end. The value of a modern company lies, above all, in the knowledge of its employees. The new economy is marked by expanded spheres of autonomy, team work, own initiative, and flat hierarchies. More self-determination at work has become a real possibility.

Admittedly, there is another side of the coin in this development: increasing pressure to achieve, growing competition, cutting long-term company ties, and less secure employment. Precisely for these reasons, the New Economy has not made a collective system of safeguards in social and wage-bargaining redundant.

In the knowledge economy, patent law and 'intellectual property' must be reformulated to prevent knowledge monopolies which might become a barrier to technological advancement by making it more difficult for new companies to enter the market. This issue is especially controversial in the area of gene technology. We strictly reject the idea of granting compound patents on plant, animal or human genes or gene sequences, or indeed on any living thing. The new information and communications technologies can contribute to a sustainable approach to economics. They can make it possible to redefine production processes and transport chains within the conservation of resources, clearing the way to a modern circular flow economy. Zero emissions factories are no longer a utopian dream. Miniaturizing machines and appliances saves energy and raw materials. Video conferencing and on-line communication can replace involved trips. Value added is increasingly becoming located in the service sector. This "dematerialisation" of the economy facilitates the urgently needed reduction in the consumption of nature without halting dynamic economic processes.

## **VI. Regional economies**

Strengthening the regional business cycle is a necessary supplement to globalisation, improving stability in the economic sphere and on the employment market. Creating a distinct ecological framework for the market economy heightens the importance of regional business cycles. We are calling for regional business cycles between town, region and rural areas that reinforce each other via cooperation, managerial advantages, exchange mechanisms and mutual demand. Innovative services and production methods, environmentally friendly technologies and on-site

local knowledge and training then become factors in the choice of location and contribute to the image of an entire region.

Regional business cycles promote craft trades, small service-based firms and close-to-consumer agriculture. A region's strongly developed cultural identity favours its sustainable development. Setting regional policy for a longer-term provides investors, local authorities and citizens with the planning security they need. We support regional development plans that combine ecological, economic, social and cultural goals.

Germany has to remain an attractive economic location in future too. However, this does not depend solely on what are called hard factors, such as taxation or transport infrastructure, since the 'soft' location factors are gaining in importance, especially for modern business sectors. Decisions made today about where to locate economic activity are frequently based on factors such as an intact environment, the quality of child-care and school systems, availability of qualified employees, the cultural events on offer, and tolerance and openness to the world. Any modernization policy ignoring these connections will be unable to achieve its aims, while regions taking these aspects into account are more successful.

In a particular way, our economic policy is devoted to supporting small and medium-sized enterprises. In contrast to the major companies, small and medium-sized firms are in a position to adapt quickly to new situations and challenges and give flexible answers reflecting the needs of the people involved. It is here that the highest proportion of jobs are created, and primarily here too where product quality and customer-oriented services are found.

Entrepreneurs and the self-employed generate innovative products and services that drive structural change forward and create new jobs for the future. For this reason, we want to create the optimal conditions for people planning to start their own company.

### **A key project: A new form of agriculture**

In our terms, agricultural reform is a central social and political task. In addition, a Green sea-change in agriculture will contribute decisively to reducing over-production and, in this way, limit EU export subsidies. Sustainable agriculture, based on ecological principles, provides the best guarantee for tasty, good-quality food, and foodstuffs that are not harmful to health. For this reason, our overall objective is to gear farming the land more towards environmental and animal protection.

Consumers must be able to rely on agricultural product quality, and know the food they buy is completely safe in health terms. Without this trust, farmers have no economic security. Food must be free of any substances injurious to health, such as antibiotics or hormones. Distinct quality stamps will ensure transparency at a glance, with labelling for all stages of production and monitoring across the entire chain of food production, from stall to counter. In our view, the best foodstuffs are those produced locally. Our key project for a new form of agriculture sets itself the objective of supporting rural land use. We are calling for the development of an association involving the agricultural sector and consumer protection agencies.

The damage caused to the environment by conventional agriculture must be reduced. Agricultural subsidies provided at the national and EU level have to be geared to creating conditions allowing fair competition for consumer-oriented and environmentally-sensitive production. We want to provide support for keeping livestock in a suitably natural environment. We support and promote the idea of municipalizing abattoirs, limiting the transport of animals for slaughter to a maximum of four hours.

Agriculture and nature conservancy can only have a future together. Extensive agricultural use conserves traditionally cultivated land that has been farmed for hundreds of years and preserves species diversity. Farmers ought to be suitably remunerated for their services in environmental protection and nature conservancy.

Constant land use for infrastructure, or industrial and residential purposes, deprives the ecosystem of valuable space, hence steadily removing the means of production, above all in more heavily populated regions. It is here that we want to link the ALLIANCE90/GREEN environmental policy with our agricultural policy to their mutual benefit, providing greater protection for agricultural land from non-reversible damaging land use and, in this way, maintain the possibility of employment in the agricultural sector.

Ecological farming is future-directed because it combines the production of healthy foodstuffs with conserving natural resources and livestock husbandry under conditions best suited to the animals themselves. The proportion of ecological farming in agricultural production has to rise significantly above 20 per cent by 2020. In this process, consumer information has a central role to play. Healthy, high-quality food also has its price.

In addition to food production, there are new potential sources of income for farms using environmentally compatible methods. In future, renewable resources, plants for energy, wind

power, biogas, green tourism, landscape conservation and contracted nature conservancy may develop into significant sources of income.

Our policy wants to put farming in a position to continue producing without using gene technologies. Their use in agriculture increases farmers' dependency on the agricultural industry and reduces animal and plant diversity. Gene technology monopolies on seed threatens to destroy agricultural structures, especially in the developing countries; at the same time, there have not been detailed investigations completed into all the health and ecological risks posed by gene technologies in animal and plant production. Priority has to be given to producing foodstuffs without the use of gene technologies and this production has to be guaranteed. The farmers' rights to producing without gene technologies and the consumers' rights to gene technology-free food have to be secured at all stages of the chain, from planting crops, to processing, to the foodstuffs bought across the counter. A transparent system of labelling and monitoring is essential for all gene technology foodstuffs and animal feeds across the entire production process.

All gene technology foodstuffs and animal feeds have to be given clear and transparent labelling accounting for all stages of production.

## **VII. A sustainable fiscal policy**

Our fiscal policy is geared towards our key principle of sustainable development. To be equitable, taxation has to be aligned with the ability to pay. A just tax system is based on a straightforward income tax system. Income tax on both earned and capital income, together with investment-related taxes, such as inheritance tax, are equitable taxes since they take the individual ability to pay of each and every individual as their measure for the contribution due to the general community at large. Our objective is equal taxation in line with the ability to pay and not differentiated according to types or sources of income. Freedom today and in the future can only be established on the principle of self-limitation embodied in fiscal policy. We do not want to issue blank cheques on the future. Tax exceptions and special regulations must be reduced further and the entire fiscal system must be made more transparent. Subsidies and grants have to be publicly disclosed and regularly monitored, while assistance provided for launching new products has to be limited to a set period of time.

Harmonization between taxation and aspects of social policy aspects are needed to give parents greater support. We include among these measures increasing financial support for children instead of subsidizing marriage certificates.

Our aim is a sustainable fiscal policy, guaranteeing equality across the generations. To avoid the debt trap, excessive indebtedness must be controlled and reduced; this additionally maintains the political room for manoeuvre and creates a balance between income and expenditure at all federal levels. Simultaneously, we need to make crucial investments for the future. In order to find the correct balance between saving and investing, we are calling for a new definition of investment in the light of sustainability, one also including funding for education, science, and environmental conservation.

We support an enhanced federalism ascribing the local authorities a larger role. The democratic legitimisation vested in our federal system demands the restructuring of blurred or opaque spheres of responsibility on various state levels to allow the Laender and local authorities more room for manoeuvre. Such a move also entails expanding the local authorities' area of competence in tax policy with independent rights granted in questions of assessment and tax rates.

We adhere to the duty, as expressed in the Constitution, of supporting solidarity between individual Laender on the federal level. We want to ensure that the eastern Laender can participate in the financial capacity of the state in its entirety and, in this way, allow them to continue the catch-up process.

### **VIII. International Economic Policy**

Having an influential position in the world markets entails the duty of showing solidarity with weaker countries, in particular, in the area of development cooperation. Our objective is to keep our national economy competitive without ruining other economies. There are two main contributions highly-industrialised countries have to make in helping the poorer states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America: opening up their own domestic markets for goods from these countries and, secondly, gradually reducing the huge agricultural subsidies in the North. To avoid merely generating a dumping price war, a policy of open markets for the South must be linked to a commitment to maintain internationally valid minimum standards in social and ecological spheres and in terms of gender democracy. These minimum standards include the right to strike and the right to establish free unions.

We support the development of a trade network to provide solidarity with other countries, guaranteeing fair prices for products, and so ensuring these are produced under humane and ecologically acceptable conditions.

Moreover, we advocate consolidating and expanding international institutions and establishing binding rules and standards on financial transactions, trade and investment. Multiplying the amount of speculatively invested monetary capital in short-term circulation around the world increases the risks of currency and financial crises, and all their far-reaching social consequences. To counter this, we are calling for improved financial market transparency and enhanced central bank coordination. Systematic steps must be taken to prevent money laundering and capital flight.

We are in favour of taxing speculative capital transactions by, for example, applying the Tobin tax.

We want to strengthen the influence of supranational institutions on the world economy, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) or the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and support the United Nations environmental programme. The aim of sustainable development has to be anchored in the statutes of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and reflected in the programmes they adopt.

With the gathering pace of European economic and fiscal policy integration, the European Union has the chance and the duty to adopt a pioneering role in establishing the model of a sustainable ecological and social market economy. We are against re-nationalizing markets, just as we are against a European protectionism that harbours the danger of trade wars, using protective tariffs to exclude less developed economies. We are in favour of competition between economic locations providing this is not at the cost of either the environment or the social welfare systems in the countries involved.

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## **Towards an emancipative social policy**

Our aim is to create a society where marginalization does not exist and where everyone has the chance to develop their skills. We want a society that welcomes children, does not banish the old into retirement or reject people with disabilities, where poverty is a thing of the past and the future is not badly planned but actively shaped. A political culture of solidarity has to evolve where respect, tolerance, help, and commitment for the weakest members of society is accepted as simply a matter of course. We are calling for an equitable civil society that makes its contribution to an equitable world community without the suppression or exploitation of people or nature.

### **I. The foundations of our social policy**

**Social policy and equitability.** We are committed to safeguarding social welfare and, precisely because of that, believe in having the courage to change. Securing social welfare requires change – and change, in turn, requires new forms of social welfare. One is inconceivable without the other. A core element in ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy is the equitable distribution of key social goods, but our notion of social justice and solidarity extends far beyond the classic policy of redistribution. Our primary policy goal is to prevent poverty and social marginalization and improve the social situation of those worst-off within society. We want to create stakeholder equitability, allowing everyone access to the key social areas of education and training, work and political participation. Mass unemployment is unacceptable; it remains an unresolved issue of social equitability within our society. But treating everyone fairly now needs to be addressed in a way going beyond merely equalizing the situation of those above and below: In our view, the core issues in the question of equitable treatment deal with equality of opportunity between women and men, the rights for all the citizens of our country to participate equally in society, and, by the same token, the issue of equality between young and old across the generations. Furthermore, we want to see fair treatment of people living with children. The political task consists of arranging the social conditions governing our lives in such a way that everyone has an equal right to participate whatever their background.

**Social policy and self-determination.** Our idea of a social state means that we place people at the very centre of policy. In an equitable and social civil society, the state sets the framework that gives everyone a chance to develop their skills and talents. Children and young people ought to be concretely integrated into planning processes in a way suited to their age. At the same time, in order to be the architects of their own fate, our citizens need reliable social

safeguards and networks to cope with the more difficult situations in life. The core of the ALLIANCE 90/THEGREENS social policy is far removed from that care for others which incapacitates by helping; instead, our social policy is marked by the creation of a socio-political infrastructure that encourages each individual's self-determined development and promotes action reflecting and enhancing solidarity with others. The task of social policy is to ensure conditions and opportunities in life are equitable, and hence make a self-determined life possible.

**Social policy and sustainability.** We are making social welfare provisions fit for the future. This also means making them suitably reflect the interests of young people and future generations. Furthermore, sustainable social welfare policy pursues the goal of providing precautionary measures, helping to prevent health risks and, as far as possible, minimize social risks.

**Social policy: The new challenges.** Over the last decades, the conditions under which people live, work and learn have undergone decisive changes. These changes are still underway and accelerating; that's why the social welfare state must accept the responsibility incumbent on it and prove how efficient it can be. It needs to be modernised to maintain its integrative force, and not leave the issue of social balance and equality of opportunity to the free market.

Globalisation is changing the economy and transforming our working world. It's a process that brings new opportunities in its wake but places greater demands on people to embrace both social change and geographical mobility. In this change, ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy prioritises the allowances to be made in combining family and work, and the need for active involvement in civil society. Ever larger numbers of citizens live in fear of unemployment and poverty, not just at the edges of society but in the centre too. Politics must open up new perspectives to counter people's justified fear of downward social mobility. Society's increasing individualization has dissolved traditional family bonds and conventional social structures, at work, and in urban and rural life, allowing a wide variety of new ways of life to emerge. A modern social state must do justice to the diversity of ways of living and the variety of risks involved.

For decades now, the population's age structure has been in a continuous on-going process of change. One central issue now is the challenge presented by future demographic trends. Key answers to this question lie in social insurance system reform, creating a more family-friendly policy, establishing a culture of older people working, and shaping immigration policy.

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Migration is presenting new challenges to society's readiness for social integration. We need the skills, commitment and experience of both female and male migrants if our society is to continue to exist socially and economically and keep evolving.

## **II. Fair to people: Overcoming poverty**

Poverty means marginalization. Children living in poverty are particularly restricted in their chances to experience the fullness of life and opportunities for development and learning; poverty also blocks future equitable conditions for self-determined development. Poverty not only excludes people from the world of work and our consumer society, but also largely shuts them out of the democratic processes shaping our body politic. Where poverty is widespread in cities, social problems accumulate – problems like a lower level of education, and an increased risk of illness and addiction. Routes out of unemployment and poverty need the starting point of a guaranteed provision of basic social safeguards.

A reliable social system and good educational opportunities are decisive factors in creating conditions that prevent social marginalization, promote willingness to accept risks and change, and secure political stability.

Families with young children are at the greatest risk of poverty since, while they have greater financial needs, they also have lower incomes and are, as yet, unable to access assets. Single parents – generally women – are in an especially critical situation and, with them, their children. In fact, children comprise the largest group among those receiving social welfare.

Poverty is made visible by a lack of money but it often emerges from the lack of social relations and opportunities to develop and use one's own skills and abilities. The better people are integrated into a network with others, the more likely they are to have better chances for work, education and good health. For this reason, a modern policy directed towards combating poverty must comprise more than just material transfers; it must combat the social conditions underlying poverty, increase social capital in cities, towns and villages and above all support the development of people and networks.

### **A key project : Guaranteeing a basic standard of living**

Social welfare, originally conceived of as a lower-priority provision of assistance, is no longer able to meet the current demands on providing a basic standard of living. Prevailing poverty is still a reality nowadays and combating it requires a bundle of measures aimed both at improving the material situation of those receiving help and also actively countering social marginalization;

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such measures include a basic, needs-oriented provision of welfare that actually prevents poverty.

Such provision must be adjusted in line with the rising costs of living, allowing re-assessment via a set system (a statistical model). In addition, this process has to allow for people to fulfil their need to participate in cultural and political life.

The changing world of work today increasingly demands a readiness to accept mobility and flexibility – but this can only be expected when people are simultaneously protected from poverty and provided with guaranteed social safeguards. Introducing a needs-oriented basic provision ensures non-bureaucratic help in the case of poverty, unemployment, or in other cases of need, or where people are in the process of transition between different types of work and further training. This basic provision replaces social welfare and unemployment benefits – and is received as a basic right, not a form of charity. We firmly reject the idea of simply changing unemployment benefit into social welfare benefits as a way of pushing through further cutbacks in income support for the unemployed.

In the majority of cases, this basic provision is a lump-sum payment. This makes for greater transparency and improved legal certainty. People can then obtain information about their rights quickly and easily - and they can and must decide on the way they spend the money themselves. This relieves the authorities of bureaucratic tasks, and frees them to concentrate more on advising citizens; they can then develop into equal partners in a local association of networks and service providers. Regional differences in the cost of basic necessities, for example, accommodation costs, are also included in this process. The basic provision is financed via tax, relieving the financial burden on local authorities.

This social safeguard can be received by everyone entitled to it, without discrimination. As a result, their access to the labour market will be improved. Everyone seeking work will be entitled to participate in measures encouraging an active employment policy, with individual integration plans prepared for them. Own initiative will be encouraged and required, whereby the involvement in job finding, founding a company, further training and retraining, family work, or care and voluntary positions will all be taken into account. In so doing, help must be ensured for finding a placement in a suitable job. The provision of a sufficient amount to cover basic needs cannot be the subject of debate. Those needing income support due to disability or age will receive an increased basic provision. A basic provision for children ensures that parents

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and single parents with low incomes do not fall under the poverty line, and consequently increases their personal room for manoeuvre – not least on the labour market.

### **III. Fair to citizens: The social state as a partner – involving the citizens.**

Citizens do not want to be, and shouldn't be, patronised by the state. Many people are perfectly able to help themselves if supplied with the means to do so. Members of our society who need assistance ought to receive help as an expression of solidarity. They are not beggars but equal partners with their own rights and duties. Only people provided with good chances to start with and given external help when difficulties arise can discover their own way through the varied paths life offers.

Where people are unable to help themselves, the principle of solidarity ensures that support is forthcoming. The social state has to see civic groups as cooperation partners and support them, for example, by strengthening neighbourhoods, promoting small social networks, or helping the work of self-help initiatives or agencies for social work in the social sphere, or associations and social groups. These can all access local conditions and personal situations better than services provided "from above". Such structures often lead to innovative social services and working methods being developed, although unpaid voluntary work cannot replace professional help.

The diverse active involvement of citizens forms an indispensable basis for a society where solidarity is a core value. In a living social culture, responsibility for oneself and our social environment is a crucial element. Only those participating in social life can influence it, which is why participation has to be supported by the state. There need to be rights for voluntary work and voluntary involvement.

Civic participation and self-realisation are not mutually exclusive. Many people are still just as ready to take up voluntary posts and work but the reasons why they do and how they want to become involved have changed. People want to contribute and actively participate but they also want to see their work as meaningful and, not least, enjoy it and have fun too. Given these changes in motives and the situation now, the task for local level policy is to support existing opportunities and provide suitable chances for helping others while allowing people to develop themselves too. These new forms of social and civic involvement are particularly crucial when traditional sources of solidarity are, if anything, weakening, since these are the roots of society where solidarity can be first be learnt and practiced.

### **IV. Fair to access: Labour market bridges**

Working is more than just earning your daily bread. It is a means of integration and, for many, a means of personal development and self-confirmation. Long-term unemployment creates poverty and isolates those affected and their families. Mass unemployment for years is unacceptable under any circumstances – and that's why curbing unemployment is at the very top of our political agenda.

Work is more than just the classical notion of gainful employment. The ecological and social market economy of the future has to recognize all types of work, reassess them, and create the conditions for an equitable cross-gender distribution of work. A civic society shaped around social values is rooted in the work done at home, in bringing up children, for the good of the community, or in helping neighbours. Without such work neither solidarity nor social networks would stand a chance – and that's why our aim is to create both the framework and the instruments making access to employment fair while allowing there to be different ways of life and combinations between employment and non-employment that are socially secured. A central task for an ALLIANCE90/GREENlabour market policy is to create equitable access and fair chances for everyone looking for work. Our aim is integration instead of marginalization.

The principles underlying gender mainstreaming formulate the demands made on work in a gender democracy. These apply, first and foremost, to the unpaid work of reproduction, to the under-valuation of female qualifications and work and employment discrimination.

The opportunities for work are far from being exhausted. We have long proven that ecological policies create work. ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS has labour-intensive future-oriented projects that will create new jobs, for example, the reforms planned for the health system, the shift in agriculture, the energy turn-around and an ecological transport policy. The service sector and the new information technologies both possess considerable future potential; that's why it's crucial to develop these chances for additional employment via a directed ecological and social economic policy promoting a large number of innovative firms founded and run by self-employed entrepreneurs.

