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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN GERMANY ON ENSURING ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The purpose of this article is to present the position of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (*Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands*, CDU) and the Christian Social Union (*Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern e. V.*, CSU) on ensuring environmental security through international cooperation. This security is understood as “a certain sustainable and continuous process aimed at achieving the desired environmental state, ensuring the peaceful and healthy existence of all elements of the ecosystem, by using various means consistent with the principles of internal coexistence of the state and the international community” (Senczyk, 2013: 67). International cooperation here concerns the European Union and the United Nations, the two organizations the German Christian Democrats most often refer to in their election platforms for the Bundestag and the European Parliament elections in the context of ensuring environmental security.

The election platforms of the German Christian Democratic parties published between 1990 and 2021 are analyzed in order to answer the following research questions: according to both Christian Democratic parties, how important is international cooperation in ensuring environmental security? Which international organizations did the CDU and CSU want to cooperate with to this end? Did the position of the Christian Democratic parties on ensuring environmental security through international cooperation change during the period under study? Which aspects of environmental security did the CDU and CSU stress? Which election platforms of both parties addressed environmental security? Why did the CDU and CSU address environmental security issues in their election platforms? Were the measures advocated by both parties implemented within the framework of the EU and the UN? The hypothesis is that in the election platforms for the Bundestag and the European Parliament (EP) elections from 1990 to 2021, the German Christian Democratic parties prioritized international cooperation within the European Union as being indispensable for ensuring the environmental security of Germany and Europe. In addition to the content analysis method, historical and comparative methods are used in this paper.

Between 1990 and 2021, the German Christian Democrats repeatedly addressed environmental issues in joint or stand-alone election platforms for the Bundestag and European Parliament elections. In nineteen out of twenty-one documents published, Christian Democrats made direct references to international cooperation in ensuring environmental security (including eight joint and two stand-alone election platforms

for the 1990 Bundestag elections and two joint and seven stand-alone election platforms for elections to the EP, where the CSU did not address this issue in 1994 and 2014, while in 2009 it published as many as two documents – one stand-alone and the other one in cooperation with the CDU).

Table 1

Addressing international cooperation in ensuring environmental security in the election platforms of the German Christian Democrats from 1990 to 2021

Year	Election to Bundestag	Year	Election to the European Parliament
1990	CDU, CSU	1994	CDU
1994	CDU/CSU	1999	CDU, CSU
1998	CDU/CSU	2004	CDU, CSU
2002	CDU/CSU	2009	CDU/CSU, CSU
2005	CDU/CSU	2014	CDU
2009	CDU/CSU	2019	CDU/CSU
2013	CDU/CSU		
2017	CDU/CSU		
2021	CDU/CSU		

Source: Own analysis.

In explaining the reasons for their commitment to environmental issues, in the 1994 CDU/CSU government program, entitled *We secure Germany's future*, the parties pointed out that they were responsible for “preserving the natural foundations for the life of future generations” (“*Wir sichern...*, 1994: 26).¹ In 2009, the CSU specified that the goal was to “pass on to future generations intact environment with healthy soil, healthy air, healthy food and clean water” (“*CSU-Europawahlprogramm...*, 2009: 11). In their platform for the 1998 Bundestag elections, both parties stressed that this was the focus of their “policy of Christian responsibility” (*1998–2002 Wahlplattform...*, 1998: 26).

Additionally, in the 1994 Bundestag election platform, the Christian Democrats made it clear that the Federal Republic of Germany was the international leader in the environmental policy conducted by the state (“*Wir sichern...*, 1994: 26). The CDU noted that Germany had “made a pioneering contribution to the international environmental partnership.” They pointed out that “the global environmental policy for the protection of the world’s climate, tropical rainforests and oceans, initiated and internationally promoted by Helmut Kohl, must be consistently continued” (“*Ja zu Deutschland...*, 1990: 15). In their joint CDU/CSU government program from 2002, entitled *Performance and Security – Time for Action*, the parties promised to increase “German contribution to international cooperation on the global challenges of protecting the atmosphere, preserving biodiversity, and halting desertification, water shortages, and deforestation” (“*Leistung und Sicherheit...*, 2002: 58). Both parties were convinced that international cooperation was the only means to the desired end, namely, to ensuring environmental security.²

¹ The CSU spoke in a similar vein in its 1990 Bundestag election platform (“*Heimat Bayern...*, 1990: 18).

