Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: **1949**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

H02B Total Taxation

+2

"We demand a comprehensive tax reform, especially through the dismantling of the current tax tariffs at all levels and through the simplification of the entire tax system."

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-4

"CDU strives for a comprehensive social policy for all business and socially dependent levels of society."

"These principles require the state to set aside the prevailing business and social crises and to bring about a healthy relationship between the classes/social levels."

"The most important state and party preserving community is the family. Their rights and obligations are to be deepened and legally protected. The spiritual and material prerequisites for their natural continued existence and for the fulfillment of their

work is to be established and ensured."

- -Freedom to choose one's profession and support of gifted youths; employment agency
- -Expansion of employment protection regulations and social institutions; expansion of legal protection of youths, women, and mothers
 - -To devote particular attention to the protection and upbringing of at-risk youth
- -"The social security system is to be so formed that its job of promoting public health and the welfare of the people can be fulfilled"; further development of social security rights for the workers
 - -Legal care of war victims and survivors
 - -Granting of welfare/care according to existing/available need from public sources
- -State support of housing; tax breaks for the creation of housing; public sources for pre-financing of small apartment construction; promotes the possibility for influencing the total housing politics for the current government

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

For setting stable prices on agricultural produce, which approach the foreign market prices, but which avoid their fluctuations and cover the production costs of the business

"As a prerequisite for stronger mechanization and greater cost reduction of agricultural production an accelerated reparcelling of the agricultural land and a simplified consolidation/merging of the land parcels through strengthened use of state means is to be particularly promoted."

"The taxation of farming must not exceed the justified balance of business and must consider that the increase in production can only be achieved if the capital necessary for new investments has been saved and is available to the agriculture business."

H09 Cultural Supports
98
H10 Defense Spending
98
H11 Foreign Aid
98
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
98
H13 Centralized Power
98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

The social market economy advocates and promotes private property. A rightful distribution of economic returns and a law must be made that will make the nonwealthy layers of our society to the greatest extent possible into those possessing property. In addition to the most even distribution of property possible, we advocate certain enterprises in the form of communal property when they are economically practical, technologically possible, and politically necessary.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

The social market economy stands in opposition to the free market economy of the liberal mould. In order to avoid a relapse into the old free economy system, it is necessary to have independent controls /checks against monopoly to ensure competition. The less the state or any semi-public office directs the fabric of the economy and individual markets, the less private individuals and associations will be able to take over such tasks.

Because we want to avoid the antisocial excesses of such a free market system, because we see it as a counterfeit market system, we promote control of monopolies alongside competition. Firs an effective control over monopolies prevents private individuals and associations from being able to take over direction in which the economy should go. First the control over monopolies leads to the consumer determining indirectly the form and scope of production in the market.

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

0

H18 Immigration

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: **1953**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+3

It is the job of the state to serve the people. As a free citizen, the individual should be a bearer of the responsibility for the whole. The power of the state has no claims to totality. Because of this we fight for family rights and the free life of the individual, in which moral/responsible decisions are possible, including the right to free organization of social life.

H02 Personal Taxes

+1

"We stand for an economically practical tax reform which simplifies the tax system and tax rates and especially relieve those in the lower income brackets. This reform should promote productive economic efforts and strengthen the social security benefits for the family."

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-4

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

-5

"An essential component of our national economy is an efficient and productive agriculture for meeting the food needs of the population. Thus, farms and especially family farms, must be supported, strengthened, and promoted. A unified agrarian land rights system, in accordance with the principles of private ownership, must be quickly created."

- -The construction of housing for agricultural workers, as well as the use of buildings not on agricultural land.
- -Promotion of agricultural education and the establishment of agricultural institutions of higher learning.
 - -Tax breaks for the use of technology in farming.

"Emphasis should be put upon increasing agricultural production and simultaneously reducing the cost of production. For this purpose, agricultural market laws should be applied so that they produce a balance in the markets and secure stable and appropriate prices."

"Balanced customs and trade policies should regulate the importation of food products so that the timing and quantity of these imports should correspond to the actual needs."

"The federal government should take immediate action in cases of substantial economic instability in individual branches of agricultural production."

"The following is necessary for rationalizing the management of agricultural production: accelerated land consolidation, the support of agriculture at the federal and state levels, tax incentives for the use of technology, the expansion of agricultural credit

and cooperative systems, the increased real estate credit and commercial credit to ease farm-to-market transportation costs."

-promoting an integration and balance of agricultural economy within the economy as a whole;

-specific politico-social measures: agricultural cooperatives, agricultural health insurance, and the special regulations for unemployment insurance on long-term work contracts.

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

98

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

+2

"Community self-governance is primarily responsible for duties in the public sphere. (Federal) Government intervention should only take place when self-governance cannot resolve the problem."

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

"Human worth and existence are sorely threatened by the collective tendencies of our times. Therefore, we demand private property for all levels of society. Private property demands a responsible behavior of the people and their families. The more property owners there are, the more balanced the social structure, and thus, security and social peace....Workers and employees should be involved in the construction of new commercial property. Through this, the equal rights and responsible cooperation of employees/workers achieves its secure foundation in the economy.... The state should promote worker co-ownership which is, then, realized through voluntary participation and agreement based in the appropriate legislation...Nationalization and socialistic common property are not a solution to socio-political issues. Commercial co-ownership is a social action apart from either capitalism or socialism and serves the socio-political development of market economy."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"We reject economic policy which is dictated by centralized federal force, because it paralyzes productive forces rather than promoting them and because it is irreconcilable with principles of free democracy. We affirm planned influence of the economy with means that are appropriate to the market. We also affirm the lawful protection of commercial competition and the fulfillment of social responsibility which is bestowed upon US."

"The CDU rejects the obstruction of competition which through cartels and other forms of market collusion. Competition should be protected by expediting the passing of cartel legislation. The control of monopolies must therefore ensure that leading individual companies and concerns do not conflict with the basic principles of free competition. The protection against improper competition is to be strengthened."

H16 Minority Rights 98

H17 Women's Rights 0

"The natural order of family and marriage is the starting point and guiding principle of equal rights of men and women, which is affirmed by the CDU."

No statement about specific programs.

H18 Immigration

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: **1957**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-3

Large-scale promotion of families, youths

Demands regulation/settlement of continued payment of wages or of replacement jobs for workers on worker's compensation.