In addition, public funding will be made available for job creation that makes sense socially and ecologically, and safeguards people's livelihoods. We are committed to further developing the start already made here in local economies.

For this reason, it is crucial to shape equitable modes of access to employment, develop intelligent life working-time models, enable lifetime learning for everyone, systematically

remove the discrimination and disadvantaging of women, and integrate older people and migrants into society instead of marginalizing them.

The working society is going to continue evolving. Work structures will be further transformed by the development of new media and creation of new employment areas. For this reason, a framework setting conditions is needed to prevent the working society of the future becoming a totally alienated society where living together is ranked lower than labour market flexibility. This is why ALLIANCE90/GREENlabour policy combines innovation, flexibility and social safeguards. We do not want to venture down the path of unlimited flexibility since a working poor cannot be a socially acceptable solution. Instead, we are calling for removal of the barriers facing those outside the job market. Our concern is opening up new horizons in labour market policy; by combining flexibility and social safeguards we want to reach differentiated and effective solutions. Only in this way do we have a chance to curb structural unemployment too and increase the courage and readiness of those affected to accept change.

We are building bridges to employment. The instruments we are calling for support a fluid transition between non-employment and work. It is better to finance work than unemployment. We are constructing employment bridges between unemployment and work, part-time and full-time employment, self-employment and dependent work, educational and employment systems, child-rearing, employment, voluntary work and care, and between work and retirement. This requires the key underlying principle that even during non-employment claims arise for social benefits.

Eliminating youth unemployment remains a primary task. In our view, companies must accept the responsibility incumbent on them and become more involved in youth training again. Particular support must be available for young people with no school leaving qualification or traineeship. They need specifically-directed ways of assistance. These need to be evolved in a process including the juvenile welfare service so that individual provision is available and further training and qualification schemes can be established.

The experience older people have is required in the working world. The fundamental contradiction between retirement and working life must be replaced by a culture of older people working and opportunities for a long-term transition period. But such a change requires support for special in-company training provision for older members of the workforce.

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The idea of lifetime learning is a key concept in combating mass unemployment. Since qualifications and further training develop and form the individual skills and needs of those involved, they have to be open to everyone in society.

A working time policy is a crucial means of guaranteeing employment security and distributing the work available to more people. This is why we aim to take further steps towards a flexible and socially-acceptable policy on working time, opening up the horizon of greater individual choice. In future, part-time work must be transformed from a female domain into an opportunity for men too. A modern employment policy must use working-time accounts to foster the use of overtime and extra work for leisure-time in lieu, sabbaticals, qualifications, child-rearing or for rest and relaxation. Shorter working-times have to be accompanied by better social safeguards. We want to stimulate companies and their collective pay agreement partners to discover new ways of introducing a reduction in working hours that promotes employment.

We want to reduce ancillary wage costs; this too requires a reform of the social safeguards system. Part-time work and low incomes especially suffer from high ancillary labour costs that structurally inhibit further employment and encourage moonlighting. Reducing ancillary wage costs is an effective contribution to promoting employment and has a positive effect on demand and supply on the labour market. Other measures, such as job rotation, further professional training, encouraging older employees, publicly subsidized employment and additional grants for the self-employed can be combined in the most reasonable way at the local level.

## **V. Fair to children – a better quality of life for everyone!**

### **A child-friendly society for the first generation in the 21st century**

By moving towards a society welcoming children, we want to improve the quality of life for everyone living here. Our motto in this process is still "We have only borrowed the world from our children!" ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy is fighting for a fundamentally new evaluation of the relationship society has to its children. Children do not only need parents to live well, they need the entire community.

As a party concerned with ecological and social equitability, we want to press ahead with the social implementation of sustainability. Saving ecological resources has become a general political goal. Sustainability must be equally valid for other parts of society too. The principles of sustainability, stakeholder equitability, and equality between women and men belong to the

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foundations of the society we want to shape. They are the basic pre-conditions for a child-friendly country.

We want to contribute to developing a child-friendly culture within society. Our aim is to ensure there is a good life with children and in this way improve life-quality, benefiting everyone. We desire a culture of diversity, with acceptance of anyone who is different, whether a child or an adult. A sustainable society inherently contains the idea there is investment into the conditions governing children's lives, since without children our country has no future.

### **Children are important**

We want a modern social policy, shaping the foundations for future generations, independent of nationality, cultural or religious origin or family structure. Whether in the classical model of marriage, an unmarried partnership, single-parenting, patchwork families, re-married or same-sex couples, the same principle applies: it's the children that are important.

The decision to have children must be taken as a genuinely free choice, not one dominated by economic considerations. Up until now, mothers have lacked all the basic conditions needed to create a good life with children: Life with children is made easier where there are regulations on flexible working-time, more part-time jobs, extended hours for shops and child-care facilities, or a healthy lunch provided by schools and kindergartens.

We see the need for a long-term programme to ensure quality and meeting the demands for suitable child-care, pre-school education and value dissemination. Life with children cannot automatically entail one parent giving up their job. We want to establish free, properly qualified whole-day care for all children from one to twelve years old. We advocate integrated education for children with and without special needs.

Creating a child-friendly society requires an effort being made by all sectors of society and needs the active support of all social groups, including firms and companies who can help by, for example, providing child-care, part-time work, and openness for the needs of mothers and fathers to have flexible working times. However, it is not merely a question of providing care facilities; now, more than ever before, we need a child-friendly corporate culture, in every sense of the word, and it has to become a main issue for labour and management.

### **Reforming the educational system for the future**

A society fit for children is inconceivable without a fundamental educational reform. Schools and nursery schools need greater freedom to orientate themselves better to children's needs. In our view, a nation-wide provision of all-day schools is essential. From the social political viewpoint, young people require an expansion of the present lesson framework to promote their potential for learning and development. It is crucially important to provide special measures for immigrant children to ensure their right to participate in society. We desire greater autonomy for schools. Higher quality, diversity and autonomy, and competition over the best school for children, all require parents being able to choose; this choice has to be made possible and encouraged. Schools in problem areas, especially, need a wide-range of individual solutions in order to be responsive to their pupils. In a subsequent second step, we plan to introduce guaranteed care, although until the infrastructure is sufficiently developed parents will have to continue to make a contribution.

### **Child-friendly in everyday life**

Everyone will benefit from an improved life-quality when everyday life is oriented more towards the needs of children and their parents. For this, though, we need a culture that accepts differences and is considerate of them. Our guiding maxim is policy from the children's perspective: creating a residential environment suitable for children by reducing cars, using ecological construction methods and providing sufficient free space. In this way, these measures generate improved life-quality and health for everyone. There needs to be a completely new understanding of mobility and life-quality for the first generation of the 21st century. We need mobility that reduces the numbers of accidents, returns public space to people, and especially for children, generates more room to play.

Children react more sensitively to pollution levels. For this reason, permissible limits must be even more strict, set by reference to what is appropriate for babies and toddlers – in other words, not taking an adult as the acceptable standard, but literally taking measurements on a level with children's needs. In view of the known connections between illness, environmental pollutants, and habitually incorrect nutrition, our primary concern is, above all, to take long overdue effective action.

We have the know-how to produce and process food so that it is good for children. The next decades will be marked by a radical transformation in the agricultural sector. We want to ensure that children have access to more healthy foodstuffs and come to grasp the links in food production. To achieve these aims, we will take systematic steps to fuel the agricultural change-

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over to healthier foodstuffs, greater nature conservancy and the use of renewable natural resources in energy production.

### **Fair across the generations – social and ecological sustainability**

Climate and environmental protection is a question of equitability between present and future generations. In this, we have a special responsibility: How we act today determines the conditions governing the life of tomorrow's generation. That's why we want to bequeath to them modern, environmentally-sensitive technologies: not only energy use from renewable energy sources, and recycling and energy-saving systems, but also transport systems providing mobility instead of gridlock. These are the technologies that will guarantee the life-quality of our children in the long-term. This is a task that transcends the borders of Germany alone and requires a global effort.

In the 1950s, it was commonly held that there were no detrimental effects from atomic power stations and anyway, whatever happened, people would always have children. Today we know the prevalent conditions play a decisive role in the desire to have children. Policy could be used to structure these conditions in a more child-friendly way – and then more people would again decide to have children.

Our system of social safeguards works on the basis that the contract between the generations will be fulfilled in future too. Society has understandably integrated the "use" that children have, but it has done so while leaving the costs for their keep and care only partially, and insufficiently, covered. We regard it as our task to make the social system sustainable to ensure all generations are treated equitably.

### **Fair to children**

In a society open to many different forms of family life, each child has to be ensured equal chances. The financial framework ought neither advantage nor disadvantage single-parents or couples. Securing the income of young mothers and fathers belongs just as much to societal tasks as child-care itself. The financial support given to children has to become more transparent and less bureaucratic. Our model of a children's fund is designed to bring together, efficiently and transparently, all financial social transfers made under family policy, uniting what was previously distributed from a variety of sources at communal and city level. This comprises wage compensation payment for children from unemployment insurance, maternity and

education benefit, the basic child provision for children living under insecure income standards, child allowance, allowances in house building funds, and reimbursement of child care costs.

The greatest risks of becoming unemployed at the beginning of the 21st century stem from the lack of further qualifications or relate to child-birth and child-rearing. In view of the on-going demographic changes, these will be the main problems on the labour market of the future. For this reason, we have to make young parents a fair offer, whether by providing wage compensation payments beyond the present maternity and education benefits, by promoting more part-time work, not only in later years but during the child-care phase, or by providing a guaranteed basic child allowance. The existing social insurance payments for families need to be raised further so that, together with a new alignment of payments for children, they can provide a basis for our social insurance system to gain increased acceptance among the younger generation.

### **A key project: Policy from the children's perspective**

To our way of thinking, the importance of greater life-quality by being more child-friendly is a central theme in modernising our country. Ecological modernization reduces environmental pollution, develops a viable use of resources and creates mobility that is fair to children. This is a policy for the first generation of the 21st century, and we measure our strategy of sustainability against it.

We are going to create real freedom of choice for everyone to enjoy a life with children. Parents must be able to decide what kind of child-care is right for their children. For this reason, we have put at the top of the agenda guaranteed care for all children from the first year on with service provision completely covering the demand for it. Any plan of action for a sustainable society that is both child and parent-friendly must contain measures for guaranteeing the quantitative and qualitative expansion of child-care facilities and all-day schools. Whether towns and local authorities, parent groups and churches - or even companies - wherever there is the desire to provide a variety and high-quality service in this field, the funding necessary will be forthcoming. Parents themselves must be the ones to decide on the type and amount of care that is right for their child.

Introducing the guaranteed child allowance is a step towards preventing children becoming a risk factor in creating poverty in families, particularly in the case of women. In our view, this is preventative social policy. The guaranteed child allowance is a better support for families because, in contrast to social welfare payments, it gives parents an incentive for working

additionally. Redistributing the cash flows in our system of social safeguards in favour of children is an objective requirement since, in the long-term, they are the ones that keep the system running. We are calling for all child benefit payments to be combined in a children's fund, creating transparency and providing the frame needed for equitable distribution.

Children and young people must receive active support for their skills and help in gaining qualifications. Services and counselling have a role to play in promoting children and young people, guiding them as they develop further, and enabling them to take equal part in society.

Our desire to promote the involvement of all children equally is an integral part of our notion of extended equitability. We want to overcome the deficits in the integration of immigrant's children and the barriers still experienced in the lives of children with disabilities. Involving children actively in decision-making processes is just as much a basic step in creating a fair society for children as ensuring that construction planning, permitted pollution levels and budget consolidation take children's needs as their reference point.

Moving towards a child-friendly sustainable society can only be realized through a supra-departmental initiative. This is the first step towards compatibility between children and work, but requires the commitment of both members of society and companies, for example, by showing a readiness at work to appreciate the needs of families for mothers and fathers. We want to make living together with children easier on two fronts, practically and financially; in the latter case, using the system of children's fund will reduce bureaucracy and create more transparency for all those who need help. Our aim to help young families particularly, giving them better safeguards and pre-empt any de-qualification of parents during the child-care phase. Sustainability and equitability across the generations have to be the governing principles of a child-friendly policy and society.

## **VI. Fair to young people – A policy for tomorrow**

Both now and in the future, young people have to confront the particular challenges inherent in individualisation and globalisation, and in demographic changes. They are no longer setting out along clearly drawn paths through life. Different ways of life and perspectives are open to them – yet at the same time, the uncertainty about the right way to go has increased. We have to make it possible for young people to accept these challenges, and that's why we need to create security in the form of both a basic standard provision and networks of support. That's also why we need to improve the space we provide for young people. We need a buffer zone of tolerance for different lifestyles and ways of life. Our aim is to enable young adults to meet pressures for

achievement and forces for conformity self-confidently. Young people need free space to develop and places to go where they can discover chances for different experiences, or find support and advice. ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS support the reduction of the voting age.

The changing age-structure in society will have a considerable effect on the life of young people. Their interests, and those of future generations, have to be adequately taken into account in the system of social safeguards. An equitable society across the generations will deal both with ecological and financial resources so as to leave subsequent generations room for manoeuvre. The changing age-structure in society has led to a situation where the question of equitable treatment across the generations needs to be reformulated, especially as regards old age provision.

Changing gender relations are a challenge to our society. Young women want a range of perspectives. Our society has to evolve in order to prevent this from becoming a particular type of social pressure on them. The rapid development of an even wider spectrum of jobs for girls too is essential. For young women and men especially, the difficulty in harmonizing the demands of family and work presents a serious obstacle to their career. At present young working mothers and fathers lack cultural acceptance and social support in Germany. The more both areas remain open for either gender, the better chances young people have in a changed world.

## **VII. Fair to gender: A life with equal rights**

Our society is coined by the changes in gender roles. Women have fought for the present unquestioned acceptance of their participation in the world of work, even if there are still far too few women in leading positions. On average, women still earn less than men and have worse chances of promotion. The difficulty in harmonizing the demands of family and work presents a serious obstacle to their career. The importance of child-rearing as a societal task needs to receive far wider acknowledgement. Increasingly, time off for parenting is turning out to be a job killer for women. We want to balance out the disadvantages generated by time spent caring for children. At the same time, there are ever more varied ways of life. The classical nuclear family model is steadily decreasing in practice, while divorce rates are rising. New shared ways of living are being created. The number of single-parent families is growing too. We support different forms of living together in solidarity and partnership and acknowledge the contribution this makes to social integration.

We want to provide women and men with equal access to the labour market. This also means that we object to the tendency in eastern Germany's Laender of revising the number of unemployed by pushing women out of the labour market. Gender equitability in the economic arena also requires prohibiting any form of discrimination, and a policy of supporting women not only in the state sector but throughout industry as a whole. For both women and men, harmonizing the demands of family and work is a question of equitability just as much as ecological dynamic. There needs to be greater acknowledgement, in both financial and social terms, of child-care and child-rearing as a social task of equal value. We aim to make the child-care period equally attractive for women and men. For this reason, we are calling for working times suited to family needs, near-employer child-care facilities, opportunities for parents to re-enter work after the child-caring phase, and a tax policy that does justice to the reality of work for women. In future, only firms and companies promoting women and gender equitability will be successfully managed.

A life enjoying equal rights is a main prerequisite for a modern family policy. The desire for family life and children are more often realised in countries where women working is culturally accepted and taken as a matter of course. In contrast, the more working mothers come under pressure to justify themselves, the more likely they are not to have children. Germany lacks both social support for and cultural acceptance of working mothers and family-oriented fathers. The more both areas remain open for women or men, the better chances children and families have in a changed world.

### **VIII. Fair contributions: restructuring the social insurance systems**

Making the system of social safeguards ready for the future is a task that needs the involvement of the whole of society. For this reason, every type of income ought to play a part in financing it. Creating a public non-profit making sector and involving companies and the wealthy in financing the social safeguard system are essential contributions towards a culture of solidarity. All citizens participating in accordance with their ability to pay is a precept of social justice that benefits everyone - and precisely for that reason we need to introduce reforms of the system of social safeguards to gain and cement widespread acceptance of a future society based around solidarity.

Social insurance systems rely on a broad financial base and a society with the solidarity willing to take up this burden; this principle of solidarity also needs the acknowledged support of the strong, the healthy, the young and the working population. Only in this way, can the social

safeguards needed in every phase of life be financed and assured as a matter of course for everyone, and not as an act of charity. This system gives a security everyone contributes to – according to their ability to pay – and everyone has a right to.

Our objective is a modern insurance system financed by contributions and for all members of society, covering illness, old age provision and care. Our aim is to expand the contribution base, minimize tax subsidies to social funds in the long-term, and only finance the standard basic provision from tax revenue. Everyone will contribute to this system of solidarity in line with their ability to pay. Every type of income has to be subject to social insurance contributions. The special status for civil servants, self-employed and higher earners is to be scrapped. An autonomous social insurance system, financed by contributions, with extended assessment limits and without the exclusion of certain income forms can be the foundation for a dynamic, financially viable and highly efficient system of social safeguards.

Cooperative or self-help associations for social provision, or types of private provision via capital-oriented models, have to be given adequate support and can then form a sensible supplement to the state system of aid. We stand by an unemployment insurance financed by contributions.

### **IX. Fair to patients : Health policy for the future**

The ALLIANCE90/THEGREEN's main aim in health policy is to have a modern health system providing everyone living in Germany free access to services for maintaining their health, and providing care and recuperation as needed. We want to evolve the statutory health insurance scheme into a modern form of insurance for everyone in society, basing the guarantee of substantial welfare cover in the principles of efficient financing and tailoring services for equitable provision in all social situations.

There are imbalances today in the provision of care. The existing under and over-supply of services, or wrong services supplied, is also an expression of a lack of involvement and quality. We are facing additional challenges too from the on-going demographic changes and advances in science and information technologies.

We want to consolidate and expand the existing structures for care and close the gaps in this system. This process has to take into account the particular situation of patients with disabilities and chronic illnesses, who need different and more wide-reaching care.

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Medical progress has led us to face the question of whether what is technically possible can be morally justified or right for society as a whole. Illness and death belong to human life: each advancement made must be oriented to the benchmarks of human dignity, the rights of all citizens and the diversity of human life. We measure the ethical quality of decisions by the weakest members affected by them.

Health is more than just the absence of illness. A sustainable health policy can only be based on a comprehensive policy promoting health. Factors in ill health such as environmental pollution, health risks at work, in leisure activities or from poor nutrition, or due to psychosocial stress and discrimination are all extremely difficult for the individual to influence. For this reason, a policy encouraging better health has to be recognized as a task cutting across standard boundaries and become more firmly anchored in a supra-departmental approach. The present system is biased almost exclusively towards healing. Vitaly important measures for health promotion and prevention must be integrated in care supply structures, together with rehabilitation provision.

The interests of the patients and those insured have to come first. The health insurance system is dominated by the various insurance companies and the service suppliers. The patients and those insured need to become more involved in planning, arranging, and monitoring the health system. They have to become equal partners with equal weight. In the long-term, the health system will only be secured via an equal three-cornered relationship between health professionals, insurance companies and patients and those insured. This requires policymaking to concentrate on establishing and enhancing the financial, institutional, and individual requirements needed for a real partnership with the other players. The existing attempts at self-organization found, for example, in the self-help group movement, must be reinforced and supported. The rights of the patients will have to be developed further and then consolidated in protective legislation. There needs to be independent institutionalised counselling to support patients in making use of their rights.

In the process of reinforcing local democracy, more duties must be delegated onto the regional and local levels. We see the core of this task as establishing a public health service and health centres (following the WHO model) that take the members of society as their point of reference. The hierarchies, dependencies, and segmentation in health care need to be reduced, while understanding for one another and mutual support between partners must be increased. The non-medical health care professions need to be positively reassessed, with clearer content and greater financial autonomy.

We are looking to establish an effective, efficient care system designed to meet people's needs, providing integrative and cooperative services not locked into one single job definition. Service supplier payment must be related to effectiveness and efficiency and be transparent for those insured and patients. Neighbourhood stationary and ambulant care cannot be put at risk. It is time that psychologically and physically ill people are treated equally. In this case, we are looking for widespread social acceptance for psychologically ill people to receive comprehensive communal psychiatric care as outlined in the psychiatric report. We want to see the role of medical counselling considerably augmented. The direct personal relationship has to remain at the very heart of health care. Improvements are needed here, especially in the nursing care sector. Our understanding of solidarity means that we are committed to making sure that special types of therapeutic treatment also receive financial support.