² For more on the environmental security of Germany see: Garczewski, 2017; Molo, 2016a; Molo, 2016b; Wyligala, 2013; Wyligala, 2016.

I. COOPERATION WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION

While the CDU and CSU emphasized the European Union's pioneering role in environmental protection and the fight against global climate change, they also acknowledged that it was the EU's obligation to take further action ("*Für eine starke Stimme...*, 2009: 2). In a document entitled *Europe must be done right*, adopted at the 12th party congress in 1999, the CDU went as far as to plead "that the European Union should develop into an environmental union (*Umweltunion*)."³ This would be linked to the establishment of an Environmental Council of the European Union (*ökologischer Sachverständigenrat der Europäischen Union*)³, which would report to the European Commission, and to the expansion of the EU's Economic and Social Committee⁴ to include representatives from the environmental sector. The CDU also demanded that "the powers of the European Environment Agency⁵ as an information and documentation center be extended to include effective environmental control." The EEA should be given the power to "impose appropriate measures and sanctions in the event of violations of EU environmental law" in order to improve compliance with EU environmental standards ("*Europa muss man...* 1999: 11).

In the government program, adopted at a joint meeting of the CDU Federal Executive Committee and the CSU Executive Committee in 2009, the parties declared to do everything in their power to ensure that "Europe fulfills its pioneering role in climate protection by meeting ambitious targets" ("*Wir haben die Kraft...* 2009: 70–71).

1. EU environmental regulations and standards

Both Christian Democratic parties repeatedly advocated the harmonization of existing environmental regulations and standards, such as those on waste disposal, water protection, or air pollution control, so that they apply to all EU member states ("*Wir haben die Kraft...*, 2009: 72; "*Europa – gut für Deutschland*" ..., 1994: 7–8). At the same time, the CDU emphasized in its platform for the 2004 EP elections that excessive bureaucracy should be eliminated in the unification process ("*Europa-Manifest der CDU*" ..., 2004: 4). The CDU and CSU emphasized in their platform for the 2009 Bundestag elections that a unified, yet innovative and flexible, nature conservation policy should aim at "eliminating regional deficits and accelerating work in member

³ Environmental protection, prudent use of resources and the protection of human health are the responsibility of the Environment Council (ENVI), whose members are the environment ministers of EU member states. It also includes representatives of the European Commission responsible for the environment and climate change (*Rada ds. Środowiska (ENVI)*, 2021).

⁴ The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) has a Section for Agriculture, Rural Development and the Environment (NAT), which is responsible, among other things, for environmental protection and climate change. The Committee has also established the Sustainable Development Observatory, the aim of which is to promote environmental responsibility (*Sekcja Rolnictwa...*, 2021; *Centrum Monitorowania...*, 2021).

⁵ The mission of the European Environment Agency (EEA) is to provide reliable and independent environmental information to those involved in protecting the environment (*Europejska Agencja...*, 2021).

states where environmental standards are low.” The Christian Democrats argued that the instruments and measures of this policy “should be adapted to local and regional natural conditions as well as to economic, environmental and social conditions” (*“Wir haben die Kraft...”, 2009: 72*). The CDU argued that such measures should not only serve the citizens, but also “protect member states with high standards against unfair competition in the European internal market” (*“Europa muss man richtig machen”...”, 1999: 11–12*).⁶ The CSU added that “through European environmental policy we create a level playing field for our companies. This ensures jobs in Bavaria and the whole of Germany” (*“CSU-Europawahlprogramm 2009”...”, 2009: 11*).

The CDU and the CSU stressed that all member states should be equally burdened with the EU’s environmental and climate obligations, even in times of economic crisis, the CSU added (*“Für eine starke Stimme in Europa”...”, 2009: 2*). Although the CSU stated in its platform for the 1999 EP elections that it supported “effective, cross-border environmental protection within the European Union,” the party believed it was particularly important for EU member states to be responsible for implementing European environmental standards (*“20 Leitsätze zur Europapolitik”...”, 1999: 8*).⁷ According to the CSU’s platform for the EP elections, entitled *For a strong Bavaria in Europe 2004–2009*, “the European Union does not need any new or expanded powers in areas that member states can adequately handle on their own.” The CSU argued that the EU “must be able to act where only joint action can ensure success” (*“Für ein starkes Bayern in Europa 2004–2009”...”, 2004: 12*). In another document, prepared for the 1994 EP elections, the CDU emphasized that “tasks that can only be solved jointly, such as [...] environmental policy, must be assumed by the European Union, while other tasks should be as decentralized as possible” (*“Europa – gut für Deutschland”...”, 1994: 9*).