H05 Health Care

```
98
H07 Education
     98
H08 Agricultural Supports
     98
H09 Cultural Supports
     98
H10 Defense Spending
     98
H11 Foreign Aid
     98
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
     98
H13 Centralized Power
     98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
     98
                                       11
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H06 Environmental Protection

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

98

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

98

H18 Immigration

Country: Germany **Christian Democratic Union (CDU)** Party: Year: 1961 Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn Coders: H01 Individual Freedoms 98 H02 Personal Taxes 98 **HO2B Total Taxation** 98 H03 Scope of Government 98

H04 Social Services

-3

Expansion of subsidies for children, care of the elderly, support for home and apartment ownership

H05 Health Care

H06 Environmental Protection
0
For noise pollution control, maintenance of clean water and air
H07 Education
98
H08 Agricultural Supports
0
For the strengthening of agriculture
H09 Cultural Supports
98
H10 Defense Spending
0
For an all-around controlled disarmament, including nuclear weapons (but for the expansion of NATO)
H11 Foreign Aid
0
Advocate general aid from the free world for developing countries
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
98

H13 Centralized Power
98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
98
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
+1
Advocates continuation of the social market economy, elimination of concentrations which hinder the function of the market and strengthening of small business
H16 Minority Rights
98
H17 Women's Rights
98
H18 Immigration
98

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: **1965**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-3

Social policy "can no longer be the poor man's policy. Nor can it distribute alms to those in need of protection. It is a new policy/politics in its own right, with the purpose of creating the conditions and aid which allows for the securing of existence through innate powers... It has to perform the enormous task in the coming decades of completely meeting the needs of society.

For this social future, however, it is paramount which conception of socialism will be employed. A state which provides all or a solidarity movement of free people engaged in helping themselves...the concept of a modern and timely social policy must even convince the liberals: namely, no more welfare, no more authoritarian state, but rather a clear relationship between performance and compensation; no more state decision

making, but rather self-help...The CDU/CSU has as its basis a social policy which emphasizes care and concern for the family..."

Goals for families:

-increase in second child subsidies - regulation of educational subsidies

Social security in case of sickness: for the elderly

"The scope of social security should be further expanded."

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

-3

"Clean air and clean water are the most urgent concerns of our time. Through the creation of the Federal Ministry of Health, the CDU/CSU has underscored the significance of this task and has delivered a concrete contribution towards resolving these problems."

Previous measures include the issuing of research contracts, the creation of a legal basis for maintaining clean air, the water budget law which lays out the legal parameters for the states, the detergent law with conditions for producers of cleaning agents, pipeline law with guidelines for the construction of oil pipelines which eliminate ground water pollution;

Technical facilities for businesses to maintain clean air and industrial waste water.

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

+2

"In the face of the threatening strength of the Soviet military in conjunction with the military forces of the Warsaw pact, the federal government's joining of NATO is not only justified but a necessity."

To satisfy the need for security of the European NATO partners, a larger responsibility must be assumed, especially for the planning and deployment of strategic and nuclear weapons.

"NATO is the backbone of our security. Problems within the alliance must be solved so that the unity and preparedness for defense will be strengthened...

The securing of peace presupposes the defensive preparedness of free Germany also. The Federal Republic must as a strong partner of NATO make its contribution. There must be no doubt regarding our will to defend."

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"The CDU/CSU maintains that private property is the strongest barrier against socialistic adventurism. Private property creates freedom and thus corresponds the most closely to the dignity of human beings."

Advocates partial privatizing of state enterprises (VEBA, Volkswagen, Preussag)

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

98

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

98

H18 Immigration

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: 1969

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

0

"We are pressing for a comprehensive tax reform to simplify the tax laws and to structure taxes more fairly."

Alignment of equalization of the family burden to the general growth of incomes Says nothing about increase/decrease of current tax levels

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

+2

"We want to structure lawmaking and government more simply. The citizens must be relieved of the burden of demands from the government."

H04 Social Services

-4

Protection and support of single people

Economically bearable participation of the insured in the costs of health insurance Financing of measures for disease prevention through required health insurance.

Establishment of legal pension insurance for the self-employed

Promotion of facilities/services and help for older citizens

Public development of housing construction, especially of owner apartments and family housing

Housing subsidies adjusted to change in income;

"We will obligate housing construction companies to build public housing at affordable costs and to sell them as private property."

H05 Health Care

-2

Public support for the construction of hospitals

H06 Environmental Protection

0

"Water and air should be kept as clean as possible and noise should be effectively combatted."

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

-4

"Agricultural policy is an integral part of our economic and social policies."

Agriculture should keep step with the general development of income through pricing policies; removal of structurally caused surpluses through volume control; measures for improving agricultural infrastructure; social support; improvement of educational opportunities in the country setting.

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

+3

"Our will to defend and our preparedness to defend must be strengthened. We will arm and organize our military forces with personnel and material so that they will be able to optimally fulfill their defense mission."

"Together with our allies, we seek with our peace policies a political order in the world through which general and world wide controlled disarmament will be possible."

H11 Foreign Aid 0

"Peace is endangered by the need and misery of developing countries. Therefore, we will enable the countries of the third world to help them help themselves."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"We desire effective competition and a balanced market-based structure for small, medium, and large enterprises. We will thus structure laws regulating competition accordingly. The merging of large enterprises should not lead to reduction in competitiveness. The conditions of international competition should be considered."

"By means of tax-, credit-, competition-, and business-economic policies, we will achieve an effective and competitive small business economy."

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

1

Creation of possibilities for part-time work, which will ease the return to professional occupation

H18 Immigration

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: 1972

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

Key points of tax policies should be:

-the promotion of a balanced distribution of income and legal accumulation of fortunes, greater fairness in wage and income taxation, social relief especially for families through equalization of family burdens, fewer earners

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-4

- -Improved services for families, especially through equalization of family burdens, and especially with regard to public housing construction;
 - -Youth help programs
- -Expanding social security for accidents, sickness, and the elderly, care for war victims

- -Help for the handicapped
- -Expansion of social security for farmers

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection -

4

For maintaining natural living conditions it is necessary for the state, the sciences, the economy and the citizens to work closely together

"We will continue the large scientific and technical programs of the Federal Republic which will be enhanced by new points of emphasis, e.g. environmental technology."

Special emphasis on taking care of environmental damage; we advocate the principle of cause (instigators), stiffening of sentencing for environmental abusers For European and international agreements on environmental protection

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports 0

- -Easing of transition into other professions
- -Creation of an agricultural policy concerning growing income and equal status with other segments of the population
 - -Avoiding agricultural disadvantages of German agriculture within the EC

H09 Cultural Supports

H10 Defense Spending 0

-A clear recognition of our participation in NATO and the necessity of military defense

-Advocating international measures taken in disarmament and detente (KSZE)

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+2

Repeat offenders should be reduced through resocialization programs in order to "protect society from incorrigible lawbreakers," the penal system should be restructured.

H13 Centralized Power -

1

"The necessary continued development of federal regulations determines strength of the effectiveness of states and communities."

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

Advocates the continued privatization of federal enterprises

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

1

Strengthening the position of women in society, the goal is for the free decision between family and career, that is, their mutuality; the realization of equal opportunity in education and career; equal pay for equal work

H18 Immigration

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: 1976

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

+3

H04 Social Services -

4

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

+1

```
H07 Education
      98
H08 Agricultural Supports -3
H09 Cultural Supports 0
H10 Defense Spending
      +3
H11 Foreign Aid -
      1
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
      98
H13 Centralized Power
      98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
      +3
```

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+3

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

1

H18 Immigration 98

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: **1980**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms 0

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

+3

H04 Social Services

-3

H05 Health Care -

2

H06 Environmental Protection 0

```
H07 Education
```

98

H08 Agricultural Supports 0

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

+2

H11 Foreign Aid -

3

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power -2

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

2

H18 Immigration

Country:	Germany	
Party:	Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	
Year:	1983	
Coders:	Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn	
H01 Individu	al Freedoms 0	
H02 Personal Taxes		
+2		
HO2B Total Taxation		
98		
H03 Scope of Government		
+3		
H04 Social Services -		
3		
H05 Health	Care	
98		

H06 Environmental Protection -

```
H07 Education
      98
H08 Agricultural Supports 0
H09 Cultural Supports
      98
H10 Defense Spending
      +2
H11 Foreign Aid -
      2
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
      98
H13 Centralized Power -2
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
```

H15 Regulation of Private Sector
98

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

1

H18 Immigration

Country: Germany **Christian Democratic Union (CDU)** Party: Year: 1987 Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn Coders: H01 Individual Freedoms -1 **H02 Personal Taxes** +2 **HO2B Total Taxation** 98 H03 Scope of Government +2 H04 Social Services -3 H05 Health Care 2

H06 Environmental Protection