In this area, one central concern is health education for children, and the extension of health counselling and public health information services – all measures designed to improve self-determination and self-responsibility. Promoting health means reducing the causes of illness and reinforcing factors encouraging better health – and so, in the long term, cutting cost. In this sense, as the very core of a sustainable health care policy, prevention is a task for the entire society and one that cuts across standard boundaries.

Referring health policy more to shared health objectives is a move that is overdue. In addition, care provision and health need to be better suited to the needs of individual target groups (e.g. the old and chronically ill, children and young people, or migrants). The negative effects of being socially disadvantaged, especially in children and young people, must be countered by interdisciplinary prevention and support, for example, in schools and child-care facilities, and by health and family support organized around social and area criteria.

Exercise and sport are decisive factors in remaining healthy and preventing illness. For this reason, it is vital to ensure sport enjoys extensive support. Expenditure on health prevention is an investment in health.

It is important to provide health support at work that takes into account the latest knowledge on work safety and epidemiological studies on dangers to health. Preventive work safety measures will have to be reinforced and the causes of dangers to health removed.

Any health system wanting to provide a service for everyone in society must be based on the principle of gender equality. This requires a fundamentally new orientation, using gender

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mainstreaming as a measure for reassessing all existing norms and values. Gender-specific approaches remains as necessary as before.

Addiction and dependency are not health problems alone. Addictions have complex causes and need acceptance and humane treatment, for example, by providing voluntary therapies. More varied forms of addiction make differentiated methods of treatment essential. Specific target groups require access to a needs-related provision of assistance for help to survive and move out of addiction. We are committed to the principles of therapy and help instead of punishment. We are looking to extend the systems of help already in place. Furthermore, funds have to be invested in primary prevention so that, where possible, problems of addictions can be avoided from the outset. The issue of addiction is one that concerns us all, since the causes for it lie in the social sphere, for example, in youth unemployment and the emotional defencelessness of children, and it has far-reaching consequences. Everyone has to participate in correcting the undesirable societal developments that create addiction, and healing addiction has to receive universal encouragement and financial support. A similarly important objective is applying to reality the medical results on reassessing soft drugs.

We want to ensure our health system is viable in future, giving suretyship for a high level of medical and health care for all citizens without regard to their social ranking, income or residential area. For this reason, we reject any and every attempt to sever services needed for general health care from financial support based on the principle of solidarity. Instead, we are calling for expanding the existing care structure and closing the gaps in the health system. Funding based on the principle of solidarity helps achieve a balance in society, ensuring, regardless of their own ability to pay, good-quality medical care for people or groups exposed to a greater risk of illness or premature death due to social or work factors. Each person must have access to the health services they need. An adjustment for equalization safeguards comprehensive insurance for every member of society. This principle of solidarity underlying this insurance rests on a deliberate redistribution from the healthy to the ill, from single contributors to families, from young to old, and from high-earners to low-incomes.

We welcome competition between health insurance companies and service providers where this leads to overhauling structures, regulating administrative systems and cutting costs, culminating in better quality and financial management. Competition has to be founded on improvements in quality and economic efficiency, not on selecting patients. We advocate a learning health care system, linking quality with economic aspects. To encourage transparency, enhanced development and economic operation, we advocate mandatory (external and internal) quality

management for all insurance companies, service suppliers and cost centres. Where the existing structures of self-administration impede the reforms needed, they have to be altered and improved.

In our view, choice in the health care system means that, in case of illness, those insured have the option between different therapies or treatments of a specific, assured quality. Patients have to be given the possibility of freely choosing from a range of treatments, using objective and comprehensive information to decide on the treatments and therapies available. This requires access to freely available, reliable information on both quality and services as well as service providers.

We reject pre-implantation diagnostics (PID) as a method in artificial insemination in favour of choosing a life with disabilities, even where it may be, in individual cases, an additional help for the parents in reaching a decision.

To fully complete their tasks, statutory health insurance companies must enjoy solid support. In addition to short-term measures providing tax funds for single services from the statutory health insurance companies not solely covered by insurance contributions, we need to ensure all citizens have equal access to one single insurance system; the initial steps on this path require successive dismantling of the special regulations covering civil servants, including the self-employed in the insurance system, and abolishing the limit for higher earners. In this context, measures need to be introduced to facilitate access for social welfare recipients and immigrants.

**Dealing with gene technology in medicine.** In Green policy, people's desire for health and physical and emotional integrity are put at the top of the agenda. Where there is a realistic chance of preventing illness or providing suitable therapy, we see it as our duty to use opportunities in the patients' interests, as long as the possible consequences have been given serious consideration, do not harm the interests of others, or violate basic fundamental values.

Our objective is to utilize and promote whatever realistic chances there are for healing illnesses. But we reject directing genetic engineering to the creation of the 'perfect' human being. Our benchmark is each person's individuality, not a notion of how they measure up to presumed norms of physical "health", "fitness" or "beauty".

We set every form of research and utilization in genetic engineering against the notion of human dignity enshrined in our Constitution: From the very start, human life is to be protected and not instrumentalized. We firmly reject any consumer-directed embryo research.

Health research and bio-technologies offer far greater application than just the realm of genetic engineering; this major potential ought to be taken advantage of. Applying numerous different approaches also ensures independence from any one particular technology. In this sense, a wide-range of research has an inherent value in itself, a fact that must be reflected in research funding too.

To limit the risks inherent in genetic technologies and make the players in this arena responsible for their actions, we are calling for effective legal regulations on liability. Similarly, we want an obligation to provide suitable insurance cover required from companies or research institutes engaged in green or red gene technologies. Individual genetic data has to be protected. In conjunction with the desire to know about one's own genetic information, there needs to be a corresponding "right not to know". The voluntary nature of genome analysis and protection of confidentiality have to be given priority over any strictly economic concerns.

Strict borders have to be drawn for the privatisation and commercialisation of our genetic heritage too. We reject completely the idea of any patent rights on genes, genetically manipulated plants or animals, let alone on parts of the human body. In our view, patents should only be granted for research processes in genetic engineering and use-specific areas of genetic technologies. Gene tests should not be permitted as a requirement for concluding either employment or insurance contracts, nor should knowledge gained from earlier tests be admissible.

#### **X. Fair to people with disabilities: It's normal to be different**

The key principles governing the ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy for people with disabilities are directed to ensuring that people with physical, mental or psychological disabilities are able to participate, on an equal basis, in communal life, enjoying equal opportunities and the right of self-determination for themselves and their families. There needs to be a clear right to rehabilitation, with constant revision and enhancement to secure effective compensation for disadvantages and the required adaptation to changing demands; in addition, as a primary measure, our aim is to introduce laws on equal rights, both on federal and Laender level, to improve the legal framework allowing self-determination and participation to grow. Little by little, barriers have to be removed to enable people with disabilities to enjoy access to every sphere of life, and benefit from it. In our view, creating barrier-free space does not simply mean substituting lifts for stairs, but entails making space suitable for everyone, whether with or without disabilities, quite independently of the type and extent of the disability.

We want to counter, on all levels, the marginalization of people with disabilities found in traditional policy. In order to offer a fundamental counterweight to separation from society, we are concerned to prioritise ambulant or stationary care, anchoring and implementing it more effectively. The system of institutionalised homes needs to be critically reassessed. People with disabilities also have the right to make a genuine decision on staying in their own home.

The right to life and physical integrity apply equally, without qualification, to people with disabilities too. Without any effective means of obtaining the consent of the person 'under research', these rights are under recurring threat from modern bio-engineering and genetic engineering technologies, organ transplantation, and the discussion on research measures. However, these rights must be prioritised over any general research interest or considerations of use. Fundamental rights are indivisible.

Further steps are needed to improve equal access for people with disabilities to the world of work. New information technologies offer new opportunities for employment of people with disabilities; such chances have to be systematically explored and used.

Our objective is to further expand the various forms of nursing and care – in professional terms and as lay or voluntary services – restructuring them in part and dovetailing them better together. Space also has to be given to the concerns of those who have previously been neglected in policies on nursing and care. We support a care policy that does justice to the each person's individuality and right to self-determination, and opens up the horizon of alternatives to the traditional ideas in this area.

## **XI. Fair to senior citizens: Active involvement for older people**

The proportion of older people in our society is growing. For this reason, we need to establish a new contract between the generations. This should not only cover the system of social safeguards but also give shape to the active participation of older people in all areas of social life, finding an echo in a diverse range of political spheres like social, housing or transport policy as well as fields such as urban planning. Old people productively contribute to shaping the future; their experience at work and in social life are needed. Our objective is to support old people in passing on the knowledge they have gained in their lives, and encourage them to obtain new knowledge and skills, in particular media expertise. We want to see a supply of differentiated services in residential accommodation, care, nursing and assistance, suited to a wide variety of differing situations. From our point of view, this includes shared cross-generational living as a central pillar in improving understanding between young and old, with

new residential styles such as shared housing or residential communities that are better suited to the individual needs of older people than traditional large-scale facilities. Policies in this area have to include the concerns of older people from different cultural origins.

Pension insurance. The make-up of age groups in society has changed, so that now the question of equitable treatment across the generations needs to be reformulated, particularly in the area of old age provision. Only a combination of statutory pension insurance and private provision can guarantee both a stable level of contributions and a pension scheme ensuring a set standard of living. In the long-term, the statutory pension insurance will have to evolve into an enhanced form of insurance for all citizens, all types of income and all occupational groups. The basic provision for senior citizens can be integrated into such a system.

**XII. Nursing care insurance.** Our policy is concerned to provide nursing care based on the principle of human dignity, an aim requiring guaranteed self-determination, fundamental rights and the promotion of existing individual resources. There are still far too many instances where decisions are made about old people, or people needing care, and their human rights are disregarded, even sometimes to the extent that violence is used against them. One of the widespread central causes here can be found in the pressing need for care and personnel, leading to unbearable demands being placed on care workers and family. There needs to be counselling, support services and qualification of staff to prevent these developments. Care requires a number of urgently needed steps: Removing those conditions that promote ill health, overcoming the staffing emergency in the care sector, and providing individual training for personnel and family members.

Our objective is to promote new forms of targeted services and support structures both for the individual needs of people requiring care and for their families. The general notion of care must be expanded to include holistic care. The wide variety of differing sorts of nursing and care must be further developed and better dovetailed – whether professional care and voluntary services, or care by family members. Women make up the largest group active in care, in both care at home and as a profession. Their working conditions need to be substantially improved. One decisive step along this path is to be found in creating a common job definition of 'care' by including various areas and qualifications. The financial basis for care must be substantially expanded to allow the demands for care that respects the principle of human dignity to be met. After all, care is more than just providing the basic physical needs. We foresee a range of measures in this area, including better securing the funds needed for care provision as rehabilitation, treatment, care

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and social attendance – at home too – by improving the connections between health insurance and other statutory areas of benefit.

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## **Towards a knowledge society**

For us, entering the knowledge society means enabling everyone to participate socially, culturally and economically in a rapidly changing society. Education is more than utility-based, instrumental learning. It is the key to personal development and a critical dialogue with the world around us. The move from an industrial base towards the knowledge society represents a major, fundamental social change, affecting the world of work, social life, political culture and, with it, the opportunity for political participation. This is accompanied by swift changes within the relations in the communication and information spheres. Stocks of knowledge are growing yet simultaneously the 'sell-by period' of this knowledge is ever shorter. Depending on their educational backgrounds and social status, people experience this transformation either more as a chance or a threat to previous securely accepted beliefs and practices.

Knowledge has become a decisive force in production within modern economies. It is the raw material of the 21st century. But it is one thing to produce new knowledge and establish binding rules and limits, it is quite another to access existing knowledge. For both of these, modern societies rely on a highly differentiated and efficient infra-structure, and for this there needs to be new patterns of cooperation between state and private sector involvement. After all, the private sector is profiting more than ever before from the state's preliminary outlay in producing and transmitting knowledge, and this applies equally to companies and individuals.

In a dynamic, service-oriented economy, the labour relations are becoming increasingly differentiated. In companies and administrations, authoritarian structures can be replaced by process-directed, decentralized and flexible procedures. Training, research and development come to have overwhelming importance for the development of the economy as a whole. The transition from an industrial to a knowledge society shifts the borders between those working and those learning.

In the future world of work, knowledge workers will play a pivotal role, linked to the profound remodelling of how work and work relations are organised. The world of work is becoming more differentiated and individualized. The old, traditional arrangements between business associations, unions and the state are being eroded and supplemented by completely new forms of cooperation; this process is coupled with biographical insecurity and growing pressure to succeed. On the other hand, the new knowledge economy relies far more on the readiness of people to communicate, involvement, creativity, and collective inventive activity – in other words, precisely those values that are threatened by increasing isolation.

The relation between the knowledge society and demographic developments in highly-industrialised societies also has far-reaching implications. There is a steady trend for people in Germany to live longer, on average; in future, we will not be able to manage without their knowledge and learning ability. Learning is becoming more important in all phases of life. Lifetime learning presents a major opportunity to be a part of this breathtakingly fast development. Lifetime learning will be a key for innovative impulses in the knowledge society.

## **I. The foundations of our policy in a knowledge society**

**Self-determination in the knowledge society.** The knowledge society opens up a societal horizon relying substantially on people's will to self-determination, self-guidance, and self-organization. Knowledge consists of processing impressions, information, ideas, norms and mores and is the prerequisite for reasonable action, opening up chances to 'make things happen'. Continual learning is becoming indispensable and underlies achievement in many fields - at work, as a member of society, a consumer or a part of a family, in whichever form. Training and work either dovetail together or else follow one another in rapid succession. An initial training and further training, a first degree and subsequent studies have been dissolved into new integrated forms and concepts around lifetime learning.

In the knowledge society, the core key qualifications for every citizen are experimental, high-risk, trial-and-error thinking and acting; their chances derive from developing ways of learning from experience. Set against the idea of more knowledge creating increased security and prosperity, acknowledging the growth of non-knowledge, insecurity and risk it produces does not represent a retreat from reason but rather greater rationality and critical thought.

**Justice in the knowledge society.** The more knowledge becomes the key to opportunities for work and societal participation, the more important education, training and further training becomes. In this way, access to education and an ability to cope well with the knowledge explosion is located at the very core of how chances in life and work are distributed.

For this reason, a socially equitable policy has to be aware of unequal access to educational opportunities. Our educational system reinforces social inequalities like almost no other industrialised country - a devastating testament – and this applies especially to children of migrants, most of whom remain without a final school leaving certificate. Rather than perpetuating disadvantages, a democratic educational system must compensate for them as far as possible.

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A key issue for equal opportunities in the future lies in how we renew our educational system, from the crèche and schools to the universities and further training centres.

The transition to the knowledge economy gives a new focus to the issue of private utilization of knowledge and public access to it. Today, at a speed and to an extent never possible before, corporations create, finance and market knowledge that has consequences for our society. In the face of this, the political arena has to guarantee access for everyone to the knowledge of our own era.

Equitable access uses patents to set limits on private sector control. All knowledge supported by public funds, or generated in publicly-owned institutions, belongs to society. Consequently, colleges, universities and institutes funded by the public coffers ought to make their research results and teaching materials freely accessible for all - the World Wide Web seems predestined for just such a purpose.

Greater use of free public domain software is one aspect of free access to the chances offered by the new media. For this reason, we are calling for the use of open source systems in educational facilities and public administrations, where their use makes sense.

A future-viable policy directed towards global equality faces the task of preventing an ever-widening gap between the knowledge and affluence found in research-intensive societies with their highly-sophisticated information technologies and that of the poorer regions on the periphery of a global knowledge society. This divide between prosperous regions and those squeezed dry is further intensified by the unjust distribution of research capacities, education and technological infrastructures; the Internet is very far from transforming the world into a single "global village", linking everyone with everyone else in one huge network.

**Sustainability in the knowledge society.** Sustainable development has to be the principle underlying all education, allowing critical reflection on work and personal life-style in terms of ecological effects, global equitability and estimated social risk. Predictive action is more important than ever in a dynamic society, since our stock of knowledge rapidly becomes outdated and there are constantly new spheres of action. This expertise is not primarily directed at 'adapting' to societal change, but to enhancing the individual's ability to cooperate with others in shaping their common future.

Turning society and the economy round towards sustainable development requires in-depth knowledge on the inter-relations between people and nature. Decisions taken on new

technologies and bio catalytic substances, transport projects or new directions in energy and trade policies have to include the ecological consequences as a principal criteria in the decision-making process. Interdepartmental expertise in ecology has to be anchored within school curricula and university or college training programmes.

**Democracy in the knowledge society.** Education is the basis for citizens' participation in the societal, political and economic spheres; it allows people to express their own interests, recognize societal relations, and participate self-confidently in society and democracy. These are abilities that everyone has to acquire and learn anew. For this reason, educational institutions – above all, schools and colleges – have to become places of democratic life and learning, with the values they transmit encouraging self-reliance and social behaviour.

## **II. Education in a knowledge society**

In our view, more than anything else, education is personal development. It underpins our responsibility for ourselves, others and our environment. An education in this sense facilitates judgment and critical ability, empathy and solidarity. It makes us more aware of the societal and political alternatives to the status quo and enhances each person's potential for creativity and innovation. The educational policy of ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS is committed to independent learning and the learner's own interest in discovering new things. Children want to learn. The task of every educational institution is to promote this enjoyment of learning, helping people maintain their desire for facing new challenges throughout their entire life.

### **A new educational reform**

The disastrous ranking achieved by Germany's educational system in comparative studies on international standards underlines the need for a new educational reform, and a renaissance of education and educational policy. In the 1960s and 70s, reforms in education generated the main driving force behind socio-political innovation. But the positive tide of reforms from this phase has now ebbed. However, a new educational reform, unlike its predecessor, cannot expect state planning and intervention to provide the main lead; as a result, greater support is needed for decentralised units. In particular, local players have to be empowered to make independent efforts in introducing reform. They need to be able to draw the consequences of dynamic change in all sectors of society independently, continuously and quickly, not only reacting to the development within the knowledge society but pro-actively shaping it. We want to promote independent schools, since they play a valuable role in enriching the educational landscape.

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The prevailing school structure in Germany embodies the accepted societal norm that ability reflects talent and not effort and application of learning. For this reason, changes in the school structure have to go hand in hand with changes in the culture of learning.

ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS argues for a new approach, away from the previous structural debate and towards internal changes in the individual schools, which nonetheless must have to be able to evolve structurally and change. But politics has to create the framework of conditions needed. We firmly reject any attempt to change structures to permit early streaming, as has been the case in various Laender. Instead, we support endeavours to extend shared learning in primary schools and integrate different educational programmes within one school. The school of the future has to do justice to the increasing heterogeneity of its pupils, without erecting new social barriers. Providing special tuition for exceptionally gifted and disadvantaged children is not mutually exclusive, but in fact determine one another. To obtain outstanding results, all pupils have to be encouraged – and this too is empirically proven in the course of international research.

In view of Laender responsibility and differently arranged school systems, each of the regional states have to pursue a different path. But the general principle of "learning longer with one another and from one another" is to be valid both for the individual schools and the system as a whole. Extending the period of shared learning in primary school, for example, is a step in the right direction.

Self-determination and responsibility have to become the central principles underlying the organisation of schools, and applied to internal structure as much as curricula. To be a good school permanently, greater independence needs to be combined with teacher, student and parental support; schools need the right to appoint school personnel and decide on how best to use their own budget. Pupils and parents need to be genuinely involved in decision-making, integrated within a system of legitimate interests. Where schools are located in areas of severe social problems, they are to enjoy a higher basic budget. Different school profiles should simply be a matter of course, as should increased competition in providing the best services and clearer, more transparent performance criteria to facilitate comparisons. To enable students to transfer from one institution to another, final examination certificates have to be compatible.

The educational potential of both women and men are essential in the move towards the knowledge society. Although a higher proportion of women complete their standard education, and with better grades, even nowadays they still find themselves excluded from leading positions and many spheres of work. For this reason, gender equality has to become the

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touchstone of quality in both educational institutions and reform. Deficits in institutions disadvantaging women have to be made good. The principle of gender mainstreaming has to be applied to all actions taken, processes and institutions in the educational sphere.