The legal basis for EU environmental policy is provided by Articles 11⁸ and 191–193 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. According to Article 191(2), the EU’s objective is attaining “a high level of protection taking into account the diversity of situations in the various regions of the Union,” while “harmonisation measures answering environmental protection requirements shall include, where appropriate, a safeguard clause allowing Member States to take provisional measures, for non-economic environmental reasons, subject to a procedure of inspection by the Union” (*Wersja skonsolidowana Traktatu o funkcjonowaniu...”, 2008: 132*). In developing environmental policy, the EU takes into account not only the economic and social development of the whole organization, but also the balanced development of its regions and their environmental conditions (*Wersja skonsolidowana Traktatu o funkcjonowaniu...”, 2008, art. 191(3): p. 133*). Measures to achieve objectives such as the preservation, protection and improvement of the quality of the environment, protection of human health, or prudent and rational use of natural resources are decided by the

⁶ The CDU stressed that “fair competition is only possible if those who do not protect the environment and consumers do not win” (*“Europa-Manifest...”, 2004: 4*).

⁷ In a document from the same year, the CDU specified that it would have to be “future-oriented.” (*“Europa muss man...”, 1999: 11*).

⁸ Article 11 (ex Article 6 TEC): “Environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of the Union policies and activities, in particular with a view to promoting sustainable development” (*Wersja skonsolidowana Traktatu...”, 2008: 53*).

European Parliament and the Council of the European Union (through the ordinary legislative procedure and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions). The EU Council decides unanimously on budgetary matters, urban and rural spatial planning, land use, the quantitative management of water resources, the choice of energy sources and the structure of energy supply (after consulting the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions) (*Wersja skonsolidowana Traktatu o funkcjonowaniu...*, 2008, Article 192(1) and (2): 133). Member states have the right to introduce more stringent protective measures themselves, as long as they are compatible with EU Treaties (*Wersja skonsolidowana Traktatu o funkcjonowaniu...*, 2008, Art. 193: 134).

2. Reduction of greenhouse gases

Discussing various measures to ensure environmental security, the Christian Democrats addressed the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in their election platforms. In the EP election platform entitled *Europe – good for Germany*, the CDU emphasized that, thanks to cross-border cooperation, the production and use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFC) in the European Union was banned in 1995 and promised that “together with partners in the EU, every effort will be made to significantly reduce CO₂ emissions” (*“Europa – gut für Deutschland”...*, 1994: 7–8). In its 2014 platform, the CDU supported the European Union pursuing to reduce CO₂ emissions in line with the EU’s 2030 climate and energy framework,⁹ whereby greenhouse gas emissions were to be reduced by 40 percent from 1990 levels.¹⁰ According to the European Green Deal, announced by the European Commission in December 2019, the reduction was to reach 50 percent, or even 55 percent over the period in question. Ultimately, the EU is to achieve zero net greenhouse gas emissions in 2050 (*Komunikat Komisji do Parlamentu Europejskiego...*, 2019: 5, 2). Among other things, this was the reason why in the platform for the 2021 Bundestag elections, the CDU and CSU stated that the Green Deal would make Europe “the world’s first climate-neutral continent” (*Das Programm für Stabilität...*, 2021: 20).

The CDU stressed that emissions should be curbed in line with the EU’s climate targets while maintaining the market-based structure of the EU Emissions Trading System (EU ETS¹¹). The party expressed their intention to eliminate existing problems

⁹ In October 2014, the European Council committed to reducing the EU’s total greenhouse gas emissions by at least 40 percent below 1990 levels by 2030 (*Rada Europejska (23 i 24 października 2014 r.)...*, 2014).

¹⁰ In the joint platform for the 2009 Bundestag elections that was published earlier, the CDU and CSU stated that “the European Union has already committed to reducing CO₂ emissions by at least 20 percent by 2020. In addition, by 2020, energy efficiency should increase by 20 percent compared to 1990, and the share of renewable energy in the final energy consumption should also rise to 20 percent” (*“Wir haben die Kraft...”*, 2009: 71). In their platform for the next Bundestag elections, the Christian Democrats opted for greenhouse gas emissions in Europe to be reduced by 30 percent compared to 1990, by 2020 (*“Gemeinsam erfolgreich...”*, 2013: 51).