```
98
H08 Agricultural Supports -
      4
H09 Cultural Supports
      -1
H10 Defense Spending
      +1
H11 Foreign Aid
      -2
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
      98
H13 Centralized Power
      98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
      98
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
      +1
```

H07 Education

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

-1

H18 Immigration -

Party: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Year: **1990**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

H02 Personal Taxes -

3

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services -

5

H05 Health Care

-2

H06 Environmental Protection

-3

```
98
H08 Agricultural Supports -
     3
H09 Cultural Supports
     0
H10 Defense Spending
     +1
H11 Foreign Aid -
     3
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
     98
H13 Centralized Power
     0
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production -
     3
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
     0
```

H07 Education

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women`s Rights

-1

H18 Immigration

+1

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: **1949**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

+2

H03 Scope of Government

+3

For extensive denationalization of social security/services and the extensive administrative autonomy for all social security/service departments, in order to increase their reliability and to dismantle their bureaucracy.

"The bloated bureaucracy of a centralized government has caused an everincreasing bureaucratic dependence of the German laborers and employees on broad areas of social security/services."

H04 Social Services

98

The institutions of co-operative (community) self-help are the most direct form of self-governing, and correspond to socio-political progress in the field of competition for

services. These institutions are more capable of bringing together the social services of the variety of needs and assistance than a centralized administrative monopoly.

State subsidies/allowance for individual services are necessary (retirement pensions, veteran's disability pensions)

"We back parity in public, social, and private housing construction, and the reduction of construction costs, simplification of regulations, tax relief for the creation of private living space."

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

-4

"We are in favor of local communities being bearers and overseers of school services; we are against the splintering of the school system (into Christian, secular, and parochial schools) because of their poorer efficiency and corresponding increase in costs to the community."

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

H09 Cultural Supports

H10 Defense Spending
98
H11 Foreign Aid
98
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
98
H13 Centralized Power
98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
+4
Against such expropriation or transfer of private to community property without measurable compensation.
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
98
H16 Minority Rights
98
H17 Women`s Rights
98

H18 Immigration

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: **1953**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

+3

For a comprehensive organic tax reform with the goal of lowering the tax burden and simplifying the tax system; a corresponding distribution of taxes to the different duties at federal, state, and local levels.

H03 Scope of Government

+3

Demands government reform at all levels and dismantling of the bureaucracy.

H04 Social Services

-2

"The goal of a free social welfare policy is to bring the people out of the dependence of a mass existence and to make possible an independent existence for them. Freedom of personal decisions finds its limits in the obligations of the whole, especially to the weak."

Precaution against the vicissitudes of life and the needs of old age through expansion and financial security system and through reform of unemployment compensation (insurance); special help for the unemployed, homeless and at-risk youths.

Families deserve the particular protection of the community. Promotion of housing construction suitable for families; equalizing family burdens.

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

-5

"The state must carry out the order from the voting public to create a federal cultural ministry."

H08 Agricultural Supports -

4

Agriculture should be integrated in steps to the market economy system, however, in such a way that it can be protected from sudden drops in the market and to strengthen its foundation.

Land consolidation in order to increase economic efficiency, and operational expansion; limitation of real estate division, fully planned land cultivation and operational improvement

Promotion of the agricultural credit system, of the resettlement of farmless farmers, and of the enlargement of small and smallest enterprises; protection from excessive price swings through strict import and stockpiling policies. Creation of an appropriate ratio of agricultural prices to those of other economic goods.

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

98

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

-1

"The federation must maintain all those responsibilities which are its job to fulfill. A true self-government must be created or encouraged where the interests of the public and the unity of the state allow it."

"Transformation of the upper house of parliament into a true second chamber (senate) whose members are not tied by directives."

- -Strengthening of self-responsibility of the communities
- -Federal administration of financing, of the affairs of the displaced and of refugees and war victims, of the federal reserve bank.
 - -Legislation of an omnibus bull for education
 - -Federal police, BGS

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

A fundamental requirement of welfare is private property; it demands thereby the transportation/conveyance of industrial public property into private property as well as the limitation of the sovereign duties of the state.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+3

For an economic system built purely on competition (politics of a market economy); extant remains of the totalitarian economy should thus be dismantled; whereby agriculture especially should be given special consideration (an essential protection requirement) and disadvantaged areas should be promoted; free competition should be ensured through the prevention of the misuse of economic power.

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women`s Rights

98

H18 Immigration

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: 1957

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

+3

Demands slashing of taxes: the lowering of income and wage taxes, fair new regulation of married couple/joint taxes, full consideration of the assisting wife, and equal treatment of wage and income tax payers.

HO2B Total Taxation

+2

Demands a reduction in public spending as well as the end of "the hoarding of money in Julius' tower"; a major tax reform to simplify the "chaotic tax system." Replacement of occupational tax through new forms of local financing.

H03 Scope of Government

+4

"In the center of government life stands the individual. The state should serve the individual, instead of making decisions for him."

-reduction of excessive state expenditure to only the most essential level fewer laws, fewer decrees, fewer authorities

-elimination of bureaucratic dead wood, which burdens the citizens and public administration/civil services

H04 Social Services -

2

A free economy and hard currency are the prerequisites for social security, which makes possible "far-reaching help" for all economically weak members of society; interest free loans/credit for young families.

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

-4

"In the interests of all consumers, increased earnings/profits and fair pricing must be the goal of our agrarian policies"

-cost-covering prices for products

-alignment of agricultural wages to those in comparable commercial businesses -a comprehensive investment program to create competitiveness in agriculture -land consolidation

H09 Cultural Supports

H10 Defense Spending
+1
Demands a renunciation of the arming of the federal armed forces with atomic weapons, which would comprise the German contribution to general disarmament.
H11 Foreign Aid
98
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers 98
H13 Centralized Power
98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
+4
"Property for everyone" "Broad transference of state-owned economic concerns to small privately owned ones."
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
98

H16 Minority Rights

H17 Women's Rights

98

H18 Immigration

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: **1961**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

+1

"Since tax revenues are increasing yearly by the billions, all tax increases should be rejected."

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-2

- -removal of maximum pension regulations and pension allowance procedure increase in child allowance
- -public housing construction
- -security of retirement and nursing homes

H₀₅ Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection -3

Joint Measures from the federal, state, and local levels against air and water pollution and against industrial and traffic noise pollution

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

Agriculture should be incorporated into the total development of the economy; agricultural policies which guarantee cost-re covering prices

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending -1

For an all-around controlled disarmament: however,

"As a free German people we must declare our support for our federal army. The absence of weaponry in the face of highly armed states is impossible."

H11 Foreign Aid -3

"The highly developed European industrial states must do justice to their obligations to the young peoples of Asia and Africa."

In addition to economic and technical support, also educational assistance

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

"A wider distribution of property strengthens and secures a healthy society. The present situation with regard to property is to be maintained... All plans for the redistribution of private property are rejected."

We demand the "total privatization of federal, state, and community industrial concerns"

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+4

Rejection of any kind of "socialist or planned economy"

"Any erosion of the market economy and competition through unnecessary technical or commercial concentrations must be combatted."

H16 Minority Rights

H17 Women's Rights -

1

"The social, educational, or domestic women's professions are to be judged of higher social value and economically improved."

H18 Immigration

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: 1965

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+4

Demands the strengthening of protection of the private sphere, the confidentiality of "the word": legal protection against illegal use of wiretapping devices.

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

+1

Demands finance and tax reform without raising the total tax burden. "The federal government, the states, and the communities must be involved in the development of tax revenues. In order to harmonize taxes in the EWG, the trade tax should be dismantled/reduced and the payroll tax should be thrown out. As compensation communities must have a share in other..."

H03 Scope of Government

+2

For cabinet reform, especially reduction of ministries, modernization and rationalization of civil service, an all-encompassing clear legislation and simplification of administrative regulations.

H04 Social Services

-2

Social policy is a part of the policy of a free society Demands:

- -"more freedom in the selection of forms of security from intrinsic risk and provisions for retirement secured and guaranteed by the state."
- -"elimination of the disadvantages of certain population groups with respect to the forms and provisions for care."
 - -expansion of care provisions
 - -the creation of lasting and solid service and financial organization

The primary goal in housing construction is converting the housing economy into a market economy: this demands "a clear delineation of the various responsibilities of publicly subsidized housing construction, a reform of the nonprofit organization law, as well as the soon-to-be-passed housing economy law."

H05 Health Care

Advocates keeping the present structural divisions of private, public and nonprofit health care facilities

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

-3

"Educational planning is the responsibility of the whole state, which, **among other** things, is covered in the constitution demands an equality of way of life. The capacity of the federal government in educational policy must be expanded. All of the now existing and future educational policies must be brought together by the current federal ministry of science and education. The composition of this planning must secure the cooperation of relevant disciplines. The capacities of the states and their involvement in the business of professional training must be limited by the total responsibility of the state. Regarding

educational policy, the full responsibilities of the state must stimulate private initiatives. To achieve this goal, there is need for a modern and nationally standardized law regarding foundations and tax incentives."

H08 Agricultural Supports -

2

"It must be the goal in all agricultural policies to achieve a producer pricing policy and to make use of all possibilities which will lead to a reduction of production costs and ensure a certain price level that is directly related to the costs which are appropriate to rationally run businesses."

- -the use of subsidies
- -the expansion of social security for those involved in agriculture

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

+1

We are against arming the German defense forces with nuclear weapons, and advocate modem conventional arms for effective defense, though we are simultaneously in favor of taking steps toward a general disarmament.

Rejection of preventive weapon systems (star fighters)

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -

"For a fair legal procedure and a resocialization which respects the dignity of lawbreakers within the penal system."

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+4

"The economic policy of the federal government must remain strictly within the boundaries of its governmental realm of operations. The state may not set goals for production, for investment, or for other aspects of the private sector. The private sector must alone be responsible for its enterprise policies. Quantitative goal setting of the state in the areas of policy concerning currency, economy, and market conditions lead to bad planning in the private sector because such policy does not have the necessary degree of certainty and reliability."

For the maintenance of a broad middle-class economy through tax and social policy measures that equalize competition with large enterprises

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

1

Demands the change of divorce laws, alimony rights for wives; in general: accommodation of marriage laws to "the social reality"

H18 Immigration

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: **1969**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+3

Rejection of precautionary arrest and state of emergency laws, demand for revision of these, especially regulations pertaining to wiretapping, particularly in the case of anticonstitutional activities.

"The citizen has the right to develop and protect his personality."

H02 Personal Taxes

0

The tax system should correspond to the individual capability of citizens... For "the dismantling of taxes and social deductions upon certain kinds of overtime compensation."

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

"Social policies should bring about security but not dependence. We seek not a leveling but a strengthening of individual responsibility."

Basic social security for the elderly

All citizens are obligated to contribute to their own retirement care Access for self-employed to pension insurance which is required by law State supplements for securing the social activities of churches

The promotion of nonprofit, private ownership of housing, for graduated rents which are determined by income and family size

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

-3

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

-1

H11 Foreign Aid 0 H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -2 H13 Centralized Power -2 H14 State Ownership of Means of Production H15 Regulation of Private Sector +1 H16 Minority Rights 98 H17 Women's Rights 98 H18 Immigration

Country: Germany Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP) Year: 1972 Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn Coders: H01 Individual Freedoms 98 H02 Personal Taxes 98 **HO2B Total Taxation** 0 Liberal tax policies should secure "the necessary funds for larger public expenditures." H03 Scope of Government 98 **H04 Social Services** 98 H05 Health Care

H06 Environmental Protection -

4

Demands long term environmental planning whose capacities lie within the federal government

Economic plans within the private and public sectors should be subjected to a test which determines their environmental safety;

Creation of environmentally safe procedures and products with means which are appropriate to the marketplace

Environmental damage should become a matter of criminal prosecution

"Production methods which endanger health or life must be regulated by administrative standards and controls with appropriate 'licensing procedures`. Not adhering to these ordinances will lead to judicial sanctions and financial accountability in the area of civil law."

Bringing old production systems up to modem standards

Advocates international environmental policy, the principle of cause (instigators);

State promotion of the development of environmentally safe procedures and products (for example, tax reductions for cars with minimal exhaust; designating products with a environmental safety seal); forbidding health-endangering procedures and products

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

"Agricultural economy is, like industrial production, to be subject to environmentally safe procedures and products and the corresponding legal statutes."

H09 Cultural Supports

H10 Defense Spending 98 H11 Foreign Aid 98 H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers 98 H13 Centralized Power 98 H14 State Ownership of Means of Production 98 H15 Regulation of Private Sector +1 Within the context of regulations concerning a market economy, more stability and competitiveness should be secured "The FDP reform of capitalism strives for the reduction of an imbalance of advantage and the concentration of economic power which is the result of accumulation of capital and property and the concentration of ownership of means of production in the hands a few."

H16 Minority Rights

H17 Women`s Rights

0

"Women and men should be ensured of equal chances, rights and obligations in family, profession and society."

H18 Immigration

Country: Germany Party: **Free Democratic Party (FDP)** Year: 1976 Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn H01 Individual Freedoms -4 **H02 Personal Taxes** 98 **HO2B Total Taxation** 98 H03 Scope of Government +2 **H04 Social Services** -3 H05 Health Care -1

-4

H06 Environmental Protection

H07 Education
98
H08 Agricultural Supports -
4
H09 Cultural Supports -
4
H10 Defense Spending -
1
H11 Foreign Aid 0
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
98
H13 Centralized Power
98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
98
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
+1

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -1

H18 Immigration

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: 1980

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

-5

H02 Personal Taxes

+3

HO2B Total Taxation

+3

H03 Scope of Government

+3

H04 Social Services -3

H05 Health Care

-2

H06 Environmental Protection

-3