### **All-day schools**

In an open school, learning does not only take place in the school itself. That's why schools ought to be open to their surroundings and their community. We want to see the country-wide provision of whole-day schools of all types, allowing parents to choose the right one for their child. In socio-political terms, there is a need to promote learning for young people and support their development in ways that go beyond the present curricula. At the same time, this is an essential step not only in helping parents harmonize family and work but in enhancing school quality. Our aim is to have schools as an open house for learning and encounters throughout the day, where children and young people can experience learning in a wide variety of ways, discover new ideas and form social contacts.

### **Education against marginalization**

Acknowledging people with disabilities as equals is a process that starts in kindergartens and schools. In joint lessons children and young people, with and without disabilities, learn that it's normal to be different. Special educational support for children and young people with disabilities in their normal neighbourhood school needs to be safeguarded.

In a free and pluralist society educational facilities provide a space for integrating people with different social and cultural backgrounds, or disparate learning needs. In a good school, young people can directly experience what unites our society, and discover the value of helping ensure a fair way of living together for everyone.

### **Quality targets and evaluation**

We want to support educational facilities that disseminate the key qualifications needed today: self-responsibility, own initiative, social competence, team-work, learning skills, critical reflection, communication, emotional intelligence and media expertise. Educational establishments – from kindergarten to university – have to define quality targets for their work and undergo a transparent quality control. Assessment of publicly-funded educational and further training facilities ought to be accepted as a matter of course. Curricula and didactic methodology need to be checked to ensure there is no gender bias; this applies particularly for

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natural science subjects. Our aim is to ensure that an education towards peace is fixed as a part of all educational institutions.

### **Education and the kindergarten**

In our view, kindergartens have an educational remit and we want to support them in their task. Pre-school education offers a crucial contribution to balancing social opportunity. Children have a right to have their natural curiosity fostered and encouraged. The aim is not to introduce earlier schooling but to create a stimulating learning environment where children can discover, experiment and be independent. If kindergartens are only seen as a care facility where children are looked after, they are not taking the child's interests and desire to learn seriously. Intercultural learning, the interest in and respect for other cultural traditions, has to begin in kindergarten.

### **Educational policy in an immigration society**

Integration of migrants and their democratic participation in society can only be successful if they are involved more in education, retraining and further training. Education, especially for migrants, is the key to success at work and social integration. We therefore need to restructure our educational institutions – from kindergarten to university – around intercultural learning, a move requiring larger numbers of immigrants among the teaching staff. Particularly in the early stages, acquiring language competence and promoting German language use are fundamental for later success at school.

### **Access to lifelong learning**

A learning society is one where each individual shapes their own educational biography. Unlike today, learning in future will be spread over a person's entire life. The initial educational phase will be shorter, with corresponding greater significance given to further education during later phases of life. In order to integrate the various educational phases better, we advocate improved dovetailing of the first and subsequent periods of training and less rigid borders between the educational institutions.

Job training too has to meet the challenge of changing job definitions and employment demands; in future, vocational training has to be available as a 'modular system' with modules able to be taken either during initial training or in a later training phase, with a reorganised structure provided right up to the master craftsman exams.

Sustainability in initial vocational training requires concentrating on core qualifications, i.e., ensuring mixed vocational and cross-sector skills form a basis for coping independently with the demands of work, reflecting on the job and its societal consequences, transferring the knowledge acquired, and bringing it up to date. The employer then introduces the requisite specific skills needed for the everyday concrete task at hand.

In the interest of trainees and their right to learn at a pace with their own lives, we favour allowing vocational skills to be acquired over a longer period of time, interrupted by phases of working; at a given point of time, these skills can then be used collectively to fulfil the requirements for vocational qualifications.

This requires careful gearing of initial vocational training and further training.

### **Tertiary education in the knowledge society**

In a knowledge society, the significance of tertiary level educational institutions is far greater. Universities and colleges are places where creative and interdisciplinary research is undertaken and concepts and ideas can be developed without the bias towards utilization. We want colleges and universities to be granted the requisite freedom, promoting an international approach and above all enhancing the room for manoeuvre for the students, academics and scientists. The characteristics of the new universities and colleges are autonomy, establishment of particular profiles, and the readiness to experiment.

Teaching and research in tertiary level educational institutions always takes place in an international context. This context lives only when German colleges and universities are opened up further for foreign students, scientists and academics. At the same time, the mobility of German students has to be encouraged and promoted more. A principal element in this process is making international qualifications compatible.

In the knowledge society, the number of jobs for university and college graduates will increase even more. For this reason, colleges and universities need to show the training they offer is attractive and efficient, developing courses of study suited to future demands. Forward-looking study programmes are interdisciplinary, yet directed towards specific problems, enabling students to analyse complex situations, and suggest innovative solutions. Courses rigidly pursuing single specific work areas would run counter to this model. Greater provision of study modules allows students flexibility, facilitates the interdisciplinary aspects of training and strengthens the position of colleges and universities as places of further training.

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## **Further education, training and qualifications**

At present, rather than reducing the qualifications divide between social strata, further education and training enlarges it. People with higher educational or vocational qualifications are more likely to participate in further training schemes. Less qualified people are underrepresented in further training – and this applies equally to in-firm training courses and independent training agencies.

Neither curiosity and openness for new ideas, nor the ability to train or retain are age-related. Consequently, we support the inclusion of older people in all aspects of further education or training processes.

We regard general and vocational further education as of equal weight. Taking part in further training measures must be possible throughout the country. Local networks need to be established between public-sector educational institutions, independent providers, companies, towns and local communities, which can combine existing capacities, integrating them into a flexible whole.

We need to ensure the results of training are compatible and recognised on the European level, and for this reason we are calling for pan-European certification in training and provision of further education. This will provide a key factor in realizing a united Europe, where there are no artificial borders to the mobility of its citizens.

We regard adult education to be of considerable significance, especially in the political, cultural and ethical spheres.

We consider universities and colleges as a future source of further education and training: They are places where the goods of societal knowledge, and its relevance, can best be evaluated. Universities and colleges can provide a range of differentiated further training courses on a level commensurate with their academic status. They have a solid basis for this, since they can not only offer a broad spectrum of university-level content but have the requisite know-how and technical equipment. Furthermore, colleges and universities can derive supplementary income from such schemes. This revenue can then be used to extend the courses on offer and enhance the profile of their own educational institution.

Providing access to qualifications must become an integral part of labour market policy and industrial support programmes. The issue is not to "accommodate" as many people as possible in some retraining schemes but to empower people to further develop their employment skills and

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areas of competence themselves and, in so doing, wherever possible gain practical experience in real situations. This is why we advocate enhanced opportunities to learn at work.

Reducing lower skilled jobs in favour of highly-qualified work requires concerted efforts at qualification provision specifically for the lower skilled and unskilled workers. Despite state funding, vocational further training remains primarily a task for the company and the employees themselves. This is an area requiring both workforce representatives and employers to develop improvements and include them in framework agreements during negotiations on collective wage agreements.

The proportion of older people in society is growing. Society cannot afford to do without the active participation of older people in social life. In addition to calling for older people being involved in all aspects of further training, we also advocate the increased integration of all those groups previously under-represented in further training by making them target-groups; this means, for example, also including migrants and people with disabilities.

### **Funding education in the knowledge society**

The educational system of the future needs a reformed system of educational funding, and one supported by all members of society. There should be no question of every educational establishment using their funds in a more efficient, cost-effective and transparent manner, or of them publishing their accounts.

Funding education requires a new equilibrium between private and public money. The present system is unfair, ineffective and far from creating equal opportunities or realizing participant equitability. At present, any individual's learning biography largely depends on a number of socio-cultural factors combined, not least, with the parents' financial situation. Research into learners' different backgrounds have shown that schools furthers inequalities. From a social point of view, there can be no grounds for expecting a higher private contribution to funding in the pre-school area than in other areas. Other forms of training and education should not be given advantages over vocational training.

In budgetary policy terms, funding education has to be prioritised as an investment in the future, with the proportion of public money devoted to this sector gradually increased. However, reforms cannot solely be achieved by expanding available state finance. New models of mixed funding are needed too, combining state funds and own contributions. These can then be introduced when their successful implementation is judged to be realistically viable. Germany

still needs to develop a culture of give and take that finds expression, for example, in the readiness of former students to give something back to their schools, colleges and universities.

Sustainable educational funding secures the fundamental right to education independently of social origin, and guarantees lifetime access to education and further training. The precept of justice demands that educational stages in early childhood are substantially better supported than is the case at present. In the same way, the objective behind a fairer distribution of means is to compensate for disadvantages; wherever people with physical or mental disabilities, or the weak in society, are hampered from deriving the full benefit from the educational services provided, compensatory measures and an increased injection of funds are required.

Optimal provision of services for learners has to be at the very heart of attempts to create a new system of educational funding. This objective is both the starting-point and centre of our new orientation. A reform of state funding of education is needed and must be combined with a new system for financing people while they are learning, making education available to a far greater range of groups in the population and counteracting the existing social selection in the educational system.

The instruments providing the financial package for education must be designed to trigger a wave of innovation in educational institutions and dismantle social hurdles.

### **III. Science and research in the knowledge society**

A central tenet of democratic constitutions is freedom in science and research. In our age, the borders between basic research, applied research and the technical and economic use of knowledge are becoming increasingly blurred. The time separating new discoveries, new techniques and their application is becoming ever shorter. For this reason, critical reflection on potential effects has to be considered even as early as making decisions on the course of new research. For this to happen, there must be public debate far beyond the world of expert opinion.

Borders have to be imposed on research and science precisely at those points where they violate human dignity as, for example, in experimenting on human life or cloning human beings. In the same way, limits are needed if research entails a serious threat to the environment, or if the principles of animal ethics are infringed.

Today, we are facing the new challenge of maintaining and verifying human rights within a global research environment, an issue requiring internationally-binding norms and agreements.

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The European Union has to take the lead on this question and further support must be forthcoming for UNESCO in their role as the world education and cultural organisation.

Equal participation of women in academic and scientific life means more than just social equitability. Women's promotion programmes and gender studies are inextricably linked.

Feminist criticism of science questions the male-coined traditional structures in science and at university, challenging the exclusion of a 'female' life-experience from teaching and research and the presumed gender neutrality of theories and research results. It turns the category of gender into the object of scientific and academic work, making a central contribution to ideas on gender relations.

Gender studies continues to be of only secondary importance at universities. We are looking to give gender studies and gender research a permanent place at university, and in academic and scientific life.

In the face of the revolutionary dynamic forces driving research and development, relations between the state, society and science must be redefined. The state has to set the legal standards and frame conditions governing science. Society has a right to transparency in research where the consequences profoundly affect societal and individual life, and equally a right to free access to the results of scientific work. However, within these legal standards science and research are then free from censorship and proscription. Public research funding does not bestow the right to determine the contents of science and research.

Scientific institutions ought to enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy. Too many decisions affecting a university internally are taken by a distant ministry lacking any concrete knowledge of the real situation there. But handing over areas of state jurisdiction to colleges and universities must be combined with the introduction of democratic processes, otherwise, if the majority of those involved in university or college life only had restricted opportunities for participation and minimal co-determination, surrendering policy regulation rights from the democratically elected regional government would result in a loss of democracy itself.

Science has long since ceased to be bounded by national borders and, given the approaching global knowledge society, this is truer today than ever before. Colleges, universities and research institutes have to be places of intercultural teaching and learning. Access to German institutions for foreign students, scientists and academics must be made easier.

We have defined promoting young scientists and academics as one specific challenge. Previous personnel policies at universities and colleges have neither been flexible nor fluid enough in this area. The reforms already introduced have been unable to grant the next generation of qualified scientists access to independent science and research– and especially not for women scientists. Women's promotion programmes are vital as long as women are underrepresented at the top levels in scientific establishments. Gender mainstreaming is required to establish long-term equality in structural opportunity.

A society fit for the future must want to have a wide variety of technical options available. Rather than less creativity and inventiveness, we need more. We need new technical and societal solutions allowing people's manifold needs to be satisfied without generating long-term risks for the ecological or social spheres. Germany's leading position in the world market for goods in the environmental protection sector rests on the creativity and involvement of numerous scientists and engineers. We want Germany to continue to play a pioneering role in this field.

A biased policy on funding technical developments, though, conceals the danger that the developments supported may turn out to be both problematic and relatively unsuccessful in economic terms. In future, we will continue to advocate a policy that demands critical reflection on technical developments.

Colleges, universities and research institutions must open up more to improve the flow of knowledge between science and industry, other organizations and the public arena. Transfer of technologies, spin-offs, and cooperation with start-ups all need to be developed further, as do cooperation with unions or environmental associations.

#### **IV. Information in the knowledge society**

Information and communication technologies create new chances for participating and cross-border communication – but only if we learn how to deal with them. We are committed to preventing society being split by a digital divide; everyone needs to be ready to take advantage of the chances inherent in these new technologies. This is why brokering media skills will become one of the core tasks in our educational system. Where gender barriers exist within existing curricula and learning environments, they must be dismantled.

All citizens must have potential access to information, information production and dissemination. The involvement of all social strata in the opportunities inherent in the new

digital communication media is crucial and, for this reason, we are looking to promote media skills acquisition for all members of society.

This means not only teaching the technical knowledge required but primarily transmitting "qualitative media skills", i.e., the ability to order and evaluate information content. Mastering the skills of how to deal with the new media needs to become an integral part of learning, both at school and externally.

Under the rubric of freedom of information, we need to effectively secure the guaranteed constitutional right to self-determined data use. There can be no question of personal rights being suspended when surfing the Net; consequently, we must ensure personal data storage and distribution can only take place with the user's consent. The principle of a right to decide on data use must be further enhanced beyond solely offering protection against the state's or the information economy's uncontrolled personal data use. It must lead to a positive right to acquire the requisite data skills and fully participate in the opportunities the knowledge society offers.

This is yet another reason why policy in this area must guarantee everyone access to the entire range of media. We advocate a varied publishing landscape and the development of an open, pluralist media and communications structure. The publicly-owned television and radio stations have a primary role to play here with non-commercial broadcasters comprising a third axis alongside the private commercial stations. The concentration of electronic and print media give grounds for serious concern and needs to be counteracted by suitable legislation: Media monopolies endanger the freedom of opinion and the right to information.

### **A key project: Citizens' rights to access knowledge**

In a society where education and knowledge are crucial factors determining success at work and participation in social processes, access to knowledge becomes a key variable in the social equation. Society must not be allowed to be split by a new "digital divide", with modern "knowledge workers" divorced from those without access to new technologies and sophisticated training. Beyond the duty of providing access to general education, the state must facilitate access to knowledge for each and every citizen. Where this task can only be tackled on the pan-European level, it has to be entrusted to the EU; where access requires internationally valid agreements and regulations, the UN has to undertake to complete it.

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Schools should be directed towards dissemination of methodological and learning skills that allow individuals to deal effectively with the vast range of data sources and information provided.

Research results and teaching materials from publicly-funded institutions must be available to the general public. We are calling for ensuring the nationwide provision of public libraries and Internet portals, since this guarantees access to electronic information and communication services. In our view, this includes citizens' information systems giving detailed information about political developments and policy on all levels and offering the chance to deal with authorities via electronic means.

We want the Internet to be further developed as an open network, accessible for all, incorporating transparency and involving all interest groups – for example, in deciding on the technical standards adopted or how domain names are issued.

The free and fair access to knowledge must also be safeguarded in the international arena: The rich countries of the North have an obligation to support, technically and financially, the development of modern education, information and communication systems in the countries of the South. At the same time, we are calling for stringent international anti-trust laws to prevent the growth of global media monopolies and want to see binding international agreements used to secure the global diversity of information.

## **V. Culture**

Culture is the elixir of life. It is crucially important in a world becoming ever-more complex. Culture emerges from the critical dialogue between individuals and their environment, and the past, present and future. Art uses diverse forms of expression to mirror experience – the experience we have of ourselves, the natural world or society. Culture offers a normative and aesthetic point of reference both for each individual person's life and society as a whole.

**Culture and self-determination.** Cultural diversity, artistic freedom, and access to cultural knowledge are all key prerequisites for freedom and self-determination. Culture is now understood in far broader terms. The lifestyles and life choices in modern societies reflect the diversity of cultural areas and reveal the mutual impact of different cultures. Every city, web homepage and individual life design bears the mark of a cultural mix and cultural permeability that is inexorably linked to globalisation. Art cannot be strictly defined and must be safeguarded against state intervention and monopolisation. What constitutes art has been a subject of dispute

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for years – not only among artists themselves. But this debate must remain open and cannot be determined by political means.

In modern societies, cultural and technical innovations are interwoven on a multitude of levels. Cultural openness presents a challenge to deal with the new basic skills in electronic media in an open and balanced way. Culture and art also interpret and express these new societal developments.

### **Culture and democracy**

The creation of culture and cultural presentations act as a powerful force directed towards a free and democratic society. The dynamic energy of art as it seeks and adopts specific forms is an integral element of any living democracy.

The central elements of ALLIANCE90/GREEN cultural policy find expression in tenets of mutual respect, acknowledgement of each person's personal integrity, development of intellectual, aesthetic and physical talents, and tolerance for otherness and marginalized and excluded groups. Policy must be open to the plurality of lifestyles and prevent one particular life style or one supposedly predominant culture being imposed at the expense of others.

Intensive encounters with art and culture from an early age engender tolerance, curiosity and self-confidence and are especially important for the upcoming generation in their own creative development.

If young people are going to actively accept culture policy, it must reflect their life choices and lifestyles.

Since the issue of how we live and how we want to live are primarily questions of culture, the change to an ecologically responsible way of life is inexorably linked to art, culture and cultural policy, with questions about our future fusing culture and sustainability.

In our age, sport is an important cultural good. An individual's self-awareness is enhanced by movement, play, shared experience, the experience of success or coping with defeat. Additionally, these contribute to the development of social skills, motivation, tolerance, fairness and greater civic involvement. We want to see the frame conditions for this further improved. Voluntary involvement in sport has a significant social value and needs to receive particular support. Sport can only take place in a healthy and intact environment, an idea expressed by environmentally designed sports facilities and ways of playing sport that are environmentally

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neutral. In line with its area of competence, the state promotes all types of sport on all levels, whether for fun or fitness, for top athletes or people with disabilities. However, only if sport and training apply humane principles and are fair and without drug use, is it justified to use public money in sports funding. The health of the sportsperson has to be put first.

### **Promoting culture as a public duty**

State cultural policy must be designed to open cultural and artistic activities to as many people as possible. A democratic cultural policy in Germany must accept the principle of equality between the diverse cultural needs found in different groups and nationalities within our society. Similarly, it must acknowledge the equal value of traditional cultural institutions, new innovative art forms and independent socio-cultural projects. Within this framework, we are committed to promoting the language and culture of autochthonous minorities such as, for example, the Sorbs.

Germany's federal structure has established a system of cultural subsidies, largely financed at regional and local government levels, that has produced one of the most remarkably varied cultural landscapes in the world. To develop further, it would be desirable to grant the federal government a greater role in cultural policy. This would secure a broader base for funding art and culture, reinforcing their presence and perception in the international arena. For this reason, in order to do justice to culture's increasing importance, we give our express support to the Laender's cultural sovereignty, a re-evaluation of culture at the government level, and anchoring culture as a joint task in the constitution.

We see a main policy task in securing and promoting space for art and creativity. Culture and art is produced by people, not by the state: The state's task lies in giving space to society's cultural and artistic concerns and creating a framework where they can freely unfold. Cultural policy understood in this way supports the development of personal and societal identity. Youth culture needs places to meet and communicate: youth centres, practice rooms, places to perform, clubs, cinemas and much more.

ALLIANCE90/GREENpolicy is calling for safeguarding access to art and culture for all social strata and groups.

Even in self-financing cultural areas, cultural policy has to offer support by positively influencing the existing framework, for example, fine-tuning funding and tax laws or providing social safeguards for artists. The three pillars of the German cultural system are the publicly-

funded and financed cultural institutions, the private-sector culture and art sphere, and the independent non-profit making cultural area, which has experienced strong growth over the last few years. An open cultural policy should not see commercial cultural provision primarily as a threat; independent and private-sector cultural producers and disseminators substantially contribute to cultural diversity. Culture and art cannot survive without private initiative and individual commitment. State cultural policy cannot leave cultural support solely to the Laender and local levels, which bear the brunt of the costs for cultural affairs, but must use funding for outstanding model projects to show their active involvement.