¹¹ The EU Emissions Trading System, established in 2005, limits the amount of greenhouse gases that can be emitted by energy-intensive industries, energy producers and airlines. The overall cap on emissions allowances is set by the EU, and operators can buy or obtain these allowances (*Dyrektywa 2003/87/WE...*, 2003).

and provide effective incentives to avoid harmful greenhouse gases on the one hand, and to involve as many countries as possible in developing a global emissions trading system on the other one (*"Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland"*..., 2013: 48–49).¹² In their joint platform for the 2009 Bundestag elections, the CDU and CSU stated that they saw "a market-economy-oriented European Emissions Trading System as the right way to achieve a good balance between economy and protection of the environment." The Christian Democrats expressed their desire to develop emissions trading while taking into account the competitiveness of German and European industry (*"Wir haben die Kraft..."*, 2009: 71).¹³ These expectations were met by the European Green Deal, where the European Commission committed to reviewing the trading system, among other things with regard to including new sectors, emission reduction targets of member states for sectors not covered by the ETS, and the regulation on emissions from land use, land use change and forestry (*Komunikat Komisji do Parlamentu Europejskiego*, 2019: 5).

3. Energy transition

Both Christian Democratic parties devoted considerable space in their election platforms to the energy transition in EU member states, including the transition to renewable energy sources which were to facilitate independence from energy imports and protect the environment and climate. This was in line with the position of the EU, which identified the promotion of renewable forms of energy as one of the objectives of EU energy policy in Article 194(1) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (*Wersja skonsolidowana Traktatu o funkcjonowaniu...*, 2008:134), and later stated in Directive (EU) 2018/2001 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2018 that the increased use of energy obtained from renewable energy sources was an important element of implementing the EU framework of climate and energy policy by 2030 (*Dyrektywa Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady...*, 2018: 82).¹⁴

In their platform for the 2019 EP elections, the CDU and CSU stressed that closer links in European energy markets should be pursued, including a stronger interconnection of energy grids in Europe, as this was "the best way to compensate for the different availability of renewable energy and an opportunity to make better use of the

¹² Their commitment to involving as many countries as possible was confirmed by both parties in their joint platform for the 2019 EP elections (*"Unser Europa macht stark..."*, 2019: 11).

¹³ A similar wording can be found in the CDU/CSU government program of 2013 (*"Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland"*..., 2013: 51). The CDU combined the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions with the increase in renewable energy sources and efficient use of energy sources (*"Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa"*..., 2014: 48).

¹⁴ The directive states that: "The increased use of energy from renewable sources also has a fundamental part to play in promoting the security of energy supply, sustainable energy at affordable prices, technological development and innovation as well as technological and industrial leadership while providing environmental, social and health benefits as well as major opportunities for employment and regional development, especially in rural and isolated areas, in regions or territories with low population density or undergoing partial deindustrialization" (*Dyrektywa Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady (UE) 2018/2001...*, 2018: 82).

different energy sources in Europe” (*“Unser Europa macht stark...”, 2019: 11*).¹⁵ The CDU added that member states should conclude an agreement on developing renewable energy sources applying uniform criteria for them. The party wanted European framework conditions to support the development of renewable energy sources in Germany and Europe without infringing on the sovereignty of member states regarding the energy mix (*“Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa”... , 2014: 37–39*).¹⁶ At the same time, both parties stressed that care should be taken in developing the regulatory framework in Germany and in the European internal market “not to excessively multiply regulations and additional bureaucratic measures” (*„Wir sichern Deutschlands Zukunft”... , 1994: 29*).

The 2018 directive on renewable energy sources stipulated that each member state should adopt its own National Renewable Energy Action Plan¹⁷ and set out its individual contribution to the achievement of the EU target¹⁸ in accordance with the governance process identified in Directive 2018/1999 of the European Parliament and of the Council. The directive indicated that regional cooperation was essential in ensuring effective achievement of the Energy Union’s targets and that member states should take into account existing regional cooperation fora, such as the North Seas Countries’ Offshore Grid Initiative (NSCOGI) (*Rozporządzenie Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady (UE) 2018/1999... , 2018: 6*).