```
H07 Education
      -3
H08 Agricultural Supports -
      1
H09 Cultural Supports
      -5
H10 Defense Spending
      +1
H11 Foreign Aid
      -4
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -
      4
H13 Centralized Power
      98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
```

+4
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
+1

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women`s Rights

98

H18 Immigration 98

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: **1983**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+3

H02 Personal Taxes

+2

HO2B Total Taxation

+2

H03 Scope of Government

+3

H04 Social Services -

2

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection -

```
H07 Education
     98
H08 Agricultural Supports
     -1
H09 Cultural Supports
     98
H10 Defense Spending -
     1
H11 Foreign Aid -
     3
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
     98
H13 Centralized Power
     98
```

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production 98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

H16 Minority Rights

-1

H17 Women`s Rights

-2

H18 Immigration -

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: 1987

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+4

H02 Personal Taxes

+2

HO2B Total Taxation

+3

H03 Scope of Government

+3

H04 Social Services

+2

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection -

```
+1
H08 Agricultural Supports
     -1
H09 Cultural Supports -
     3
H10 Defense Spending
     0
H11 Foreign Aid -
     3
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
     98
H13 Centralized Power
     98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
     +3
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
     +1
```

H07 Education

H16 Minority Rights

98

H1 7 Women`s Rights

-1

H18 Immigration -

Party: Free Democratic Party (FDP)

Year: **1990**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+2

H02 Personal Taxes

+2

HO2B Total Taxation

+3

H03 Scope of Government

+3

H04 Social Services

-2

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

-3

H07 Education -1 H08 Agricultural Supports -1 H09 Cultural Supports 0 H10 Defense Spending -1 H11 Foreign Aid -3 H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers -1 H13 Centralized Power -

1

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+2

H16 Minority Rights -

1

H17 Women's Rights -

1

H18 Immigration -

Party: **Green**

Year: **1983**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+3

H02 Personal Taxes

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

+3

H04 Social Services

H05 Health Care 0

H06 Environmental Protection 0