### **Culture in the cities – culture in the countryside**

ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS are committed to promoting a diverse urban cultural landscape. The cradle of democracy was a European city where citizens administered public matters themselves. We advocate maintaining and enhancing urban traditions reflecting not only the city's openness for new ideas, or acceptance of immigrants with diverse lifestyles and cultures, but also the density of political and cultural public life, and its role as a place where people from different social backgrounds can live together as equals. Cities must retain and augment their identity as centres of trade, culture and communication – with living inner cities and city zones, individual architectural traditions, unique town planning, diverse public space use, and a bustling business life.

ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS advocate retaining and nurturing cultural expression and ways of life found in rural areas. In the countryside, a sustainable and caring approach to nature is widely accepted and shapes many diverse parts of the culture there. Regional customs and local dialects are an important part of our cultural roots. Culture in rural areas is located within the tension between their own traditions and encounters with current trends. Culture becomes a paramount means of identification in a region where the rural community succeeds in preserving its independence and does not slide into become a faceless adjunct to urban life as just some "area around the town". For this reason, we see it as our task to reinforce regional culture and landscapes and enhance their profile.

A future-oriented conservation policy must secure the architectural testimony to our past and make it available for new uses. In this way, the cultural history of our architecture is safeguarded for subsequent generations. We are not merely calling for the preservation of the past, but wish to maintain the dialogue on contemporary urban planning and architecture.

### **Cultural heritage**

Before we know where we are going, we must know where we come from. One fundamental element in our democracy is our critical dialogue with our history – and, in particular, with National Socialism. Locations of historical import with memorials, museums, archives and libraries are crucial in a living culture of remembrance, representing major centres of learning where the experience of the past makes us aware of how to act in future.

Even within each single neighbourhood, history has a contribution to make. This is why local authorities and regional governments ought to subsidize the many smaller initiatives and institutions keeping local memories alive. Central government funding of memorials for the victims of National Socialist crimes and the injustices committed under the East German SED regime is not open to negotiation.

Witnesses of the past form the basis for our society's historical and cultural memory. They constantly remind us of past experience and contribute to the life quality in cities, villages and the countryside. Our architectural heritage provides a basis for high-quality contemporary urban planning and architecture.

### **Culture in Europe – World cultures**

ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS want to promote active encounters between world cultures, which helps generate mutual respect, acknowledgement and tolerance. Understanding and critical dialogue between people of different origin, religion, or philosophies of life can be successful on the cultural level in a particular way. None of the cultures involved in this process may want to dominate the others. Cultural exchange is indispensable in creating a tolerant, peaceful life together and only those cultures that engage in exchanges with one another remain capable of developing. Cultural policy is a policy for peace.

We grasp cultural understanding as the key for Europe in the process of growing closer. Moreover, international cultural exchange must be encouraged further as a part of an active foreign culture policy.

Being open to people from other cultures, ethnic groups and religions belongs to the culture of an immigration country. A special emphasis here lies on encountering the cultures of migrants living in Germany and promoting their art and culture. Their creativity is a resource for initiating social innovation. In this way, intercultural dialogue enriches society, preparing the ground for further acknowledgement and deepening individual understanding of ourselves. Seeing others as equals presumes knowledge and respect for one's own culture.



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## **Towards the renewal of democracy**

We are looking for a renewal which will awaken the courage and the strength to build a democratic society. Citizens' intervention in the democratic process is not just permissible, but something we actively encourage and promote. Our guiding principles are the ideas of equitable participation in decision-making processes, individual self-determination, and sustainability. We are concerned to offer a response to the new social challenges posed to democracy and the rule of law. Our objectives are the strengthening of constitutional liberalism as the epitome of civil rights and rights to liberty, the extension of citizens' participation, the development of multicultural democracy, the reform of democratic institutions, the reinvigoration of federalist structures and new means of democratic co-determination in business and society.

In our country, democracy has put down strong roots over the past decades. The quality of our democracy rests not least on the political commitment shown by the movements for civil rights and democracy in East and West Germany, a commitment that is one of the wellsprings of our party. The civil rights movements of the former East Germany play a vital role in the democracy of Germany as a whole. As early as the 1960s and 1970s, many members of the founder generation of Greens argued that the country should have the courage for more democracy, and they backed the demands for participation and codetermination voiced by the citizens' action groups of the 1980s. In future, too, democracy can only survive and evolve fruitfully if people become politically involved and take a stand for their right to democratic self-determination. As ever, democracy can reach only as far as its members' will to self-determination.

### **I. The foundations of our policy on civil rights and democratic stakeholding**

**Democracy and justice.** As we see it, the opportunity to participate in democratic processes is central to justice. The struggle for democracy is also a struggle for justice. The goal of justice is not only a stake in ownership, but also a stake in decision-making – irrespective of social situation, origins, gender, sexual identity, skin colour, religion or other characteristics. Self-confident citizens with a will to intervene are only possible where there is social respect. This is why we want to reinforce the role of citizens as democratic agents and extend their participatory rights. We can only ensure democratic participation by keeping access to media, information and the sites of public communication open to everybody.

**Democracy and self-determination.** Self-determination and democracy are inextricably linked. The individual's right to self-determination is the normative basis of democracy, and demands that all unjustified political and social power structures and hierarchies be dismantled. Democracy requires self-determined individuals who can give confident expression to their aspirations and political convictions. Only through the public articulation of individual needs and interests is it possible to arrive at decisions that will do justice to all members of our society. For a democracy, citizens' rights to liberty are a serious matter. We want to reinforce those rights to liberty and defend them against attack. A modern party of civil rights must not only defend and protect citizens' rights against state intrusion, but also safeguard them against powerful non-state, economic actors.

**Democracy and sustainability.** Democracy is an underlying rule of our social existence and its validity goes beyond the needs of day-to-day politics. As a result, it is important not to make decisions today that will fundamentally restrict tomorrow's opportunities for democratic decision-making. Every society has the right to make a fresh start in drawing up its own models for living together. Deciding on a policy at the expense of future generations is thus unacceptable, from a democratic point of view as much as anything else. At the same time, society and parliaments have a responsibility to come to a democratic understanding about issues that will affect the future, and cannot simply delegate this task to bodies that have no democratic legitimation or accountability.

### **New challenges for democracy and the rule of law**

As the twenty-first century begins, the task of realising democracy and the rule of law is taking on a new shape. Democracy will have to keep evolving under the conditions of globalisation, individualisation and the technological revolution if it is to maintain itself as society's central decision-making principle.

**The challenge of globalisation.** The globalisation process is putting pressure on democracy. With the collapse of borders between markets and economic flows, national legislatures and governments are seeing their room for political manoeuvre shrink. Alliance/Green policy is concerned to find a political response to globalisation. If we are to defend the primacy of democracy and enable the development of appropriate political models, we will need new organisational forms and instruments. Nation states' loss of sovereignty in the wake of globalisation can only be offset by creating new, transnational political structures. A democratic Europe must stand up for this idea. But relinquishing nation-state sovereignty does not necessarily mean a loss of codetermination: in

fact, it is the necessary condition for a democratic capacity to act. Only in this way can social and environmental demands be heard in the context of liberalised global trade.

**The challenge of the media society.** In today's media society, there is an immense growth in the speed at which political topics change. We know that intelligent campaigning and presentation are necessary – but we also know that the quality of politics depends on longer-term ideas and positions that go beyond the immediate political situation. Democracy takes time: time for debate on content, for the development of visions and for responsible decision-making. This is the only way we can genuinely respond to people's growing scepticism and disillusion with politics. A core concern of Alliance/Green policy is journalistic diversity and the defence of an independent, free and democratic media sphere. Political and media power must not be fused. The ownership of media concerns, along the whole chain of their commercial activity, must be disclosed.

**The challenge of information technologies.** New information technologies have the potential to yield increased democracy. However, before that potential can be realised, everyone must have access to the networks. This is a policy task that needs to take account of both freedom of information and fair access to information for all. The decentralised structure of Internet communication makes new forms of participation possible. Citizens might, for example, receive the opportunity to express their opinions about draft laws online. Electronic voting is another possible element of the democracy of the future. The point here is not to replace representative democracy with another type. Instead, it is to increase citizens' participation in the processes of public opinion-forming and political decisions.

**The challenge of corruption.** Nepotism, bribery and money laundering, along with traffic in human beings, arms and drugs, threaten to erode democracy. Corruption and organised crime must thus be fought wherever they occur, including with preventive action.

**The challenge of international terrorism.** Nowadays open, pluralist societies like ours, highly dependent on technology, face the danger of extremist terrorist attacks on a mass scale. The issue of public security is an important one for us precisely because we hold freedom and civil rights so dear. But the response to people's need for security cannot be the restriction of their fundamental rights to liberty. Ultimately, abolishing freedom in the name of security will only mean that both are forfeited. However, the threat of terrorism calls for security to be actively enhanced in order to safeguard the right to liberty.

The large-scale technologies of modern societies are at particular risk of being turned into weapons of terrorism. For this reason, decommissioning nuclear power facilities and decentralising energy supplies are both important means of improving public security.

We will only succeed in keeping fundamentalist terrorism at bay if we help develop solutions for the planet's conflict regions and achieve greater international justice. Regional conflicts and poverty are neither reasons nor justifications for the contempt for humanity that is terrorism – but they are the fertile soil from which political and religious extremism, and ultimately terrorism, grow. That means we must provide responses in these domains.

The battle against terrorism is not a battle between the cultures but, instead, a battle of all cultures against the senseless destruction of life and freedom. Human dignity and freedom are at the heart of all the world's great cultures and religions. For that reason, a core objective of Green policy is to support the countries of the world in moving down the path of human rights, the rule of law, democracy and pluralism.

## **II. State and society**

Our understanding of the state involves a democratic republic whose citizens share in shaping their polity. The state must be able to draw on intact institutions of legislation, administration and justice in order to fulfil that task. As institutions belonging to the citizens, they must be open and accountable, and committed to disclosing information. They cannot seal themselves off from the people who provide them with their legitimacy. The state we envision is not the open society's adversary but its expression. We advocate a state that is strong enough to be able to hand over the reins to its citizens where necessary. That state must permit and promote independent economic, social and cultural action. At the same time, it is the state's obligation to set the necessary social and ecological frame conditions.

We are an anti-totalitarian and democratic party that opposes all types of tyranny. Looking at the dark side of German history, we find the state's withdrawal from control by its citizens and the state-organised violation of human dignity and rights. We cannot compensate for the pain suffered by the victims of the Nazi regime – but we don't let memory sleep and, in turn, it keeps us awake to danger. We want our actions today to help prevent such suffering ever being inflicted again. For that reason, we take an active stand against anti-Semitism and right-wing extremism. This requires,

as it always has, having the courage of one's convictions and taking a public stand. The communist dictatorship in the former East Germany also claimed many victims and dealt many wounds. Those courageous East Germans who refused to conform, the opposition with its spirit of resistance and the civil rights protesters of autumn 1989 all inspired us in our present political commitment. Standing up for human rights is therefore also an integral part of our domestic policy.

In guaranteeing freedom of belief and conscience, the democratic constitutional state agreed once and for all not to dictate the world view of its citizens. It respects and protects the right of members of a religious community to follow their beliefs and to decide alone on their religious practices, in line with the truths of their faith and free of state interference. The democratic constitutional state ensures that the religious communities recognise the democratic and republican constitution. At the same time, it respects and protects the right to have no religion, and to be free of the compulsion of conformity to a particular faith in the public sphere.

Alliance 90/The Greens support the separation of church and state. The degree of separation already achieved is crucial to the positive role of church and other religious communities as important forces in civil society. This is true not only of the Christian churches, but also of the Jewish religious community and other religious groups. On many issues, Alliance 90/The Greens have found the churches to be valuable allies. That includes, in particular, the ecumenical processes for peace, justice and the preservation of creation. It also includes action against racism and for international justice and, not least, the ethical commitment to issues around modern genetic technology.

Globalisation makes it especially important for us to promote dialogue between the religions. We oppose all attempts to discriminate against religious communities or to define them out of our society's religious pluralism. That includes Islam, which has played such an important role in European history with its contributions to the preservation of the European heritage.

### **III. Party of pluralism**

Our understanding of democracy aims for a pluralist society where there is space for a diversity of ways of life and lifestyles. Instead of assimilation and subordination, we call for self-determination and cultural freedom. The interculturality of modern societies represents a golden opportunity for their citizens. When we declare our support for pluralism in lifestyles and human diversity, this includes a demand for equality of rights for everyone. It is one of the tasks of society and legal

policy to overcome discrimination. The world has become smaller, making interaction and debate with different cultures and traditions easier. National barriers are forfeiting importance and new cultural horizons opening up. The urban centres have the chance to become a platform for ways of living together in diversity and openness to the world.

We aim to provide legal protection for the different ways of life that people have chosen for themselves, and to help these gain real recognition. This is an essential condition for the free development of the personality.

### **Lesbians and gay men into the centre of society**

Nobody must be disadvantaged or excluded as a result of his or her sexual identity. Since our parties were founded, we have taken an active stance for the rights of lesbians and gay men, with much success. Lesbians and gay men are entitled to equal rights for their lifestyles, along with effective protection against unequal treatment and discrimination. Lesbian and gay relationships must be placed on a completely equal legal basis with heterosexual ones; this also applies to lesbian and gay parents. Young lesbians and gay men need particular protection and support during their coming out. The history of exclusion and persecution must be thoroughly addressed. As in other cases, there must be compensation for persecution suffered.

### **Equality for people with disabilities**

People with disabilities must be enabled to have equal rights to participate in the life of society. A crucial condition for equal rights for people with disabilities is freedom from barriers in all domains – especially the barriers of individual prejudice.

### **A key project: The immigration society**

The Federal Republic of Germany is a country of immigration. Managing immigration will be among the key political issues of the coming years – both in Germany and in Europe as a whole. In the case of labour immigration, we want to avoid the mistakes of the old policy of “guest workers”. An immigration based on principles of hire-and-fire or just-in-time personnel policies runs counter to Alliance/Green ideas. Instead, migrant workers should be offered the perspective of permanent residence. In the case of demographic immigration, care must be taken that it does not degenerate into an immigration of mainly male elites from particular regions. Central to our policy is the conviction that a modern immigration policy must not be played off against humanitarian duties of protection. Alliance 90/The Greens are the guardians of the basic right to asylum that is enshrined

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in our constitution. In future we will continue to work for German and European asylum law to be firmly rooted in an unrestricted and comprehensive compliance with the Geneva Convention's rulings on refugees. We advocate the recognition of gender-specific and non-state persecution, and persecution due to discrimination on the basis of sexual identity, as grounds for protection. This is dictated by our historical responsibility, but is also an expression of our international solidarity. It means, on the one hand, addressing the causes of flight and, on the other, offering refugees protection in our country – under conditions that fully comply with human rights and constitutional law.

We have always rejected the idea of a “fortress Europe”. Like many voices in the European Union, we proceed from the assumption that the key to a modern, open-minded and yet value-oriented refugee and migration policy can no longer be found on a national level, but must come from Europe as a whole.

The same is true for a forward-looking policy of integration. The integration of migrants into social and political life is a pledge that our democracy has not yet fulfilled. One of the key objectives of our policy is to change that situation.

A multicultural society has a positive dimension in underlining the fundamental cultural liberty of each individual, allowing differentiation and contributing to society's own self-definition – for example in contradistinction to the idea of a German “dominant culture” that tries to enforce assimilation and compliance from everyone. Cultural diversity and intercultural exchange are signs of a society's vitality. At the same time, the long-term perspective of a pluralist, multicultural society of immigration also implies shared political perspectives for our life together. We see these as the core values of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European constitutional tradition and the German Basic Law: democracy, equality between men and women, and the equality of all human beings. For us, the combination of the two fields of social and political management of immigration, and of the concepts of democracy and multicultural society, add up to a multicultural democracy.

Integration policy is a topic that cuts across all subject areas and political levels – from the local authorities right up to the European Union.

Knowledge of the majority society's language is one of the key qualifications for the integration we

seek for migrants, for their success in education and employment – and thus for their social mobility. At the same time, it is important to recognise and use the potential offered by migrants: when children learn to speak another language at home as well as they speak German, in a globalising society this is a potential advantage that deserves to be supported. Children must, as early as possible, acquire the greatest possible linguistic, analytical and problem-solving competence. Kindergartens play a vital role as launch-pads in this process. Schools, too, must adjust. Intercultural education, wherever possible at all-day schools, should become the rule, for children with or without a migrant background.

As we know, women are the key players in a successful integration process. For this reason, we aim to ensure that integration projects are planned in a woman-oriented way, and to deliver relevant services, for example those related to bringing up children, drug prevention, preventive health care, family finances or the prevention of domestic violence.

Another very important arena for integration is the workplace. We thus advocate, among other things, that the public sector must lead the way in training and employing migrants in proportion to their presence in the population as a whole. Additionally, integration policy must be flanked by active anti-discrimination legislation. This includes the introduction of the right to vote in local elections and at regional, national and European level.

The process of European unification raises the question of the rights of migrants and refugees in a new way. Our call is for a “European nationality”, guaranteeing rights of political participation for all residents of the European Union.

Managing immigration and providing effective protection for refugees is essential, but this does not mean Alliance 90/The Greens closes its eyes to reality: there are always people who try to enter Germany and seek protection without recourse to the proper legal channels. For Alliance 90/The Greens it goes without saying that these people, too, are entitled to their fundamental human rights.

#### **IV. Party of rights to liberty and civil rights**

Alliance/Green policy stands in the tradition of constitutional liberalism, which accords high value to the rights to liberty and procedural law. Civil rights, as rights of defence vis-à-vis the state, safeguard the self-determination of the citizens. There is a private sphere in which the state has no place. Freedom of opinion and the right to demonstrate are also essential to the democratic

formulation of political demands and objectives. The general right to live one's own life and the general freedom to act are the bases for the free choice of a way of life. These fundamental rights must be developed in line with social change. However, people can only benefit from fundamental rights when there are adequate procedures to make sure these are implemented. Here, the role of jurisdiction must be safeguarded as the third power of the state, equal in value to the other two. Neither the independence of the judiciary, nor the investigative work of the public prosecutors, must be put at risk by government influence on appointments and promotions. We defend the rule of law against its enemies, and refuse to accept what the extremist right calls "nationally liberated zones" or any other no-go zones outside the rule of law. In the struggle against politically or religiously motivated violence, a key role must be played by debate within society. Safeguarding public security – and, especially, protection from violence – is one of the most important tasks for a state under the rule of law. Combating violent crime, business crime and environmental offences is thus a matter of great concern to Alliance/Green policy. This includes effective measures against domestic violence, the abuse of children and the dissemination of child pornography. A policy of violence prevention will encompass measures to improve security in individual neighbourhoods with the help of new infrastructure and cultural policies. Our aim is to invigorate the public sphere and create new spaces for personal encounters and cultural exchange.

Quality of life is inconceivable without a feeling of security. A single crime can destroy an individual's happiness forever. Many policy areas, such as children's, youth and social policy, have a role to play in crime prevention. Education and training policy, as well as participation in employment and in social security networks, are all important in reducing crime. In the case of sexual violence, a transformation of social role models and the distribution of power is also crucial to long-term prevention work. The police and judicial system must contribute to the protection of the population by solving crimes faster, identifying the culprits and enforcing appropriate sanctions. Security and the sense of security can be boosted through cooperation between citizens and local authorities and a community-oriented police force. More assistance is needed for the victims of crime, while punishment must always remain based on the principles of humanity and rehabilitation.

Drugs policy has up to now been a policy of general criminal prosecution of the consumers. This has failed, and must be abandoned. An uncontrolled black market only exacerbates the problem. People who have drug problems need help, not punishment. For many others, mostly consumers of cannabis, prohibitions only lead to harassment and criminalisation. We therefore advocate a strong

support system that is oriented on the needs of the people concerned and underpins self-help structures. Here, considered use and risk minimisation for all drugs – including alcohol and tobacco – are the decisive factors. We support the legalisation of soft drugs such as hashish and marihuana.

The protection of fundamental rights holds a special significance in criminal law and criminal proceedings. Past moves to tighten laws must be re-examined and adjusted. Policy on crime must be a balanced interplay of prevention, intervention and repression. A one-sided reliance on repression does not make the country any safer. The decriminalisation of minor offences can help relieve the judicial system. The powers of the secret services must be restricted, and their work subjected to stronger control by the constitutional state.