4. Protection of the seas and biodiversity

In the 2013 CDU/CSU government program entitled *Together successful for Germany*, both parties wanted Germany to set a good example in protecting the seas and marine wildlife, including taking greater responsibility for the environments of the Baltic Sea and the North Sea. Since such protection is a task that impacts many political decisions, the Christian Democrats believed that special attention should be paid to these decisions being executed (*“Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland”... , 2013: 53*). In a document published one year later and entitled *Together efficient in Europe*, the CDU clarified its assumptions and opted for the EU Marine Strategy Framework Directive¹⁹ to be implemented and for the achievement of good envi-

¹⁵ The parties took a similar position in 1994. According to the CDU/CSU government program, “the further opening up of international energy markets and closer cooperation in the energy industry enable a clean, affordable and modern energy supply” (*“Wir sichern Deutschlands Zukunft”... , 1994: 29*).

¹⁶ Christian Democrats stressed that “in a Europe of the future, energy policy can no longer be seen as a purely national matter. That is why we are involved in an overall European strategy for energy supply and services” (*“Leistung und Sicherheit... , 2002: 54–56*).

¹⁷ The issue of fully respecting the freedom of member states to determine their energy mix was also addressed in the European Council conclusions of 23 and 24 October 2014.

¹⁸ In its conclusions of 23 and 24 October 2014, the European Council endorsed at least a 27 percent share of renewable energy in the energy consumed in the EU. The directive set a minimum share of 32 percent of renewable energy.

¹⁹ The strategy stressed that: “The marine environment is a precious heritage that must be protected, preserved and, where practicable, restored with the ultimate aim of maintaining biodiversity and providing diverse and dynamic oceans and seas which are clean, healthy and productive. In that

ronmental status in German marine waters by 2020 at the latest, which included, for example, the designation of protected areas, fight against overfishing and clear rules for deep-sea mining and deep-sea oil or gas extraction (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa*” ..., 2014: 49).

Both Christian Democratic parties opted for, among other things, the integration of environmentally valuable European areas into networks, which was also mentioned in the directive.²⁰ In doing so, the CDU and CSU mentioned greater integration of regionally diverse “cultural landscapes” (*Kulturlandschaften*). Both parties also called for consistent implementation of the national strategy for sustainable use and protection of the seas (Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit, 2008), which devoted considerable space to the EU’s maritime policy (“*Wir haben die Kraft...*, 2009: 73).

In their 2019 joint platform, both parties stressed that the preservation of biodiversity, and thus the fight against climate change was a major European objective (“*Unser Europa macht stark...* 2019: 5). Similar provisions could also be found, for example, in the EU 2020 Biodiversity Strategy (*Komunikat Komisji do Parlamentu Europejskiego...*, 2011: 2).

5. High environmental standards in agricultural production

The CDU and CSU supported high environmental standards in agricultural production on the one hand and the protection of agriculture in Germany and Europe on the other. In their election platform for the 2002 Bundestag elections, the parties promised to pursue an environmental policy in agriculture that would be “based on scientific knowledge and recommendations and linked to practice,” taking advantage of technical progress, among other things, to this end. The German Christian Democrats emphasized that “environmental protection in agriculture needs to be organized uniformly across the EU.” Being aware that farmers would have to be involved in cultivating and maintaining the “cultural landscape,” the CDU and CSU promised them adequate “financial compensation [...] for the environmental services provided and acting for common good” (“*Leistung und Sicherheit...*, 2002: 53).

In their joint platform for the 2005 Bundestag elections, entitled *Making the most of Germany’s potential. Growth. Jobs. Security*, the CDU and CSU committed themselves to ensuring “fair competition at the European level [...], in particular by taking into account environmental standards, animal welfare and hygiene” in the interests of German farmers. The parties wished to retain sufficient political capacity to protect the European model of economically, environmentally and socially sustainable agriculture (“*Deutschlands Chancen nutzen...*, 2005: 23).

respect, this Directive should, inter alia, promote the integration of environmental considerations into all relevant policy areas and deliver the environmental pillar of the future maritime policy for the European Union” (*Dyrektywa Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady 2008/56/WE...*, 2008: 19).

²⁰ “Establishing [...] protected areas under this Directive [...] will contribute to the creation of coherent and representative networks of such areas” (*Dyrektywa Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady 2008/56/WE...*, 2008: 20).