```
H07 Education
      98
H08 Agricultural Supports
      98
H09 Cultural Supports
      0
H10 Defense Spending -
      5
H11 Foreign Aid 0
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
      98
H13 Centralized Power -
      1
 H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
      98
```

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

H16 Minority Rights 0

H17 Women's Rights -

1

H18 Immigration -

Party: **Green**

Year: 1987

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+4

H02 Personal Taxes -3

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services -5

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection -5

H07 Education 98 **H08 Agricultural Supports** -1 **H09 Cultural Supports** 98 H10 Defense Spending -5 H11 Foreign Aid 0 H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers 98 H13 Centralized Power 98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

-3

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-3

H16 Minority Rights -

2

H17 Women's Rights

-4

H18 Immigration

-5

Party: Green (West)

Year: **1990**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+4

Dissolution of the secret service and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution

Abolition of forbidden/banned professions Lifting of security laws, abolition of state of emergency laws

"We demand a comprehensive new data protection (of personal data files) concept with effective participation and control mechanisms. The planned Federal Office of Information Technology Security which is to be constituted from the BND should not be established."

For the general right to review personal documents

H02 Personal Taxes

-3

-No taxation of incomes of less than 1200 DM - Abolition of married couples splitting taxes

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

H04 Social Services -

5

- -introduction of need-oriented basic security for pensioners, the ill, the unemployed
 - -increase in government child rearing subsidies
 - -need-oriented, age-graduated, child allowances
 - -federal means for financial support of those who need home care preparation of federal means to expand child care and preschool services

H05 Health Care

98

- -Inclusion of prostitutes in social security system separate social security for wives
- -promotion of public housing construction

"Current regulation must ensure that a fundamental portion of the new living space be reserved for public housing, especially in new construction areas."

H06 Environmental Protection -

5

Demands:

"In order to accomplish the greatest possible effect in the shortest possible time, direct political regulations--legal norms, commands, bans--must be combined with indirect economic steering instruments."

- -Cutting of budget positions in atomic energy to the benefit of a promotion of regenerative energies
- -immediate international program for the reduction of pollutants with the following contents:
 - --reduction of C02 emissions by 50% by the year 2000
 - --worldwide fastest possible withdrawal from atomic energy
 - --reduction plans in every industrialized nation
- --international promotion/exploration of regenerative energy sources and withdrawal from fossil fuel sources
 - --immediate, total ban of the production and use of chloroflourocarbons

-rejections of the waste disposal concept in the removal of radioactive waste (Gorleben, Schacht, Konrad)

-immediate ban on throwaway products with ozone damaging materials - tax of 20 DM/kg on halogen hydrogen to go to the promotion of technical innovations

- -research program for exploration of harmless replacement materials and methods
 - -introduction of a nitrogen tax
 - -ban on all pesticides
 - -suspension of household and garbage burning
 - -consistent waste avoidance and utilization laws
 - -conversion of production procedures
 - -legal measures and taxes to increase the interest in returnable containers packaging and garbage taxes, bans on certain types of packaging, mandatory return (deposit) policies for commerce
 - -suspension of exporting garbage

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports -

2

- -Promotion, maintenance, and creation of jobs in the agricultural sector and selfrun farmer cooperatives.
- -Support and conversion of agricultural operations to ecologically sound systems through the promotion of advising and the expansion of markets for ecologically produced products by means of "decentralized regional marketing structures"
 - -Consolidation of production
 - -graduated producer prices to ensure appropriate compensation

H09 Cultural Supports

H10 Defense Spending -

5

- -Abolition of all ABC weapons
- -Deletion of all expenditures for armament as well as the dissolution of the armed forces, the defense budget will be replaced by a conversion budget.
 - -Termination of the "wartime host nations support agreement"
 - -Forbidding all export of weapons
 - -Forbidding the research, production, and storage of biological weapons

H11 Foreign Aid -

3

Global and comprehensive cancelling of foreign debt of developing countries through an international debt elimination conference

"Foreign aid should no longer be misused to promote export interests. Foreign aid should only be given as a supplement with ecological and social contingencies."

- -show of solidarity in exchange in world commerce
- -considerably improved types of equipment for comprehensive raw material and trade agreements to guarantee better proceeds from goods from developing countries establishment world economic advisories within the framework of the UN expansion of the UN trade and development agency
 - -integration of GATT into the structure of the UN
 - -return of IMF to its original function as well as to its democratic form

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

H16 Minority Rights -

1

H17 Women`s Rights

H18 Immigration -

Country: Germany Party: Green (East) Year: 1990 Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn Coders: H01 Individual Freedoms +1 Forbids secret activities "of any kind of police as well as constitutional protection" H02 Personal Taxes -3 Solidarity surcharge for those with higher incomes (well over the average income) **HO2B Total Taxation** 98 H03 Scope of Government 98 H04 Social Services -3 H05 Health Care

3 H07 Education +1 H08 Agricultural Supports -1 H09 Cultural Supports -3 H10 Defense Spending -3 H11 Foreign Aid 0 H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers 98 H13 Centralized Power 98 H14 State Ownership of Means of Production -1

H06 Environmental Protection -

H15 Regulation of Private Sector 0

H16 Minority Rights

0

H17 Women's Rights -

3

H18 Immigration -

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1949**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

-4

The program makes no specific statement on this point, but the following significant rolls can be deduced from the entire text: Regulation of the economy, planning, government responsibility for housing (construction), social policy, the educational system.

"We are just beginning a new construction of the entire social political system. We need to lay the foundations of reform of the social security system and satisfactory regulation of pensions the right to productive work for severely wounded veterans and the disabled, satisfactory compensation for those unable to work."

-The social democratic system proposes a housing construction program for West Germany, which envisions the construction of one million new, expanded, and rebuilt units. It is possible to finance this if the dictatorship of the free wage earner economy is broken down and the individual and his needs is placed back into the center. First the solution to the housing question creates/manages/establishes the prerequisite for economic liberalness and social security.

H04 Social Services
-5
H05 Health Care
98
H06 Environmental Protection
98
H07 Education
98
H08 Agricultural Supports
0
-Equal land reform in all West German states "Free farmer's property should be created and ensured."
H09 Cultural Supports
98
H10 Defense Spending
98
H11 Foreign Aid
98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

-2

Great and meaningful are the tasks of the states. Their independence must be assured, because they are essential to the existence of the German people. But states are always only the building blocks of the GDR on whom the greater and heavier tasks are laden. The tasks of the central state power:

- --reduction of costs of the occupied forces, reparation/dismantling
- --help refugees/war victims
- --changes in economic structure
- --financial balance among the 3 occupied zones

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

-3

Socialization of large industries, credit, and money institutions and of the insurance business means the German people own these economic means and that they become democratized. Socialization means not infringing on private, personal property or on midsized and smaller property on production methods. The middle class in the city and country should be promoted and developed because it is necessary for the people's economy and politics.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-4

Even the richest countries cannot afford to do without planning in the supply of capital production and import/export

Planning is necessary. It is the opposite of the state control of the Third Reich. To equate planning with state control is to betray the people. Credit and raw materials must be given to industries according to urgency, upon which the others depend and to production branches which cover essentials.

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

0

-The legal equality of women in all areas of life

"The primary concern of women is to avoid new wars, new misfortunes, new destruction of human lives. They call for a fight for a politics of peace and humanity. Women must help social democracy to fight for the release of the prisoners of war, the return of the displaced and the women and girls still detained in Soviet Russia. They are fighting for themselves and their families when they support social democracy."

No statement concerning a program specifically concerning women's issues.

H18 Immigration

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1953**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