#### **V. The media as the fourth pillar of democracy**

The media play an immensely significant role in a vigorous democracy. To fulfil their constitutional task, they need a guarantee of freedom, but also special precautions. The media must never be treated as a solely economic matter. At the same time, it is important that media power is not mixed with political power.

We advocate journalistic diversity. Indispensable to this is a publicly controlled segment within the broadcasting system, financially supported and capable of development, that can act as a counterweight to the highly concentrated commercial media concerns. Increasing concentration in the electronic and print media must be parried by tougher anti-cartel legislation on a national and European level.

More and more, the media are guided by sophisticated marketing strategies. If consumers are to be able to make confident use of the media, their media competence must be fostered from childhood onwards. There must be a legal guarantee of non-commercial provision, especially for children, in all the media.

#### **VI. Technological development and self-determination in information**

As technology develops, particularly in the field of information technology and biotechnology, civil and human rights are facing new challenges. Increasingly rapid information exchange and fast-moving technical developments mean it is becoming more and more difficult to understand and track what data are being exchanged, compared and made accessible to unauthorised actors. This makes data protection more important than ever before. People's rights over the information held

on them must be safeguarded by means of effective legal and technological data protection. That includes measures of state regulation and monitoring, as well as support for self-protection by the people affected, the implementation of transparency in processing, and the establishment of consumers' market power in the case of commercial data processing.

Medical progress is particularly striking in the field of genetic diagnostics. Early diagnosis and improved precision in the isolation of the causes of disease are both positive developments, and research on them is to be encouraged. However, genetic tests looking into the future are a more ambivalent matter in cases where the diseases diagnosed cannot be cured, or where the test results are merely statistical statements that ultimately tell the patient nothing about his or her personal future. To avoid discrimination, the analysis of hereditary dispositions should never be carried out without the agreement of the person concerned. In the case of genetic data, self-determination on information involves a duty to provide comprehensive counselling, the granting of a "right not to know", and the absolute restriction of data use to particular, named applications. That also implies that information on a person's genetic disposition must only be available to that person her or himself.

## **VII. Reforming democratic institutions**

Democracy depends on competition between political positions and visions. We therefore oppose a situation where positions are no longer publicly presented and contested but just negotiated with the big interest-group associations. We want to boost the role of parliaments and members of parliament in the formulation of political demands and decision-making processes. Democracy must be combative, for its lifeblood comes from the struggle between different visions and demands. There is a fundamental need for access for everybody concerned, for transparent procedures and for publicly accessible results. Here, our special goal is to provide an arena for those interests and voices that have no powerful lobby in society to represent them.

The influence of the parties must be limited to their democratically legitimated field of action. Appointments based solely on party membership, for example in the administration, the media or in public services, must be prohibited. The democratic institutions must be investigated for their impact on women and on men, using the principles of gender mainstreaming. Our aim is for women and men to be represented equally in all domains and all on levels of politics.

The necessary modernisation of the state is inconceivable without an administrative structure that is

community-oriented, efficient and accountable. Administrative reforms to move with the times do more than just save money. They also make sure public administration is increasingly based on the needs of the citizen. Modern personnel policies, ones which boost employee responsibility and performance-related promotion structures, must replace authority-based thinking and inflexible hierarchies. The state does not itself have to take on all aspects of care as a public service provider, but it does have to ensure that they are made available.

### **VIII. Strengthening the right to participation**

The political participation of citizens, along with non-governmental organisations, interest groups and associations, is essential if a society is to face the future with confidence. New forms of participation must be initiated and established that are capable of promoting dialogue within society. As a complement to parliamentary democracy, we aim to reinforce elements of direct participation by citizens on all levels of the state, from the local authority to the national government. The design of these instruments of direct democracy must be citizen-friendly enough for a vigorous democratic practice to arise. They must be continually re-examined and perfected. We want to increase the influence of the citizens on the choice of who will sit in parliaments, while at the same time maintaining the proportionally representative relation between the delegates and their parties.

A key to increased democracy lies in political parties' success in opening up to the citizens, adopting new forms of participation and allowing these to flow into the processes of political decision-making.

### **IX. Federalism and local self-government**

The federal system has proved its worth. It has contributed to the creation of equal life conditions for everyone, the preservation of regional specificities and the power of regional interests vis-à-vis the central government. Federalism draws its legitimacy from a clear demarcation of responsibilities between the Federation, the individual state and the local authority. This means allocating financial resources to the level which, in any one case, has the political power and bears the responsibility. Additionally, the decentralisation of state duties, more responsibility for the regions with their specific cultural and economic features, and increased support for local-level political commitment will all help achieve more efficient production of public goods and services. Competition between the regions is a positive factor as long as a level playing field and a sustainable competitive framework are in place.

What we need today is a renaissance of local politics. Local authorities must be given more freedom to act. We aim to reawaken awareness of the right to local self-administration that is anchored in the German constitution. To this end, the system of fiscal balancing between the local authorities must be reformed. A key factor here is reaching a steady level of local income, as well as strengthening financial autonomy by improving local authorities' right to decide the level of the taxes they levy. However, we also hope to provide more scope for the local authorities – and thus local people themselves – to make decisions about their community. This means a legal framework that permits flexibility and encourages experiment.

### **X. New paths to codetermination in society and the economy**

We are committed to further steps along the path of democratising society. Democracy and participation should not remain restricted to the domain of the state. We want them to be an integral part of other domains as well, domains where important decisions about our future are made. The call for accountability also covers those economic institutions that exert a powerful influence on society.

The continued development of codetermination in business contexts, along with more involvement in productive capital by the population, can help ensure more effective participation in shaping economic events. This can be achieved both on the level of individual businesses, through worker participation, and across businesses through investment funds. Here, growing demands will be made on a partnership-based entrepreneurial culture which allows employees to share in decisions about the direction their company should take. As we see it, co-ownership and codetermination are complementary issues. Rights to co-determination, and the safeguarding of collective interests on the factory floor and in company structures, are necessary to do fulfil the wish for an increasingly humane and democratic everyday life at the workplace. Co-determination in factories and businesses must be adapted to fit society's changing needs and demands. The need for co-determination is not limited to the world of work. The chance to participate actively is equally crucial in the domains of school and university, the residential environment and the planning and implementation of large-scale urban and rural projects. In these fields, too, we need procedures that make it possible to balance a range of conflicting interests.

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## **Towards a gender-equitable society**

ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS are committed to the equal rights of women and men in all spheres of life. Feminism, the women's movement and the personal commitment of women are essential sources of Alliance/Green politics. The equal participation of women and men in our political work has been a key factor in our political self-definition. Policies on women have been, and still are, a topic that cuts across all subject areas, aiming to make the world women and men live in fit the diversity of their actual situations and interests. This makes policy on women a policy for the whole of society, one which analyses and changes power structures with a view to gender justice. Our policy on women culminates in a new policy on women, men, gender and society. For us, gender justice means a vision of democracy, freedom and human equality that goes well beyond the measure achieved so far.

### **I. The foundations of our gender policy**

The successes of the women's movement in our country have resulted in huge social change. Women have achieved legal equality for the most part. It has become a matter of course for women and girls to demand modern ways of living that combine work and family life. Nowadays many women and girls are making confident use of the personal and professional options that the women's movement fought for and gained in years gone by. In many cases, women are taking an active part in politics and society. The emancipation of women is an essential part of our society's process of individualisation and the widening spectrum of different lifestyles.

Despite this progress, however, there is still a long way to go before a gender-equitable society is achieved. The hierarchies and power differentials between the sexes have by no means been abolished. While girls' and women's consciousness has changed, male-dominated social structures, cultural models and attitudes stubbornly persist. Politics and business are still largely based on traditional notions of the division of labour between men and women. This forces many women either to choose between a career and children and family, or else to take on long-term multiple burdens.

In our society, the divisions between rich and poor, native Germans and migrants, young and old are further overlaid by the inequality between women and men. And as a rule, the double burden on women becomes worse the heavier the general social burdens are.

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It is the task of ALLIANCE90/GREEN policy to change the framework within which these gender relations arise, in such a way that women and men enjoy equal rights and can share in shaping the society around them.

Gender policy has implications for all other policy domains: for employment and the economy, lifestyles and the family, social security and taxation, education and science, research and technology. All policy domains must be measured against the yardstick of gender justice.

**Justice in gender relations.** Access to education, employment, income and property, and to social and political decision-making, must be distributed fairly between the sexes. This not only means women having a fair share in society's assets, but also men participating fairly in the responsibilities of caring for the family.

Even today, hierarchies and power differentials between the sexes are far from having been eliminated. In practice, the lives of women and girls – and of many men – continue to be characterised by a gulf between expectations and reality. But as long as there is no fair distribution of political power and decision-making roles, paid and unpaid work, income and time, our society will not be delivering gender justice. We want to remedy that shortfall.

The fair distribution of assets is an important basis for a policy of gender justice. At present, jobs in fields where men are traditionally employed continue to attract better material rewards. The age-old call for equal pay for equal work has still not been fully answered. When appeals are no longer enough, the time has come for policy to break through patriarchal, unjust structures by introducing targeted measures.

**Self-determination in gender relations.** Self-determination relies on equal rights, equal freedoms and equal responsibilities for each individual person, and dissolves traditionally male-dominated hierarchies. The consciousness of women and girls has sped ahead of actual circumstances. Modern societies must face up to these changes and create the social networks that will really make it possible to lead a self-determined life.

**Democracy in gender relations.** A democratic society offers men and women equal opportunities to participate in the democratic formulation of political demands and objectives and to take up political posts.

The gender issue is a crucial one for democracy, since the recognition of diversity can only be achieved through the real – and not merely formal – recognition of fundamental equality in all social spheres. Over and above all other social divisions, the issue of women is a key connecting element for democracy and civil society.

A society's claim to be democratic is only realised when men and women can share in decision-making on an equal basis. This presupposes conditions of life that make it easier for people to combine paid employment with social and political work in a viable way. The right of every individual to shape her or his democracy encompasses equal access to the resources they need to do so. We are committed to equal representation for women and men from all social groups in all social arenas. That also means parties and political institutions must open up their structures and hierarchies to women.

## **II. Challenges for a gender-equitable policy**

The goal of our gender policy is to dissolve the social categorisations of men and women wherever these represent a barrier to gender equality. Our society is marked by a multiplicity of family and lifestyle forms. These are a response to the challenges and transformations generated by a modern society.

The classic family model, with a single employment history and a life-long family biography, is now less influential than it was in the past. The expectations of the social security system derived from that model, as well as tax legislation that continues to offer financial incentives for people to live within traditional role patterns, have failed to keep up with reality. Women want an independent livelihood that is not tied to one particular way of living. Women's economic independence must be encouraged so as to strengthen their power to make decisions and define terms, both in family and relationships and in society as a whole.

Parallel to that, we need adequate, reliable childcare options and, in the workplace, more understanding of parental responsibilities, so that both women and men who want to live with children are not forced to choose between family and career. They need the chance to combine both.

However, sharing is not only required in the workplace and political posts. It is just as important in the sphere of unpaid work: bringing up children, caring for others and the nurture of social relationships. We aim to expand women's policy into a new policy on men, gender and society, giving a fundamentally new definition to the relations between women and men. This opens up new visions for the life plans of men, a new understanding that will at last valorise the achievements of unpaid care work while expanding and enriching our view of the family and family life. We also want to empower men to live out their role as fathers without having to face exclusion and incomprehension. Other countries' experience shows that men take more responsibility for childcare if it is surrounded by better material safeguards for both men and women.

### **III. Freedom from violence between men and women**

Protection from all forms of gender-specific violence is an important goal of Alliance/Green policy. Violence begins wherever someone is degraded and humiliated. Sexualised violence, the victims of which are mostly women and children, is one of the most aggressive violations of human dignity. The women's movement has succeeded in making this kind of violence – mainly played out in the domestic sphere – into a matter for public debate. We are committed to expanding the ease of access and coverage of the professional facilities that are essential to protect the victims of sexual, physical and psychological violence, such as battered women's refuges, counselling services and protection programmes for victims and witnesses.

We support preventive programmes in gender-specific anti-violence work on all levels of youth, educational and social work, with the goal of permanently eliminating male, and especially sexualised, violence. Work with boys and men must also focus on practising role models and models of upbringing that are based on a partnership approach. Once again, it becomes very clear how much a gender-equitable society depends on the emergence of new ideas of masculinity.

As well as a firm policy of criminal prosecution, we call for therapeutic and counselling programmes for offenders. In our view it is absolutely essential that such counselling and therapy services, tailored to the individual's level of violence or violent potential, be extended and supported in future.

In the case of trafficking in women, too, Alliance/Green policy is guided by the principles of human rights. Women who have become the victims of trafficking have a right to professional counselling, therapy and trauma care, as well as refuge options. We aim to promote the professional

support of specialised counselling services. Trafficked women and their children must have access to legal advice and help, to education and training, to the labour market and to health care. Such women, as the victims of human rights abuses, are all the more in need of protection against further discrimination, such as deportation custody, compulsory repatriation or expulsion. The protection of trafficked women and their safety are top priority for our policy. Like all migrants, such women must have free access to all integration services.

Violence in the public sphere also affects men. In public perceptions, men are usually seen only as offenders, and the fact that they are often victims of violence is largely ignored. A gender-equitable policy must address all violence based on gender. Here, gender-specific assumptions must be corrected. Only then can effective strategies be developed to counter violence preventively.

#### **IV. Abortion, reproductive medicine, and freedom from bodily harm**

We aim to safeguard and strengthen women's and girls' right to a self-determined life. With this in mind, we will continue to support the guarantee of a woman's right to decide alone and without external pressure whether she will continue or terminate a pregnancy. An important step in this direction is improving the conditions for life with children. Prosecuting women for terminating their pregnancy is not an appropriate way of encouraging them to decide in favour of life with children. No woman chooses an abortion without great inner conflict. No woman's freedom to decide must be restricted by her social and material circumstances or by external pressures.

Advances in reproductive medicine have led to profound ethical problems and conflicts.

Increasingly sophisticated methods in diagnosis and access to the unborn child are being offered to would-be parents as an increment in freedom of choice and in opportunities for self-determination.

Prenatal and pre-implantation diagnostics face women with options that go far beyond the decision whether or not to carry a pregnancy to term. There is a risk that the right to terminate a pregnancy will become a duty to terminate in cases where doctors have diagnosed a possible disability.

Modern reproductive technology and research on embryonic stem cells are a further threat to women's rights to reproductive self-determination. As "egg providers" and embryo donors, women increasingly risk being seen as nothing more than the object of medical, research or economic interests. ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS thus reject the production of embryos for any other purpose than to bring about a pregnancy. Women's rights to reproductive self-determination encompass the right to refuse predictive genetic tests during or before pregnancy, and also the right to decide in

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favour of a disabled child. The fundamental right to freedom from bodily harm must be respected here as well.

Women are hampered in the autonomy of their decisions by being involved in diagnostic procedures and reproductive treatments that are not transparent to them. Today, women who refuse to make use of the sophisticated methods of prenatal diagnostics are already beginning to face an uncomprehending attitude from society, and feel they have to justify their choice. Under the banner of medical progress, women are being handed as their individual responsibility something that is really a task for society as a whole: the task of achieving an equal stake in society for people with disabilities. In the future, ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS will continue to judge all developments in prenatal diagnostics according to whether they are harmful or beneficial to an idea of human life that is oriented on the diversity and individuality of human existence.

#### **V. New directions in gender policy**

Instruments of women's policy like affirmative action, the establishment of arenas of debate for women and women's promotion programmes are effective and right in themselves – but experience has shown that they are not enough to bring about the social change we require. To create justice between the sexes, new strategies and new allies are needed as well.

Women's and gender policy crosses the boundaries of particular policy fields. We will judge all measures and political decisions according to whether they contribute to increased gender justice and thus to increased democracy. Gender objectives must be mainstreamed by examining all political action for gender-specific inequalities. This gender mainstreaming will activate potential for the development of equal rights and equal participation, and expand the repertoire of promotion measures for women by adding instruments of a men's and gender policy.

The same applies to the distribution of public funds. Although it often seems that public funds are distributed in a gender-neutral way, in fact studies have shown that public subsidies and investments benefit women and men to different degrees. We call for economic and financial policy also to be looked at in terms of its impact on gender relations. This will make public budgets clearer and more accountable. Only when it has become obvious where public funds are going, and who is profiting from them, can a judgement be made as to whether a budgetary decision contributes to the equality of women and men.

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Gender mainstreaming makes it possible to spell out a gender contract as the new social contract. For these reasons, we call for gender mainstreaming to be supported and implemented on all organisational levels. This is a joint task for all women and men in the party.

### **A key project: Women into positions of power**

Women make up more than half the population, and they want half the power. Men are the other half of the population, and they bear half the responsibility. Even if the emancipation of women in recent years has led to great movement and change, and many women and girls have successfully fought for their place in the workplace and public life, the world of business and employment, as well as politics and society, remain very strongly influenced by the traditional relationship between the sexes: the dominant roles to men, the service tasks to women.

Our party took a pioneering step forward by introducing the women's quota and minimum parity. Women have established their roles at all levels in ALLIANCE90/THEGREENS. Because of the example we set, there is hardly a party nowadays that could imagine being without the quota system of affirmative action.

However, we don't just want to put women at the fore within our own party structures. We are committed to seeing women occupy half the top positions in politics and in social institutions, universities, culture and science, in the public sector, and also in business.

Pushing for both sexes to hold a fair share in all economic and social fields is one of the tasks of ALLIANCE/GREEN policy. We aim to create the frame conditions for education, paid work and care work to be fairly distributed between women and men in everyday life.

Using legislation, dialogue and public education, we want to set the course for politics and society to implement gender justice. We support mentoring projects and women's networks that open up and facilitate paths to promotion for women.

### **VI. Women's rights internationally**

Women's rights are human rights. In many parts of the world women and girls are still being treated in a way that profoundly undermines their dignity: genital mutilation in parts of Africa, compulsory veiling and its associated disregard for women in fundamentalist Islamic countries, the child labour and girls' labour that is common practice in many areas, along with forced prostitution,

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forced marriage and the servitude of wives that makes them into goods and chattels, the isolation and humiliation of widows and unmarried women – all these are eloquent testimonies to the degradation and pain suffered by many women and girls throughout the world. In many countries, gender-specific persecution is an unquestioned custom.

Any attempt to realise human rights, therefore, must have support for women's rights at its core – especially since, in many countries, women are the key players in combating poverty and attaining sustainable development. In their commitment to maintaining life, time and again it is women who push for the ecologically responsible and economical use of water, soil and foodstuffs. In many areas it is women who initiate the development of the small-scale economies that secure people's livelihoods. Often, they are responsible for the housing, hygiene and education of their extended families. In war zones and refugee camps, during famines and environmental disasters, women fight for the survival of their families. International politics and development cooperation must work to implement women's rights and carry out active measures to promote women and girls in all spheres. There can be no peace without better women's rights. In order to achieve sustainable development, the economic, environmental and social competences of women and girls must be recognised and drawn into the process. The dignity of women and girls is sacrosanct. Women's rights, such as the right to education and the right to work, must be respected, and women must receive access to income and resources, as well as being protected from gender-specific persecution and discrimination.

In large parts of the world, women and girls have become the losers in the globalisation process, a process that burdens them with yet harsher working conditions while social structures collapse. On the other hand, there has been a growth in women's networking across almost the whole world. The international women's movement has succeeded in making visible the situation of "invisible" women in the so-called developing nations. The world conferences on women and the UN commissioners for women's and gender issues are milestones on this road.

We ALLIANCE/GREEN women consider ourselves part of the international women's movement and are working to make it stronger. It is our policy to give this movement a voice and a hearing, and to promote the implementation of women's rights worldwide.

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## **Towards Europe and One World**

The international situation has undergone profound changes over the past ten years. Europe has been presented with the chance to overcome its historic divisions. The new Europe of integration can leave the old Europe of nationalism behind it. We attach high hopes to this transformation. However, it is not only Europe that is looking at new opportunities and challenges in the twenty-first century. International relations as a whole are changing with dramatic speed. Globalisation is becoming the great central theme of foreign policy. Globalisation links up problematic social, economic and environmental situations worldwide, thus necessitating a globalisation of politics as well. A nation state cannot cope with globalisation in isolation. All the international actors must face up to the changed frame conditions. The role of Germany in Europe and in the world, too, must be redefined. Our vision is the emergence of a new international order guided by considerations of human rights, ecology, social justice, democracy, peace and freedom. In pursuit of this, we aim to make use of political responsibility. We reject the idea of the hegemony of one world region or one group of states over the others. Instead, we are committed to a community of democracies open to the world.