These elements dovetail with the objectives of the Common Agricultural Policy (*Wersja skonsolidowana Traktatu o funkcjonowaniu...*, 2008, Article 39 (ex Article 33 TEC): 62–63),²¹ which promotes organic farming, emphasizing responsible use of pesticides and fertilizers by farmers, the use of environmentally sound farming techniques, new technologies and alternative methods, but also reducing the use of antibiotics through investments and advice beneficial to animal health and welfare (*Zrównoważona środowiskowo...*, 2022). Under this policy, farmers receive direct payments that not only ensure a stable income and reward them for their environmentally sound operations and caring for the countryside, but also ensure a level playing field within the single agri-food market (*Rozporządzenie Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady (UE) nr 1307/2013...*, 2013).

The CDU and CSU also cared about ‘sensible’ soil conservation. According to their platform for the 2009 Bundestag elections, reusing current agricultural areas was to take precedence over adapting new ones. The parties stressed that, to this end, creating framework conditions was necessary, for example by establishing incentives for inter-municipal regional coordination when establishing enterprises. In doing so, the Christian Democrats rejected the EU Directive on soil protection (*Wniosek dotyczący Dyrektywy Parlamentu Europejskiego...*, 2006), believing that European regulations inhibited regions and municipalities in this regard. They argued that the directive was unnecessary, violated the principle of subsidiarity and could contribute to greater EU bureaucracy (*“Wir haben die Kraft...”*, 2009: 73; *Bodenschutz ist keine...*, 2008).

6. Environmentally friendly waste management policy and recycling

The CDU platform for EP elections in 1994 defined environmentally sound waste management policy as one relying on avoiding waste and thus being essential for energy- and resource-efficient economic development (*“Europa – gut für Deutschland”...*, 1994: 7–8). Both Christian Democratic parties advocated the development of waste management at the level of both Germany and Europe. In line with their 2009 joint election platform entitled *We have the strength – together for our country*, the CDU and CSU set the goal of adopting an “approach to waste management that is more environmentally and economically efficient and consumer-friendly.” In this context, they emphasized that waste prevention was a priority, while “waste that cannot be avoided should be recycled wherever possible.” Given the expanding European regulatory framework, the parties considered it urgent to comprehensively harmonize recycling and waste management practices and stated that member states should respect EU law (*“Wir haben die Kraft...”*, 2009: 73). This standpoint was coherent with the document *Europe – good for Germany*, in which the CDU advocated the EU’s transition to a circular economy (*“Europa – gut für Deutschland”...*, 1994: 7–8).

To meet the expectations of member states, Directive 2008/98/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 November 2008 repealed the previous framework directive on waste (75/442/EEC, consolidated as 2006/12/EC), the directive on haz-

²¹ The environmental objectives of the CAP are also reflected in the European Green Deal and the ‘farm to fork’ strategy (*Komunikat Komisji...*, 2019; European Commission, 2021).

ardous waste (91/689/EEC) and the directive on the disposal of waste oils (75/439/EEC). The aim was to revise and simplify EU waste policy by introducing a new framework and setting new objectives, in line with Article 191 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. The new directive should “help move the EU closer to a ‘recycling society,’ seeking to eliminate waste generation and to use waste as a resource” (*Dyrektywa Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady 2008/98/WE...*, 2008: 4, 6). In March 2020, the European Commission proposed A New Circular Economy Action Plan for a Cleaner and More Competitive Europe.²²

II. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS

The German Christian Democrats were aware that environmental and climate protection was a cross-border challenge which required broad international cooperation, and they supported such cooperation, including the European Union’s efforts to involve non-European countries in it (“*Für eine starke Stimme in Europa*” ..., 2009: 2; “*Europa – gut für Deutschland*” ..., 1994: 7–8; *1998–2002 Wahlplattform...*, 1998: 26). Furthermore, both parties advocated maintaining European environmental standards in negotiations within international organizations such as the United Nations (*1998–2002 Wahlplattform...*, 1998: 26).

Acknowledging that climate protection was one of the greatest challenges facing humanity, the CDU and CSU emphasized that Germany, a leading industrial country, had a special responsibility in this respect, which it accepted and fulfilled. According to the 2013–2017 CDU/CSU government program, both parties hoped that “Germany should be a global driving force for effective climate protection” also in the future (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland*” ..., 2013: 51) and stressed that the survival of all humanity was at stake (*Das Programm für Stabilität...*, 2021: 15).