"We have not only very high taxes in Germany, but also a jumble of taxes and a tax administration whose costs are intolerably high. We have always promoted a federal finance administration that not only ensures equal and fair tax relief in all the states, but that would also have greater success in the battle against levying taxes. The administrative savings and the expected greater receipt on taxes is estimated by the experts to **be** at least one billion DM."

Promotes the simplification of wage and income taxes; the increase of tax allowances to a standard amount for all tax payers

"Reduction of taxes for the economically weak--no jumble of taxes/taxation to the advantage of the rich!"

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

H04 Social Services -

5

"Social policy should not only alleviate the worst damage caused by the current dominant system, it requires fundamental change of the system itself. Millions of retired people, unemployed, and social welfare recipients want to and should feel that they are no longer the outcasts of the so-called social market economy. The SPD's social plan is fighting for a unification of social policy through widely subdivided self-government. Its fundamental areas of concern are job security, health security and economic security. Our social policy helps people to achieve greater productivity, thereby strengthening their desire to work to produce a greater national product."

Above all, included in this plan: workers, employees, public officials, housewives, the self-employed, youths...

Sufficient living space through federal housing construction programs and public (social) housing...

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

98

H09 Cultural Supports

H10 Defense Spending -

1

"We are not against strong hands, because the Soviets are no Pacifists, and their plans of expansion are real and dangerous."

"The experiences of the past few years seem to show us that people place too much one-sided value on armament and on having the cannons ready as the ultimate option again."

"Peace and security through communication--not threats of war through armament of the West!"

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"Social Democracy recognizes private property where it serves as a workplace that strengthens independence along with economic freedom and personality(?). The property of craftsmen, tradesmen, small and medium sized industry owners, farmers, and all gainfully employed people who have property, belong to this definition of private property; also included are all entrepreneurs who invest their own personality, work, and capital into their own business and therefore carry a risk."

"They all find protection and support in social democracy."

"Private property should be abolished where it has become the instrument of social control/power and where it leads to suppression of freedom and self-determination. This program of action demands, therefore, the elimination of private property in the primary industries, especially coal, steel, and energy."

"Command of the large enterprises lies not with the actual owners, the shareholders, but with a relatively small class of entrepreneurs. Socialization will take away the basis of social and political power which is not in keeping with the fundamental tenets of democracy, from this small class of managers."

"The development of the past decades has proven that social economy through nationalization is not attainable. Public property should for the sake of practicality be taken over by quasi-corporations, in which a democratic system of controls is secured by including a broader spectrum of the economy, including unions and representatives of the public authorities in the controlling body."

The program does not talk about state ownership, but rather communal ownership.

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -

1

"Competition, as much as possible, planning as much as necessary."

"Where competition as an economic form is possible, it is also the most effective and cheapest for the taxpayer to stimulate the businesses to maximum production efficiency. Here, competitiveness serves to promote enterprising/entrepreneurial strengths/power and thereby also increase in productivity. Control of price fixing through real competition is what brings the economic decisions of the enterprises into agreement with the wishes/needs of the users. For competition, there is still need for state means of support, including assurances of freedom of trade (where possible), a politics of abolishing or officially controlling cartels and monopolies, a reorganization of social rights through expansion of accounting and publicity regulations, and finally, educating and advising consumers about market conditions."

"Planned external interventions into the economy are necessary for example in the primary industries and in energy companies because competition is not possible on structural grounds."

"Planning should, then, remove the damage caused by an uncontrolled social market economy. It should abolish/neutralize the dictatorship practiced by cartels, since free competition largely shuts them out or makes them impossible."

"Organization of the economy by connecting planning with competition, not free exploitation and cartel dictatorship."

H16 Minority Rights

H17 Women's Rights -

2

"Women still have to fight for equality. The fight for equality of the working person in the worker's movement is integrally connected with the fight for equal rights for women."

-equal pay for equal work realization of civil rights/equal rights -change in marriage laws

H18 Immigration 98

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: 1957

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

0

The economy has the job of serving all the people fairly. In the "German Economic Miracle" one small section of society was able to amass huge fortunes. Workers, employees, and public officials, most of the middle and small level entrepreneurs, as well as the self-employed were greatly disadvantaged. This is because, above all, the largest fortunes were given tax advantages and increased their value through self-financing above the price and through increased tax write-offs.

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-5

"Social democratic social policies battle the sources of social need. The social plan of social democracy stipulates promotion of health, which will put an end to the growing number of workers prematurely incapacitated and unable to work anymore."

- -promotion of families
- -equal treatment of all workers who fall sick
- -promotion of public housing, fight against real estate speculation, and allocation of inexpensive land for development; promotion of owner-apartments
 - -economic security of the old, disabled, ill, and retired

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

-1

"The small and middle sized operations of trade, skilled labor, of other businesses, and of agriculture are important parts of a free society." A clearly defined policy for mid-level businesses will enable them to connect with the increasing demands of a modem economy. Guilds and cooperative associations require special care so that the small and mid-range operations can enjoy the same advantages as the large-scale corporations."

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

-3

"All efforts must be made to reach an accord for overall international controlled disarmament and the elimination of atomic weapons...because the danger of atomic war grows as more world powers have atomic weapons, it is necessary to create a nuclear free zone in Europe. Expansion of atomic armament into the divided Germanies will make reunification impossible. Germany is being degraded by its use as a guinea pig in the politics of atomic threat."

"Military expenditures should be appropriately limited."

"Peace through disarmament and detente-put an end to conscription and the arms race."

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

-1

...is for a close collaboration between the Federal government, the states, and the communities.

"Federalism means that not only the federal government but also the states and communities must be able to perform their duties. Local self-government, with its multifaceted social, economic, and cultural duties, needs the support of the state."

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

-2

"Nationalized concerns, which are important for an effective economic policy in the interest of the consumer and for a healthy/realistic pricing policy, should remain within the hands of the government."

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"We social democrats demand free economic development, free competition and private ownership in accordance with the public interest. Cartels, monopolies, and market-controlling enterprises are to be prevented because of their ability to abuse their supremacy to the disadvantage of weaker groups."

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

98

H18 Immigration

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1961**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

Simplification and a more fair formation of the tax system. "The tax policies of the government up until now have unfairly advantaged the rich. We will raise the wealth and inheritance taxes for the very wealthy (millionaires) through a progressive tax system. Large speculation profits should be subject to income tax. The exceptional advantages toward corporate taxes currently enjoyed by large anonymous companies will be abolished; a more substantial progressive income tax should be introduced for incomes over 100,000 DM. On the other hand, tax advantages for small and middle income earners should be increased as well as income tax breaks for advertising and special expenditures. Turnover taxes must remain neutral regarding competition. These taxes should not favor big business over small and mid-range operations. Self-employment should no longer be subject to turnover taxes.

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

H04 Social Services

-4

- -A free yearly examination
- -no co-payment for treatment
- -the improvement and completion of pension reform: raising of the minimum pension with possibly federal subsidy; adjustment of pensions for widows; guaranteed pension of 75% of former income
- -financial support for families: raising of government subsidies for children, improvement of the legal protection of expecting and nursing mothers
- -"The federal government will in the common interests of the people make it possible for construction companies to build and sell single occupancy houses and owner-apartments at reasonable rates. Also, members of groups which heretofore have not been privileged will have the opportunity to acquire and own their own home."