### **I. The foundations of our foreign policy**

ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS foreign policy grew from the traditions of the movements for peace, North-South solidarity and human rights. In the late phases of the Cold War, we opposed the nuclear arms race, the militarisation of thinking, mutual demonisation and hostile stereotypes on both sides of the Wall. We worked for comprehensive disarmament, peace at home and abroad, and non-violent conflict resolution. We joined with solidarity campaigns to oppose ecological crises, starvation, oppression, underdevelopment and the impoverishment of people in large stretches of Africa, Latin America and Asia. All along, we have never ceased to call for the universal application of human rights.

ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS foreign policy owes a debt to the values of ecological responsibility, self-determination, international justice, democracy and peace. We are thus guided by the visions of the universality and indivisibility of human rights and the validity of law in international relations, demilitarisation, moves towards civil society and non-violence in international politics, and a world economic order based on solidarity and ecological considerations. We reject the idea of separate paths in power politics, hegemonic aspirations and nationalism, and favour instead political self-restraint and international integration.

ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS foreign policy is committed to the process of European unification. Integration has granted Europe a historically unprecedented period of peace and prosperity. Our affirmation of the European ideal is also rooted in the knowledge that in future it will no longer be possible for us to live and act inside the closed, sharply demarcated spaces of nation states and national societies. The Europe we are working for is a Europe of democracy, sustainability and solidarity, representing a policy of social justice and environmentalism both inwards and outwards. Europe is facing the opportunity to permanently safeguard peace on our continent and make a significant contribution to world peace. In this process, the greatest responsibility falls to the European Union. We support both the enlargement of the EU and the deepening of its internal integration.

ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS foreign policy is also committed to a different and positive version of globalisation. With the motto of the environmental movement, “Think global, act local”, we early on articulated our viewpoint: the need to take active responsibility for the emerging global society. The time has come to create new international regulatory structures that can deliver equality in economic, ecological, social and human-rights aspects. This will require an international structural policy. It demands intensified coordination, cooperation and decision-making on the international level. International organisations, regional alliances, national parliaments, international rulebooks and, not least, globally networked social movements and civil societies will all contribute to the emergence of an architecture of global governance. They must be developed further if we are to meet the challenges facing the planet.

## **II. Taking on responsibility for global society**

Globalisation is changing the world. Economic, cultural and information systems are networking across the whole world; our lives and actions are less and less constricted within nation states and national societies, and the contours of a global society are beginning to take shape. Globalisation opens up the historic opportunity to realise the humanist ideal: human beings are viewing themselves in a worldwide context of responsibility for and solidarity with each other – and acting accordingly. In the same spirit, the Greens too are part of a movement that has emerged from awareness of globalisation and from concern about its worldwide ecological and social consequences.

However, the form of globalisation dominant today is not creating a better world. The logic of economics, ruled by growth and profit, is given the general right to call the tune. The uncompromising “primacy of the economy” is undermining social and ecological conditions throughout the world. The problems facing the countries of the South have not been solved, and instead impoverishment, famine, environmental destruction, disasters and widespread social and cultural dislocation are steadily worsening. A world economy where 800 million people continue to suffer from chronic undernourishment, and where a further two billion cannot be sure of lasting food security, is self-evidently failing.

Certainly, globalisation is not the sole source all the world’s evils. However, it has opened deep economic and social fault-lines and significantly exacerbated existing negative trends. Not only in the “South”, but also in the industrialised nations, neo-liberal globalisation is casting dangerous shadows. Here, too, the gulf between rich and poor is widening, employment is becoming insecure, ever more people (especially women) are being edged onto the margins of society and of the economy, and social peace is under threat. Because we want a world of global solidarity and responsibility, we say no to a globalisation that makes the world into a commodity. Limits must be set to the pure logic of economic exploitation and growth. Thus, the right to adequate food, clean water and an intact environment must never anywhere be subjugated to the principle of economic profit.

Non-governmental organisations have contributed important momentum in their efforts to highlight the life interests of people affected and their environments. We welcome and support the active intervention of NGOs in the shaping of globalisation, and will continue to do so in future.

Faced with a cross-border economy, nation states are increasingly losing their ability to steer change. It is now time to create international frame conditions that can challenge the demands of economic utilisation, setting limits on the power of multinational concerns and international financial markets. The unleashed globalised economy must be checked and regulated. It is one of policy’s most important tasks to push through the democratically legitimated, worldwide regulation of globalisation. When it comes to supplying a social, ecological and humane framework for a previously unbridled economic and financial marketplace, the starting point is the United Nations. The UN organisations concerned with environmental, social and development policy – such as the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) – must be strengthened, international

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agreements extended, and institutions like a council for sustainable development set up. Under the umbrella of the UN, the developing nations can have an equal part in managing globalisation processes, and account can be taken of the needs of civil society.

The international community must come to an understanding on rules of world trade and financial transfers which accord clear priority to the requirements of ecological sustainability, social justice and the reduction of the gap between rich and poor, both worldwide and within individual societies. An international order that regulates competition and investment must help reduce structural disadvantage and the unjust exchange of commodities produced by the countries of the “South” on the world market.

More of these countries’ debt must be cancelled, with some of the savings channelled into effective and accountable means of combating poverty; the industrialised nations must balance out social and ecological burdens in a way that acknowledges responsibility for the financial, social and ecological “debts” accumulated in the past and present and makes at least a small contribution to compensating for them.

An important step towards a more equitable global economic order is the dismantling of tariff barriers in the industrialised nations. Possible ways of regulating globalisation are the taxation of currency speculation with, for example, the Tobin tax, and the abolition of tax havens with the aim of curbing speculation in international financial transfers.

A further ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS concern is to develop and reorient international institutions like the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. We call for improved accountability and transparency, and more say for the countries of the South. We hope that setting a new ecological and social course for globalisation, in line with the principle of sustainable development, will deliver improved gender justice, democratisation and transparency vis-à-vis parliaments and civil society.

### **Globalisation and justice**

The globalisation of the economy does not necessarily mean that costs and benefits of business are distributed equally across the globe. In the last few decades, the advantages and profits of globalisation have increasingly come to be concentrated in the hands of a minority that is anyway economically strong and politically powerful, while the situation of the world’s poorest people has

become worse than ever. As globalisation proceeds, the pressure on national governments to cut back their social security arrangements is also growing. Both these factors are adding to injustice. Yet without worldwide justice, there can be no peace, no security and no sustainable development. Economic factors have the potential to be both sources of conflict – thus contributing to the emergence of wars – and instruments to generate peace. Equitable economic structures are one of the vital preconditions for peaceful coexistence. Therefore, a commitment to peace also means a commitment to a world economic order based on solidarity and ecological considerations. In place of a one-sided liberalisation of the world economy at the expense of the South, we call for the industrialised countries' protectionist barriers to be dismantled, while an asymmetrical "protection" is offered to the weaker players.

When judging a policy's success in contributing to international justice, the most important yardstick must thus be the degree to which poverty is curbed. Our policy aims to help halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. We work actively for an environmentally and socially based world economic order, with the objective of evening out the life opportunities of all the world's people at as high a level as the Earth's capacity to absorb environmental burdens will permit.

### **Globalisation and sustainability**

The competitive effect of global free trade means that any national moves to build a more sustainable economy very soon come under deregulatory pressure. Yet destructive treatment of the environment can only be reversed if we succeed in pushing through ecological, social and gender-democratic objectives and criteria in the policy of the big economic blocs and the statutes of the world economy's dominant institutions: the WTO, World Bank and IMF. To this end, we will take initiatives on a national level. The international environmental conventions, especially those on climate and biodiversity, are an attempt to steer the development of the global economy onto a less ecologically harmful course. The international agreements reached up to now are very far from sufficient to halt the decline of the natural conditions of life across the planet. The worsening scarcity of energy resources, and especially of the elementary foundations of life like water and fertile soil, can result in severe conflicts and regional conflagrations. An environmentally informed foreign policy from Germany and the EU, and a world economic order based on solidarity and ecological considerations, are needed to counter these risks. Indispensable components of an international structural policy are the expansion and enhanced status of the UN bodies responsible for the environment and development. In particular, the organisations concerned with global

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environmental policy – such as the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the Global Environment Facility (GEF) and the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) – should be combined and reinforced in both political and institutional terms. We favour improved jurisdiction and verification of international agreements to protect people and nature.

### **Globalisation and democracy**

At one and the same time, globalisation both offers opportunities for greater democracy and threatens to undermine and endanger democracy. In countries where powerful elites gain possession of a country's wealth by occupying a state, the competitive pressure of economic globalisation can result in hotbeds of corruption, mismanagement and the squandering of resources. In the long term, even global markets for investment and products require a minimum degree of legal security and political stability, something which can only be delivered by a democratic framework. The proliferation of international information and communication networks, too, promotes democratic aspirations. However, in many cases globalisation interests and corrupt regimes join forces to exploit whole regions or nations. Markets do not automatically generate democracy. Worldwide, fighting for and defending democracy is essential if people are to be able to lead self-determined lives. The development of transnational democratic communities, the best example of which is the European Union, boosts the chances of the participating societies to determine their own future in the face of pure market forces, and creates an international framework for a social and environmentally compatible market economy. Alliance 90/The Greens advocate a democratisation of the IMF and the World Bank, more votes for the developing nations, and the meaningful involvement of organisations of civil society in both institutions.

### **Globalisation and peace**

Since the end of the East-West confrontation, the underlying pattern of violence has shifted, with intra-state and regionalised wars and armed conflicts now taking centre stage. Here, the privatisation of violence, crumbling state structures, ethnicist and nationalist identity politics, religious fundamentalism and organised crime all have their part to play. Their primary victims are the civilian population. Enclaves outside the reach of the law can export violence and criminality. The globalisation of insecurity finds its clearest expression in cross-border, transnational terrorism, the flood of small arms, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

After the disarmament phase of the 1990s, the world is now experiencing a new wave of rearmament and a crisis in multilateral arms control. With the renaissance of a politics of power

interests backed by the military, there is a risk of relapse into the “might is right” principle in international relations. The USA’s rearmament plans envisage global military hegemony. The result will be not improved security, but a gigantic waste of resources and the kindling of conflict and violence in the world.

The only effective way to counter globalised insecurity and privatised violence is a multilateral policy that aims for comprehensive and joint security and just peace. Because of its historical experience and potential, Europe bears a special responsibility for that goal.

### **III. Integration – self-restraint – multilateral cooperation**

Germany’s vulnerabilities have not been lessened by the changes in the international scene. At the same time, our responsibilities in Europe and in the world have grown. We call for a German policy that accepts responsibility in the interests of the international community. Germany must not reduce its international policy to national interests, even if a policy of international solidarity and global responsibility cannot ignore the interests of society at home. The issue is to bring legitimate social, ecological and economic interests and needs for security into harmony with the objectives of a values-driven foreign policy.

In view of its history and geographical position, Germany will only find its role within the process of European integration. We share a special friendship with France. Britain and Poland, too, are particularly close partners, for reasons of historical responsibility. With Russia, and other European states that will not be able to become full members of the European Union in the foreseeable future, we favour joint work on the building of our common European house and, in particular, on the creation of an overarching security architecture for that house. We support the idea of a common economic space for the EU and its eastern neighbours.

Germany’s security and stability also crucially rest upon close and amicable relations with the USA and Russia. Both were key players in Germany’s return into the community of states after the Second World War and the Shoah. We owe a special debt to the USA and to the then leadership of the Soviet Union for the unification of Germany forty years later. A relationship with the USA that – despite all our differences and disputes – remains close and cordial, and the readiness to nurture and renew our shared agenda, will be vitally important in the twenty-first century as well. A new transatlantic agenda must emphasise the industrialised nations’ shared responsibility for an ecologically viable, social and democratic transformation across the globe.

We aim for lasting cooperation with all our neighbours on the continent and in the Mediterranean area. We support the Barcelona Process, where the EU is pursuing an integrated strategy to make the Mediterranean region a zone of prosperity, law, sustainability and peace. In the Middle East conflict, we support both Israel's right to existence within secure borders and a Palestinian state. We stand by Germany's special relationship with Israel. We are also committed to keeping open the door to Europe for Turkey. As Europe continues to grow closer together, there is an active role to be played not only by the EU but also by the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Here, the different constituencies covered by these organisations offer an opportunity for flexible forms of cooperation and gradual transitions. We do not want "hard", exclusionary external borders to the EU. The free movement of persons as well as regional cooperation must be guaranteed across the EU's borders. From our perspective, the EU is the core of a pan-European network characterised by multiple political, economic and cultural interconnections.

We favour multilateral cooperation, the dialogue with friends and allies, and negotiated solutions in cases of conflict. Increased multilateral cooperation is the overarching goal of our foreign policy, and for this reason we support all efforts to reinforce multilateral structures, integration and the recognition of international law. This basic stance has been confirmed by experiences since 11 September 2001. It includes increased dialogue between the cultures. Our ideas of peace policy cannot be realised unilaterally by Germany, but depend on dialogue with our friends and allies. We thus accord high value to joint political action with friends and allies, so as to avoid becoming isolated and forfeiting trust. At the same time, we stand by the policy of self-restraint and unambiguously oppose any pursuit of separate foreign policy paths by Germany. With this policy of self-restraint and the multilateral representation of interests, which also calls for independent initiatives, we will be able to maintain the reputation for calculability that the Federal Republic has built up over the past fifty years.

#### **IV. Towards a democratic Europe**

The political structure of the European Union is a unique mix that has developed out of the events of history. In it, nation states transfer certain of their powers and part of their sovereignty to the joint, supranational institutions of the European Union, which is neither a conventional federal state nor a traditional league of states. In this increasingly close Union, decisions must be made in as transparent and citizen-oriented way as possible. We advocate further progress along the path of

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European integration. Cooperation among the European Greens, which we want to continue developing into a joint European Green Party, will play an ever greater role, both bilaterally and in the framework of the European Federation of Green Parties. Our objective is an EU that is at once a union of the citizens and a union of the states.

For its citizens, Europe is becoming more and more real, more and more tangible, because it is affecting them more and more directly. At the same time, the democratic deficit is threatening to undermine Europeans' readiness to accept the EU's greater role. Bureaucratic gridlock and institutional malformations must thus be overcome. One means to achieve this is EU enlargement. The task at present is to create a European constitution as the foundation of European democracy. That constitution must guarantee fundamental and civil rights to all Europeans, and safeguard those rights through a European jurisdiction. It must lay down the future institutional structures of the EU following the principle of the separation of powers, and clarify the powers held by the different levels of government in line with the principle of subsidiarity. Options must remain open for democratic procedures in future to introduce changes in the institutions and the allocation of responsibilities. More vigorous democracy for the EU means a parliament with comprehensive budgetary and decision-making powers and effective rights of verification. This parliament, as a chamber of the citizens, should be complemented by a chamber of the states. Governmental cooperation as the sole method of integration has long since reached the limits of its usefulness. We therefore advocate strengthening the role of the European Commission and of Members of the European Parliament. The president of the Commission must receive her or his legitimacy through being elected, either directly or by the European Parliament. The necessary institutional, structural and fiscal reforms of the EU need to deliver a more transparent Europe with strictly demarcated powers. More precise demarcation of responsibilities must show clearly where Brussels has jurisdiction and where it does not. At the same time, we need a sound balance between the nation, the region and Europe as a whole. As the debate over the concept of a "federation of nation states" has shown, the nations will continue to play an important role in Europe.

Integration and diversity are not mutually exclusive, as long as subsidiarity is practised. We favour a finely textured Europe in which decisions are made at the level dictated by the matter at hand and which allows the greatest possible degree of democratic intervention. As it grows together, Europe must not centralise matters that can reasonably be managed on the level of local authorities and regions. We thus want to enhance the role of the regions in Europe and to preserve cultural diversity and regional specificities. However, we condemn the way the question of demarcation of

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powers is sometimes used to justify an abdication of responsibility for European solidarity in the face of the accession of poorer countries and regions. When it comes to issues that can only be decided and implemented on a European level, Europe must have full capacity to act.

We are also in favour of periods of more intense cooperation between particular member states. This process must follow clear rules, and should be transparent, temporary, open to all member states in the course of time, and embedded in the institutional framework of the EU. For us, the highest principle remains the chance for all member states to participate equally in the democratic control and development of the EU.

The EU already contains the democratic potential that will enable the Union's enlargement to generate an increment in democracy. The EU's capacity to act can be safeguarded by making the double majority – that is, the majority in both Council and Parliament – the rule. A “culture of majorities”, as opposed to one of vetoes and blocking tactics, will result in increased efficiency, transparency and democratic legitimacy. That culture of majorities should be based on the equality of the members, states and citizens. A common European right to vote should combine the setting of constituency boundaries for the European Parliament elections with the necessity of European lists.

### **A key project: A Europe belonging to its citizens**

Europe's citizens do not grant it acceptance, legitimacy and commitment unconditionally. European policy first has to provide the right answers to the pressing questions of the present and future. However, transparent, democratic decision-making structures are also required. We therefore strongly advocate the creation of a European constitution. The vision we are working for here is not the constitution of a European superstate, but a constitution in which the citizens agree on shared institutions, procedures and rights, and communicate via the bond provided by their community.

The European Union has passed a Charter of Fundamental Rights, which we want to see become the core of the European constitutional process. This charter must act as an eloquent symbol of European unification by becoming legally binding and thus enforceable by law. The Charter must be absorbed into the future European constitution. It must be open to a further development of EU goals in the direction of social, economic and cultural rights and the right to a healthy environment.

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Openness and tolerance in the EU must also be key factors in immigration legislation and in a humane asylum and refugee policy.

Shared values and shared fundamental rights make up the basis of a European public sphere where debates on the future of integration can be pursued constructively. A European public sphere does not replace national ones, but overcomes the fragmentation of national discourses and makes it possible to experience the diversity of Europe on a personal level. This requires shared structures. We favour a European civil society in which more than just the powerful interests are networked. A European media landscape and European parties with joint candidates for the European Parliament and Commission are important steps on the path to a democratically constituted, accountable Europe that stimulates people's interest and makes direct involvement worthwhile.

Consumer interests and social and ecological concerns need a voice in Europe. The European trade unions, non-governmental organisations and civic initiatives should have a role as dialogue partners in the Community's political processes – a role just as large as that currently taken by the lobbyists of the big business associations. Our objective is to continue to strengthen such European interest-group associations, by promoting their emergence and involving them in political dialogue. They, like increased rights to information for citizens, are a crucial component of the development of a European civil society.

## **V. The great task of enlargement**

Since 1989, the central European states have been potential candidates to join in European integration within the European Union. The enlargement of the EU, which will mean almost a doubling in members based on the accessions currently in view, and which goes hand in hand with the implementation of the stability pact for south-eastern Europe, is confronting the Union and its existing and prospective members with the greatest challenge in the history of European integration.

The accession of the new democracies of central and eastern Europe is the decisive step that will finally overcome the division of Europe laid down at Yalta. We also take a positive view of southwards enlargement, including the offer of accession to Turkey. The prospect of accession offers historical and political possibilities for Europe as a whole that go hand in hand with the new economic opportunities. Absolute preconditions for the accession of new members to the EU are

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fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria and the human and civil rights benchmarks anchored in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights.

Even when accession negotiations have been successfully concluded, the new EU members will have a long way to go if they are to catch up and keep up with economic and ecological developments in western Europe and to fulfil the Union's legal and administrative standards. This is not merely a matter of payments and capital transfers, but also requires the exchange of experience and the promotion of personal contacts between societies. Transitional periods restricting the free movement of persons, and with it the fundamental rights associated with EU citizenship, must be kept as short as possible.

Enlargement is one of the forces making a reform of the Common Agricultural Policy inevitable. In the reform process, we will argue for consideration for ecological aspects of the protection of nature and consumers and, in the case of the new member states, the avoidance of mistakes such as increased intensification in agricultural production.