1. Reduction of greenhouse gases

Already in its election platform for the 1990 Bundestag elections, the CDU called for effective international agreements to protect the atmosphere, which should enter into force by 1992 at the latest.²³ These demands were to a certain extent met by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which was adopted in New York on May 9, 1992, signed on June 5, 1992 at the Environment and Development Conference in Rio de Janeiro and entered into force on March 21, 1994 after ratification by fifty states, including Germany. In accordance with Article 2, the objective of the convention was to achieve “stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with

²² Its aim was defined as “accelerating the transformational change required by the European Green Deal, while building on circular economy actions implemented since 2015” (*Komunikat Komisji...*, 2020: 3).

²³ Among other things, it called for a worldwide halt on the production and use of chlorofluorocarbons by 2000 (“*Ja zu Deutschland...*”, 1990: 15–16).

the climate system” (United Nations, 1992: 3). The signatories pledged to protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations and to take “precautionary measures to anticipate, prevent or minimize the causes of climate change and mitigate its adverse effects” (United Nations, 1992, Article 3: 4). Pursuant to Article 4.2(a), this also meant reducing greenhouse gas emissions (United Nations, 1992: 5).

Aware that the objectives and measures identified in the Convention were not sufficient to combat climate change, including the reduction of greenhouse gases, the CDU and CSU, in their joint platform for the 2005 Bundestag elections entitled *Making the most of Germany's potential. Growth. Jobs. Security*, called for acceleration of national and global climate protection efforts (“*Deutschlands Chancen nutzen...*, 2005: 31). This attitude was partly linked to the fact that the Kyoto Protocol, which complemented the Convention, was signed on December 11, 1997, but entered into force as late as in February 2005, after ratification by fifty-five of the world’s most developed countries. The Kyoto Protocol, which allowed greenhouse gas emissions to be limited and reduced more firmly and efficiently, stipulated in Article 3(1) that, in order to reduce overall emissions of greenhouse gases by at least 5 percent below 1990 in the period 2008 to 2012, countries must not exceed the quantified emission limitation and reduction commitments listed in Annex B (United Nations, 1997: 4). Emission trading was supposed to help countries not to exceed the set standards (*Dyrektywa 2003/87/WE...*, 2003). In their joint platform for the 2009 Bundestag election, the CDU and the CSU advocated the development of emissions trading while taking into account the specific characteristics of German and European industry. At the same time, they recommended deepening contacts with countries and trade systems outside the European Union with a view to transforming emissions trading into a global system. They called for revenues from emissions trading “to be used to financially support action to protect the climate and prevent the effects of climate change” (“*Wir haben die Kraft...*, 2009: 70–71).

Since countries such as China, India, Indonesia and Brazil were not obligated to reduce CO₂ emissions, alongside the United States, which had not ratified the Kyoto Protocol, the CDU/CSU government program for 2005–2009 opted for the Kyoto Protocol to be transformed into a Kyoto Plus Initiative. It would aim to involve all the world’s largest CO₂ producers as well as emerging and developing countries in the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions (“*Deutschlands Chancen nutzen...*, 2005: 31). In their platform for the 2009 Bundestag elections, entitled *We have the strength – together for our country*, the CDU and CSU stated that “effective climate protection requires joint action worldwide. Our aim is to help limit the average warming of the atmosphere to a maximum of 2 degrees Celsius compared to the pre-industrial levels. We are committed to achieving a binding Kyoto Plus agreement and wish that the world climate conference in Copenhagen in December 2009 be a success” (“*Wir haben die Kraft...*, 2009: 70–71). Since the 15th climate conference, and subsequent ones, failed to agree on what action should be taken, the CDU/CSU 2013–2017 government program stated that German Christian Democrats wanted to work towards a new binding climate agreement as a follow-up to the Kyoto Protocol (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland...*”, 2013: 51). The program reiterated that both parties were for the gradual inclusion of other countries in emissions trading in view of

a long-term objective of devising a global trading system.²⁴ The Christian Democrats also hoped that Germany would continue to be “a global driving force for effective climate protection” in the future (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland*”..., 2013: 51).²⁵

The many years in pursuit of a universal multilateral agreement on climate change culminated at the 21st Paris Climate Conference in 2015. In the opinion of CDU/CSU, the Paris Agreement including, among other things, Article 6(4) which established a mechanism to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions (United Nations, 2015: 7), was the greatest success in international efforts to curb global warming. In the CDU/CSU 2017–2021 government program, the Christian Democrats argued that advancing global warming could have dramatic consequences worldwide and therefore required joint action by all countries. Therefore, they regretted the US government’s decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, and stressed that they would work with France and other countries to ensure compliance with the provisions of the Agreement (“*Für ein Deutschland...*”, 2017: 69).