- -Regulations concerning youth protection laws and an improvement of youth work laws

H05 Health Care

-2

Promotion and construction of modern health facilities and sanatoria--under the administration of doctors-- for self-employed persons.

H06 Environmental Protection 0

'Pure air,' 'pure water,' and 'less noise' should not remain abstract demands on paper...the skies over the Ruhr Valley must become blue once again.

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

-3

"Agriculture, forestry, horticulture, viticulture, and the fisheries are all important and indispensable factors of our economic and our national life."

Promotion through investment programs for rationalization, land consolidation, stockpiling, and road construction;

Protection of private property of farmers

Promoting of cooperative associations and other institutions for farmer self-help

"The one-sided bond between the former government and the large industrial economy will be replaced by an honest partnership between state and land."

H09 Cultural Supports 0

"The care of intellectual and cultural interests, promotion of the arts...belong to the duties of our federal government."

H10 Defense Spending

+2

"NATO must be freed from the necessity of using nuclear warfare in cases of conventional aggression. We will thus express our wishes to our European allies to be more engaged than before in conventional means of defense.

The size of our defense forces must be in accordance with that stipulated by NATO. Thus it is not possible at this time to abnegate mandatory military service.

The new federal government will make its own suggestions concerning a balance and control of defense. The control of armament and preparedness are two sides of our indivisible security...

The federal government will thus end the duplicity in the area of nuclear armament and counter the notion that the Federal Republic of Germany is attempting to gain stature in this area.

Our soldiers should be afforded the right to replace outmoded weapons and vehicles with modem counterparts."

H11 Foreign Aid -

"In the area of foreign aid, the previous federal government played an unfortunate role...the Federal Republic can and will not abrogate its friendship with young nations. We most assuredly do not want to make them into allies in the cold war, but rather have them as friends whose own ways, traditions and special circumstances we respect. We must be ready to help where help is wanted and within the realm of our capacities....

The new Federal Republic sees a worldwide partnership as one of its foremost foreign policy goals."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

Increased financial assistance for cities and communities for fulfilling their duties such as intercity traffic problems, overcrowded schools, and the construction of hospitals Cultural policies are the duty of the states

"The federal government will carefully adhere to the responsibilities which are stipulated in the constitution, but the constitution does not forbid the Federal Republic from doing whatever is necessary in order to make available to the states that which is necessary for them to fulfill their duties."

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

-1

...advocates measures to counter the misuse of economic power and to strengthen the efficiency of small, smaller, and middle-sized independent concerns; improving cartel legislation and increasing the realm of operations of the federal cartel office.

"Equal conditions of competition are to be protected. Enterprises which control the

market are to be put under effective controls...

In addition, an independent monopoly control system will be founded."

"The new government of the Federal Republic will strengthen the efficiency of independent enterprises. Tax abuse must be eliminated.... Cooperative associations and other institutions of self-help will be promoted. A productivity institution for independent middle sized enterprises will see to it that the advances of modern science will not only benefit the big enterprises, but also the small and middle sized ones."

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights 0

Advocacy of increasing the percentage of women in managerial positions, but no statements about specific programs.

H18 Immigration

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1965**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

98

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

-3

"We do not want to nationalize the people; we want to humanize the state." "The state and the community carry the responsibility for the individual citizen."

As evidenced in the program, the federal government, the states, and communities assume important duties in the areas of education, science, and research, health administration, and environmental and traffic planning

H04 Social Services

- -basic health insurance protection, also for those who are handicapped, retirees, widows, orphans
 - -the right to voluntary health examinations

- -no copayment for medical or dental examinations; subsidy for obligatory health insurance
- -expansion of responsibilities in health insurance, also for aspects of preventive medicine
 - -continued payment of wages for workers in cases of sickness
 - -inexpensive loans in support of young families
 - -support of youth groups and associations; recreational facilities for youth

H05 Health Care

-4

"Construction of hospitals as well as health care/preventive medicine are the responsibility of the federal, state, community governments. Through the progressive formation of laws and ordinances the social democratic government will ensure that these institutions will be available to the residents of our rural towns and villages. The social democratic government will create...a clear program which will allow for counties and communities which belong to these counties to maintain and continue to expand their hospitals."

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

-5

- -elimination of structural deficiencies by means of land and agrarian structural measures
 - -expansion of interest reduction and an agricultural credit system
- -social security for independent farmers and for the family members of farm workers; legal equality of farmworkers with their counterparts in industry; guarantee of pensions and indemnification
 - -support for expanding agricultural land and/or fallowing

- -public support for farm, planting, and production cooperatives
- -the construction of market councils by the federal government and states to ensure the an improved marketing of agricultural products--structural policies: land consolidation, resettlement, stockpiling, road construction through supplements and inexpensive loans
 - -support for agricultural education and country schools

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

98

H11 Foreign Aid

-4

Foreign aid is an important part of German foreign policy. The goal is "help through self-help." Western industrial countries must agree to a "division of labor" in support of developing countries. Without the simultaneous coupling of political conditions, monetary aid is of no use in promoting the economic development of the lands in question. Credit terms must be manageable; private initiatives and investment is supported. Further, technical help, especially in education and training, should be encouraged.

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

0

In addition to the federal government and states, communities must take up important responsibilities in order to strengthen their effectiveness through such measures as finance reform, public support of city and street construction, etc.

"According to the social democratic conception, states and communities have public responsibilities of the same level as those of the federal government."

"Approximately 1/4 of all federal laws affect directly the interest of communities. The better "community-friendly" attitude of the social democratic government will permeate into the farthest reaches of the community. The federal government, states, and communities will work closely together and trustingly together, they will solve problems as partners."

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

98

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights

98

H18 Immigration

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1969**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

"The already initiated comprehensive tax reform must be in accordance with the principles of taxation which are determined by performance and tax load bearing capacity.

The employee's income tax contribution will be doubled. The possibilities for tax deductions, special expenditures, and for advertising will be expanded. The inheritance tax for large fortunes is to be increased. The generous provisions within inheritance tax law for large fortunes should be limited.

"The top levels of income tax need to be reexamined."

"The new regulations pertaining to wealth taxes for special expenditures in the highest tax bracket should promote the income tax deductions for the many in possession of small fortunes."

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

H04 Social Services

-5

"The state is obligated to fulfill the right of every citizen to have social security."

Improvement of family compensation for the support of children.

Support of public housing construction and housing for families and older citizens, alignment of income with housing construction support and upper limits for rent for housing subsidies according to changing conditions.

Securing of the dynamic pension, "no one needs to worry about their pension." Achieving of insurance for citizens, social security for care of the elderly, the self-employed, and housewives (housewife pension)

Continued payment of wages for employees in the case of illness

H05 Health Care

0

"A need based system of efficient hospitals should secure the equal opportunities of all citizens for hospital care, which corresponds to the most current and efficient possibilities for restoring health."

However, nothing about the relationship between governmental and private facilities

H06 Environmental Protection

98

H07 Education

98

H08 Agricultural Supports

"We offer German agriculture a new orientation in agricultural policy. Our goal is a market-oriented, social-conscious, and income-appropriate agricultural policy. We strive for competitive agricultural economy, whose work and life conditions are commensurate with other branches of the economy."