## **VI. A social and ecological Europe**

Europe has developed the outlines of its own social model, which we want to add to and fill out. The economy and society, the market and the state are complementary. Social values and the nurture of the environment deserve an equal place alongside economic interests. We need a European pact to achieve a sustainable economy that will be able to weather the future, with binding targets and taking as its guiding principles environmental protection, improvements in the quality of life and the curbing of unemployment.

European energy policy must contribute to the global change of course that is necessary in environmental matters, providing special support for renewable energy sources such as sun, wind and water. Community regulations on climate protection, care of resources and environmental compatibility must form the benchmarks for all policy domains. Renouncing nuclear energy is the shared goal of the European Greens.

In Europe a functioning economic area has emerged. The introduction of the euro as a single currency makes a closely coordinated fiscal and monetary policy necessary. The harmonisation of taxation across Europe is urgently required to prevent tax evasion by transferring capital abroad, at least within the EU. European and national cartel authorities remain essential to ensure efficient

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control of the concentration of business power. At the same time, the rights of consumer and employees must be further strengthened on an EU level, and must be equipped with the legal framework for effective enforcement.

Europe must not be riven by social divisions, but instead create prosperity and social safeguards for everyone. A solidarity-based development strategy is needed to overcome the existing split into prosperous zones and crisis regions. We aim to help move economic and monetary union in this direction by working for a social balance between the member states and enhanced coordination of economic, fiscal and employment policy.

We are also committed to legal and social frame conditions within Europe that will enable women and men to realise a diverse range of aspirations. We aim for the elimination of every form of discrimination against women by means of a coordinated equality policy. Women's political representation must be boosted at all levels until 50% female participation has been achieved. For its citizens to make Europe their own, they need the skills and knowledge to take an active part in the process of European unification and to profit from it as individuals. Languages are a cultural asset deserving of protection, and must be nurtured on all levels within Europe: from the dialects, regional and minority languages and national languages right up to the supranational languages. We thus call for all branches of schooling and vocational training to guarantee the teaching of European languages, and for exchanges with other European countries to become standard practice.

The move towards a society of knowledge and information means European education systems have to be more closely adapted to one other and international training facilities to be augmented. Above all, curbing Europe's high youth unemployment is a crucial goal for a coordinated employment and education policy. We also advocate the unbureaucratic promotion of youth exchanges.

The necessary European collaboration in domestic and legal policy must safeguard the rights and freedoms of the EU's citizens. This requires a system of parliamentary and judicial control that sets clear boundaries and rules for the power of the executive. Joint asylum and refugee policy must be guided by humane principles, legal security and the protection of the persecuted. Its basis must be the requirements of the Geneva Convention.

## **VII. Conflict prevention, international law, disarmament**

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We support the development of a common and comprehensive security model for Europe, one that makes possible a step-by-step transfer of national sovereignty into the hands of the international legal community. We want military alliances and national armies to be integrated and transferred into this pan-European order. It is the shared responsibility of the European Union and the various multilateral organisations to realise this type of pan-European order of peace and security.

Strengthening and expanding the OSCE is an essential starting-point, since the OSCE represents all the European states, including Russia, as well as the USA and Canada. The OSCE's decision-making mechanisms must, however, also ensure that effective intervention in crisis situations cannot be blocked by individual states. As the norms of the OSCE and the Charter of Paris come to fill out the frame of the OSCE and shape the domestic affairs of all its member states, the OSCE will become a legal area and a zone of peace.

A stable, pan-European order of peace within the framework of the OSCE presupposes a self-confident and well-functioning EU, which in close cooperation with the USA and Russia can contribute to achieving permanent peace throughout the world. The transatlantic alliance, including long-term American involvement in Europe, thus also plays an important role. Here, our objective must remain the further reduction of military potential. However, the transatlantic relationship must not remain fixated on cooperation within the military aspect of NATO. Now that the Cold War has ended, NATO requires reforms, which may well include a complete rethink. In our view, US involvement in multinational organisations is an important precondition for the USA to become an equal partner in the community of states despite its special international role.

The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy must base itself on a holistic idea of security, one that encompasses far more than traditional defence policy. It must be directed at the goals of peace and human rights, and be capable of efficient crisis management. The prevention and peaceful resolution of crises must lie at the heart of foreign policy endeavours. This includes efforts by the EU to prepare for support of UN deployments in the context of crisis prevention, peacekeeping and peacemaking. However, we do not want the formation of common strike forces to lead to the EU becoming a new military "great power". The security identity of the EU cannot be built on the atomic weapons potential it possesses.

Instead, we propose that a comprehensive, common EU plan be worked out for all the fields of international policy. Accordingly, we support the continued development of the EU Common

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Foreign and Security Policy. In this important field, especially, an expansion of democratic control by the European Parliament is absolutely essential.

The application of wartime military force means suffering and destruction and, regardless of its objectives, remains a great evil. Up to now, the military has generally been deployed in the service of state power politics. A security policy focused solely on the military breeds permanent rearmament and an enormous waste of resources, at the expense of social and sustainable development. The military's striving for dominance can pave the way for inappropriate, lopsided reactions. Historical and present-day experiences with the military, arms and war demonstrate why we reject the fixation on the military and on militarily backed power politics.

At the same time, within the framework of international law, military force is a legitimate instrument of state and global security policy. Within the UN system, the military can be deployed in very different ways: for arms control and trust-building, for crisis prevention and the consolidation of peace, to back up coercive measures ranging from embargoes to military force. Peacekeeping missions have always been indispensable in order to curb or avoid military violence, and thus to create the starting conditions for a peace process. After authorisation by the UN Security Council, the community of states may proceed with coercive measures, up to and including military force, to counter threats to international security and world peace. The need to tackle genocide and mass displacement is emerging as a further exception to the general international ban on violence. However, we remain very much aware that, irrespective of its formal justification in international law, this type of military "peace enforcement" is always extremely problematic, since it carries high risks and high costs and has unpredictable consequences. It is a treacherous resource, and requires of policy-makers the utmost sense of responsibility and restraint. In general, we believe that the military can at best secure the preconditions for peace processes – it cannot itself create peace.

As a member of the United Nations, OSCE, the EU and NATO, the Federal Republic of Germany is obligated to make an appropriate contribution to collective security and the preservation of world peace. The participation of the German army in missions to keep and restore peace must be decided upon according to clear and narrow criteria, as follows.

Non-military means of crisis and conflict management take priority and must be exploited to the full. Missions must be carried out in accordance with the Charter and with a mandate based on

Chapter VI or VII of the UN Charter, and must be borne multinationally. There must be a continuous flow of information regarding the multinational deployment and the possibilities for German influence on its size, its duration and the military resources deployed. The mission must be part of a clear and convincing overall political plan for settling the conflict. The German army must not be deployed in the context of classic interventions. The objective and limits of the mission require the agreement of the Federal Parliament. We oppose all restrictions to this requirement for parliamentary approval.

We advocate that the Federal Parliament should change the constitution to introduce a two-thirds majority rule for such decisions.

We want to see Germany press for the enhancement of collective security in its involvement in NATO and the EU/Western European Union. Germany's participation in the defence of the NATO states' territories is part of its obligations as an ally. But we refuse to accept military cooperation within NATO being turned into an instrument of global regulative policy that competes with the role of the United Nations. A highly-armed NATO creates a danger of imbalance which must be countered. We oppose NATO troops being deployed to secure "national interests", such as raw material supplies or channels of distribution, or in pursuit of a classic policy of hegemony, and thus also the German army's participation in such deployments. Nor is NATO entitled to carry out humanitarian interventions worldwide on nothing but its own mandate. In contrast, the German army may take part in international missions to preserve and restore peace if these are carried out under a UN mandate. By participating in this kind of mission, and by sharing in permanent forces under UN auspices, the Federal Republic helps enhance the capacity of international organisations to act and to carry out their duties. We advocate the abolition of military conscription and its community service alternatives. Conscription is an infringement of fundamental rights which can no longer be justified in view of the profound changes to the German army's role. Restructuring the army as a smaller, professional force must be carried out in such a way that the armed forces remain firmly embedded in society, that the danger of interventionism is ruled out, and that the social services can cope with the loss of the present pool of community service conscripts.

Foreign policy as peace policy makes it necessary to develop effective strategies and instruments for the prevention, or the early management, of violence in disputes between and within states. Prevention has many aspects, including the promotion of an equitable international balance of interests, the integration of international relations into a legal framework, observance of the UN

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Charter and of international law, respect for human rights, the promotion of democracy, institution-building, arms limitation, disarmament, restriction of arms exports, and trust-building measures. States involved in human rights violations must not receive arms exports or any military and equipment aid. We are in favour of transparency in the tendering process for arms exports. Going further, our long-term objective is the relinquishment of all arms exports.

A policy of violence prevention must follow the principle that preventing military conflicts and human rights violations is only possible through timely, far-sighted and non-violent methods of conflict management, along with initiatives to address the causes of conflict. This includes providing adequate resources for a development policy that is dedicated to eliminating the causes of crises, as well as providing appropriately trained personnel for international UN and OSCE missions and for processes of dialogue with non-state actors.

In many regions of the world, ethnicised power conflicts, along with unstable situations where states are at risk of fragmentation, threaten to escalate into wars and humanitarian disasters unless the international community takes early measures to reduce violence. International terrorism means the international community must act in concert, both to counter immediate dangers and to combat the roots of conflict in the long term. That is precisely why Germany should take an especially active stance to drive forward the systematic development of non-military capacities for early recognition, prevention and rapid curtailment of potentially violent conflicts. Here, special importance attaches to the instrument of international policing missions and the extension of the civilian peace service. In our view, one of the most important tasks for policy has always been to contribute to a “culture of prevention”. We accord a higher priority to non-military conflict prevention than to military crisis reactions.

Violence cannot always be prevented; nevertheless, our policy is always directed at non-violent solutions. The question of whether violence should be used to enforce the law, and what international action Germany should take part in, will always remain a difficult one to answer. Each individual case must be weighed up and resolved according to the German constitution and international law. In the case of Kosovo, after intense discussions we chose to support a difficult decision. The war in Kosovo was an exception permissible because of the very particular emergency circumstances – but not a precedent. Missions of this kind require a convincing legitimacy basis in international law. We also recognise the right to individual and collective self-defence as laid down in Article 51 of the UN Charter, until the Security Council has implemented

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the measures necessary to preserve global peace and international security. The use of force in line with Chapter VII of the UN Charter must always be clearly authorised by the UN Security Council.

Our objective is a world without weapons of mass destruction, the use of which cannot be ethically or politically justified in any way or in any imaginable situation. For this reason, we advocate the unconditional renunciation of the use of such weapons, and unilateral disarmament measures. We support the strengthening of international regimes of disarmament and non-proliferation, and oppose all further armament with weapons of mass destruction across the globe and in space. We take a strong stand in favour of outlawing landmines, to cover their use, export and production, and call for the mines already deployed worldwide to be removed as fast as is humanly possible.

Although we know that, in a multipolar world, arms control and disarmament negotiations are complicated by unilateral measures, we support independent contributions to a multilateral disarmament strategy. We favour a comprehensive plan for preventive arms control which preserves the substance of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. No changes should be made without consensus between the signatories. German and European policy should base itself on the “resolution on the prevention of an arms race in outer space”, passed by the UN in 1999, and work towards an institutionalised dialogue between the states holding weapons of mass destruction. For Germany, as a state without nuclear weapons, the cornerstones of our policy remain prevention of proliferation and nuclear disarmament through the use of political and international treaty instruments. We advocate a continued development of the international arms control regime.

The credibility of demilitarisation depends on viable non-military alternatives being available. This presupposes the elimination of the current gross mismatch between spending on military crisis intervention and spending on non-military approaches.

### **VIII. Reforming and strengthening the United Nations**

A significant task for German and common European foreign policy is to work for a democratic reform of the United Nations, more efficient decision-making structures and the development of an international structural policy. The UN is hamstrung in its efforts to settle existing armed conflicts and prevent the outbreak of new ones. It tries with very limited success to combat the spread of poverty and pauperisation and the destruction of the natural foundations of life. Yet the UN is still the most comprehensive and important level for solving global problems.

We advocate a strong UN that is capable of action. This will require member states coming to a fundamental understanding that international law is indivisible and applies to all nations. A strong UN is something the world urgently needs for the fulfilment of humanity's great tasks: securing world peace, enforcing human rights and attaining more equitable, sustainable development. We are therefore committed to wide-ranging reforms of the UN, with the goal of consolidating the UN in political and financial terms and helping it develop into an authority that is capable of taking action to solve international problems. At present, the Security Council and the international financial institutions are unfairly dominated by the industrialised nations of the North. The UN is further undermined by bureaucracy and ineffectiveness. Facing a constant growth in the demands made on it, the UN needs a new consensus among its constituent peoples and societies.

Democratisation and transparency are the preconditions for the UN to be strengthened in political and legal terms. This is the only way the forfeiture of sovereignty can be made acceptable, and the only way development, environmental and peace policy can be reinforced. The dominance of the Northern industrialised countries in UN institutions must be corrected in favour of the nations of the South.

The resolutions of the General Assembly need to be invested with more authority. The Security Council, the Assembly's executive organ, must represent all regions adequately. We support the proposal to introduce permanent regional seats in the Security Council, filled on a principle of rotation. In the interests of the Council's capacity to make decisions, the first step should be to narrow the criteria for the right of veto now held by the permanent members. National parliaments must have better opportunities for monitoring and participation. Non-governmental organisations involved in human rights, environment and development should be able to participate in the process of reform. Their advisory role must be expanded .

Any country hoping to commit others to the cause of multilateralism must also be prepared to contribute to missions where its own interests are not under immediate threat. Germany will have to commit itself in cases where deployment is crucial to our strategic goal: the strengthening of multilateral cooperation and of the UN. We favour the establishment of an International Court of Human Rights where not only individuals but also recognised NGOs are permitted to bring complaints. Our objective is for the UN Charter to set down binding procedures on the political enforcement of human rights and on the non-military settlement of disputes. Sanctions must also be made more efficacious. We propose a UN sanction assistance fund, from which UN members would be compensated for losses incurred by upholding sanctions. In addition,

the UN and its regional organisations need to develop more sophisticated mechanisms for minority protection and for the peaceful management of secessions. We campaign for an international, non-violent order of peace and law.

## **IX. Human rights**

A key priority of ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS foreign policy is the improved protection of human rights. Germany has a special responsibility for peace and human rights as a result of its history and its political and economic importance. The world expects us to be ready to take action for peace and for the prevention of humanitarian disasters, genocide and displacement. The basis for a peaceful coexistence of states is respect for human rights. Human rights are indivisible. Individual rights to freedom, economic and social rights and diverse cultural traditions must not be played off against each other. Our human rights policy is based on the United Nations pacts. We also aim to promote wider acceptance for the “next generation” of human rights, such as the right to development and ecological rights. Thus, the rights of the world’s indigenous peoples must be recognised. The greatest triumph of international human rights work has been the worldwide acceptance of the universality of human rights. Because of this claim to universality, intervention into the human rights situation of other societies and states is not just something to be tolerated – it is an obligation, also for Germany.

There is a direct connection between the phenomena of disastrous human rights circumstances in many countries and dramatically rising flows of refugees. Active human rights work, the struggle for political rights and for social rights, is an effective way of addressing the causes of flight worldwide.

Again and again, it is minorities who become the victims of human rights violations. In many nation states, the power elites exploit ethnic and religious conflicts to turn the contradictions within society to their own benefit.

Women are still particularly hard hit by human rights abuses. Even political moves to remove dictatorships often change little in the situation of women. The level of respect for women’s human rights is a reliable indicator of a society’s democratic quality. The listing, definition and securing of human rights must be examined and adjusted according to the principles of gender mainstreaming.

The predictability of legal decisions, the separation of powers and respect for human rights are preconditions for lasting modernisation. A comprehensive human rights policy must thus withdraw support from regimes which violate human rights, strengthen human rights organisations and social and political movements, promote the rights of women, and actively support social justice and the conservation of the foundations of life.

In the field of political rights, we call for effective protection from persecution and oppression, and close cooperation between all the bodies and NGOs working in human rights, asylum and aliens policy. We are particularly opposed to torture, capital punishment, arbitrary arrests and racism, the enslavement of children, and discrimination based on ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation.

Nowhere in the world must state sovereignty be allowed to become a licence for mass killing and massive human rights violations. The observance of human rights must be a guiding principle for action in all policy fields and must not be subordinated to economic interests. Foreign, security and development policy – as well as German export and trade policy – must be directed towards the goal of defending human rights and preserving peace.

## **X. North-South policy**

Europe has a special obligation to work for an ecologically and socially equitable balance of interests between the regions of the world. The development of regional partnerships anchored in treaties is an important starting-point. The tradition of the European Union as a non-military power in international politics represents important political capital in this respect.

The objectives of development cooperation must be oriented along five dimensions: the social, the ecological, the economic, the peace policy and the women's policy dimension. These guiding objectives involve combating poverty and developing and consolidating fundamental systems of social safeguards, food security, education and health, as well as the promotion of sustainable development. That includes the preservation of the natural foundations of life by means of protecting the climate and forests, safeguarding biodiversity and combating desertification. It also means working for human rights and democratic participation, crisis prevention and non-military settlement of disputes, and promoting equality between men and women, among other things by securing the economic livelihood of women.

The fundamental concern for an ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS North-South policy is to obtain equal access for everybody to this world's resources and development potential, while at the same time achieving a sustainable and careful handling of limited resources. Cooperation with the South must be designed to vigorously tackle economic mismanagement, corruption, undemocratic rule and exploitation. We give our solidarity and support to those social forces in the South that are working for the realisation of such objectives using their own preferred models.

ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS policy thus favours, first and foremost, the transformation of structures that hamper the South in unfolding its cultural, intellectual and economic potential. We support efforts to achieve fair prices on the world market for raw materials, products and intellectual and cultural goods from the South. The South's biological diversity must be withdrawn from the reach of the private companies which are attempting to patent it. Suitable mechanisms are needed to control and decelerate international financial and capital markets, with the aim of lessening their destabilising effects. Within the EU, Germany should back a joint initiative for the international introduction of the Tobin tax on currency speculation. At the same time, the G8 nations must exploit the numerous legal and financial possibilities available to them to eliminate tax havens.

Germany must use laws, its own initiatives and international agreements to make sure private and public actors respect environmental and social standards that are binding worldwide. The first and most important step in this direction is for Germany itself to implement a coherent foreign trade policy with unified and binding environmental and social standards. Within the framework of a global social policy and as compensation for the enormous damage inflicted by colonialism, we are committed to a sustainable and lasting transfer of resources from North to South. This means cementing and augmenting programmes to reduce poor countries' debt burden and promoting meaningful investment in the South. Substantial public funds should be granted for combating poverty and developing basic infrastructures. We advocate the gradual increase of funds set aside for development cooperation to above 1% of gross national product. Appropriate contractual agreements are needed to ensure that these funds are deployed efficiently and really reach their target groups. As the twenty-first century begins, the growing gulfs within the world's society represent one of its greatest challenges. Contributing to healing these rifts is a crucial task for ALLIANCE90/THE GREENS policy.

**A key project: Fair world trade and international standards**

Today, the structures of world trade are unjust and environmentally damaging. While the strong nations find markets for their products everywhere, the weak countries have little chance to export. The unregulated world economy is blind to environmental destruction and human rights violations – ultimately, price is all that counts. If these practices are to change, binding national and international standards and fair prices will be necessary sooner or later. Majority support for these must be built up within society.

We are committed to fair trade. In concert with representatives of society and business, we are looking for new paths towards equitable, environmentally compatible trade relations. An important model here is fair trade under the TransFair certification label. The producers of coffee, tea, sugar and other goods obtain prices well above the world market level. That opens the way to fair incomes, adequate social services and moves towards ecological farming methods.

Another building block is the introduction of voluntary environmental and social standards. Here, business concerns and social groups come to agreements on production norms, which are then monitored by independent bodies. This is one way of achieving observance of the human and employment rights that are binding under international law. Examples are Rugmark, a certification scheme to combat exploitative child labour, the Forest Stewardship Council, which certifies forestry products, or the Flower Label Program for flower cultivation that fulfils social and ecological standards. The Global Reporting Initiative is currently working on a method of environmental and social criteria that can be applied all over the world.

Our aim is for production processes always to be shown on labels, so that consumers can take these criteria more strongly into account when they decide on their purchases.