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending -

1

`Together with our allies we will work for bilateral troop reductions in Eastern and Western Europe. We renounce the further production and purchase of nuclear weapons. We are clearly decided for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons."

H11 Foreign Aid

"The Federal Republic--the second largest trade nation in the world--is contributing through the cooperation across the borders of Europe to the most important job of our era, the accelerated economic and social development of the third world and the procurement of peace. Germany must mobilize its economic, scientific, and moral strength for this purpose. Foreign aid helps both sides. The countries of the third world belong to our most important partners of tomorrow."

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

For the reform of the laws of competition to eliminate misuse of market power (merger control, merger reporting, prohibition of gagging/tight contracts)

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

1

Improvement and expansion of development services for the promotion/advancement of reentry of women into the working world, for their further education and higher qualification

H18 Immigration

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1972**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

0

"The state protects the rights of freedom for its citizens. We will preserve, enforce, and develop/promote these rights."

H02 Personal Taxes -

3

The tax burden should be more fairly distributed, unjust tax advantages should be abolished, and the yield raised,

Promotion of families through new arrangement of the equalization of the family burden

HO2B Total Taxation

-2

The state should not become richer, but rather be in position of providing services, therefore small tax increases may be necessary, which should serve to finance services (preschool, schools, and schools of higher education, streets, hospitals).

In addition community services should *be* supported by the distribution of taxes and supplemental methods (public transit systems, intra-community traffic services)

H03 Scope of Government

-3

The welfare and quality of life of the population depend as much on community

institutions as private services. Therefore, more and more needs must be met through public services and investment, such as social security, hospital construction, schools, sports facilities, environmental protection, public transit systems

"Only the well to do can demand fewer community services without feeling an infringement on their lives; only the rich can afford a poor state. The state does not have needs, the citizen does."

H04 Social Services -

5

Children in homes and homeless settlements, the handicapped

Expansion of the social security system for farmers/peasants, housewives, selfemployed, the handicapped, the retired

Free examinations for small children and adults for the early detection of developmental problems including cancer; expansion of medical research Within the health care system volunteers as well as the states and communities should work together;

In the area of housing construction, public and owner apartments should be further developed (for the latter, tax benefits should be included), communities should receive financial support from the federal government for sanitation and developmental measures

H05 Health Care -

2

Continuation of the reforms set in motion in 1969

Securing of the economic bases and performance capabilities of hospitals (hospital finance law): the federal government, the states, and the local communities take over the investment costs; further increase of these amounts

Volunteers, local communities, and the state should work together on health security

H06 Environmental Protection -

4

-In favor of changing the Constitution to increase the federal government's responsibility in the area of environmental protection and passing various laws for this

purpose,

- -Establishment of a council of environmental experts within the Dept. of Interior, planning for a Dept. of Environmental Protection,
 - -Inclusion of ecological points of view in industrial (structural) policy
 - -Continuation of these reforms, development of an environmental criminal law -Advocates taking action at the international level adheres to the principle of cause (instigators)

H07 Education -4

"Preschools, schools, and vocational schools are primarily a matter to be dealt with at the state level."

H08 Agricultural Supports -

4

Previous efforts: social security for farmers through mandatory health insurance, improvement of care for the elderly, programs to promote single family farming

Future measures: creation of possibilities for farmers through which their voluntary cooperation will lead to a stronger position in the marketplace; reduction in tax impediments which hamper the creation and activity of farmer and forestry cooperatives; creation of regulations for cultivation and purchase contracts;

Further promotion of the agricultural sector, single family farming, property protection, support for weekend farmers

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending -

1

"The effectiveness of the alliance and ultimately also of the ability of the Federal Republic of Germany to be able to negotiate rest upon its readiness to make a military contribution to NATO defense. That is the duty of the armed forces. Therefore we will

work together with our alliance partners in order to ensure that our own defense capability is not neglected."

We also advocate at the same time troop reduction and arms limitations in the east and west.

H11 Foreign Aid

98

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

0

Repeat crime should be reduced through a modern penal system and resocialization programs.

H13 Centralized Power

98

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production

98

H15 Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"We will do everything to strengthen competition. We will improve the law which protects against the limitation of competition, especially through control of takeovers by enterprises which control the marketplace; second hand price fixing and recommended pricing must be abolished. Beyond this, the position in the marketplace of smaller and mid-range enterprises must be strengthened, which will, in spite of increasing economic concentrations, play an important role in the future. We want to help these enterprises to strengthen their position in the marketplace so that private initiatives, risk taking, and business efficiency can develop."

H16 Minority Rights 98

H17 Women's Rights

-1

In new family and marriage legislation the equality of women and the work of housewives shall be recognized.

H18 Immigration 98

Country:	Germany	
Party:	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	
Year:	1976	
Coders:	Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn	
H01 Individu +4	al Freedoms	
H02 Persona	al Taxes	
HO2B Total Taxation		
-2		
H03 Scope o	f Government	
-3		
H04 Social S	ervices	
-5		
H05 Health	Care -	
2		
H06 Environr	nental Protection	

-4

	98
H08	Agricultural Supports 98
H09	Cultural Supports -
H10	Defense Spending -
H11	Foreign Aid 0
H12	Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers 98
H13	Centralized Power 98
H14	State Ownership of Means of Production 98
H15	Regulation of Private Sector -

H07 Education

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

3

H18 Immigration

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1980**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+4

H02 Personal Taxes

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services -

4

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection -

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H07 Education
      98
H08 Agricultural Supports
      -1
H09 Cultural Supports
      98
H10 Defense Spending
      -2
H11 Foreign Aid
      -5
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
      -3
H13 Centralized Power
      98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
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H15 Regulation of Private Sector

98

+1

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

4

H18 Immigration -

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: 1983

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+3

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

HO2B Total Taxation

98

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services

-3

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

H07 Education 98

H08 Agricultural Supports -

1

H09 Cultural Supports

98

H10 Defense Spending

H11 Foreign Aid -3

H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

H13 Centralized Power

H14 State Ownership of Means of Production -

1

H15 Regulation of Private Sector -

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

2

H18 Immigration -

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1987**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

+1

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

HO2B Total Taxation

-3

H03 Scope of Government

98

H04 Social Services -

3

H05 Health Care

98

H06 Environmental Protection

-4

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H07 Education
      98
H08 Agricultural Supports
      -1
H09 Cultural Supports -
      3
H10 Defense Spending
      -2
H11 Foreign Aid
      -3
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
      98
H13 Centralized Power
      98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
      98
H15 Regulation of Private Sector
```

+1

H16 Minority Rights

98

H17 Women's Rights -

4

H18 Immigration -

Party: Social Democratic Party (SPD)

Year: **1990**

Coders: Thomas Poguntke; Birgit Zahn

H01 Individual Freedoms

98

H02 Personal Taxes

-2

HO2B Total Taxation 0

H03 Scope of Government

-3

H04 Social Services -5

H05 Health Care 0

H06 Environmental Protection -5

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H07 Education
     98
H08 Agricultural Supports 0
H09 Cultural Supports
     98
H10 Defense Spending
     -2
H11 Foreign Aid
     -3
H12 Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers
     98
H13 Centralized Power
     98
H14 State Ownership of Means of Production
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H15 Regulation of Private Sector

98

H16 Minority Rights 0

H17 Women`s Rights -

2

H18 Immigration -