2. Energy transition

The Christian Democrats devoted relatively little space in their election platforms to global energy transition. The CDU and CSU were aware that fossil fuels such as coal, oil and gas would have to be replaced by environmentally friendly sources of energy and opted for national energy policies promoting a “climate-friendly energy mix,” one that relies as much as possible on renewable energy sources (“*Deutschlands Chancen nutzen...*”, 2005: 31; “*Für ein Deutschland...*”, 2017: 69).

In their 2013 platform titled *Together effective for Germany*, the CDU and CSU pointed out that renewable energy and energy efficiency were the best instruments of environmental protection provided that all countries would get involved in this protection. The two parties supported the idea of establishing a “club of energy transition countries” that would bring together all pioneers of environmentally- and climate-sound energy. They stated that, together with these countries, they would “want to work towards a new binding climate agreement to follow the Kyoto Agreement.” They highlighted the need to provide framework conditions where investments in climate-sound projects and products were viable for private investors (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland*”..., 2013: 51).

3. Protection of the oceans, forests and biodiversity

Given that oceans and forests are essential for mitigating climate change, in their 2009 CDU/CSU government program, the German Christian Democrats promoted,

²⁴ The same objective was reiterated in the platform for the 2021 Bundestag elections (*Das Programm für Stabilität...*, 2021: 15).

²⁵ Their joint platform for the 2019 EP elections confirmed the commitment of both parties to involving as many countries as possible in (“*Unser Europa macht stark...*”, 2019: 11).

among other things, the protection and connection of environmentally valuable areas of the world into a network (“*Wir haben die Kraft...*, 2009: 73).²⁶ Their attitude was based on the assumption that environmental protection was a global task that transcended national and continental borders (“*Ja zu Deutschland...*, 1990: 15–16; “*Heimat Bayern...*, 1990: 20; “*Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa*”..., 2014: 50). At the same time, they called for adherence to international agreements devised within the framework of the United Nations on forest protection, such as the Kyoto Protocol, which addressed the issue of CO₂ sequestration through afforestation and reforestation (United Nations, 1997, Art. 3.3: 4), and the Paris Agreement, which supported measures to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and endorsed sustainable forest management (United Nations, 2015, Art. 5.2: 6). The CDU and CSU were also in favor of respecting and enforcing international agreements on water protection.²⁷ Particular attention was given in this context to the Arctic Ocean and the Southern Ocean, the “unique fauna and exceptional natural balance [of which] are important climate engines for the Earth” (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland*”..., 2013: 53). They stressed that protecting the oceans and seas was a comprehensive task that influenced many policy decisions and hoped for greater German commitment to this protection (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland*”..., 2013: 53).

The CDU and the CSU devoted a lot of space in their election platforms published between 1990 and 2021 to the preservation of biodiversity, which they wanted to strengthen and enforce under existing and future international agreements (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa*”..., 2014: 50). These included, among others, the Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas, done at Geneva on April 29, 1958 (*Convention on Fishing...*, 1958), the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, done at Montego Bay on December 10, 1982 (*Konwencja Narodów Zjednoczonych o prawie morza...*, 2002), or the Convention on Biological Diversity, done at Rio de Janeiro on June 5, 1992 (*Konwencja o różnorodności biologicznej...*, 2002). In the 2019 program entitled *Our Europe makes us strong. For security, peace and prosperity*, the Christian Democrats pointed out that biodiversity preservation, and thus the fight against climate change, should be combined with the implementation of the results of the UN climate change conferences held in Paris in December 2015 and in Katowice three years later (“*Unser Europa macht stark...*, 2019: 5).²⁸

Both parties emphasized that pollution and litter had an adverse influence on biodiversity, including the oceans, which, when treated like rubbish dumps, “deprive countless aquatic animals of habitat and, in the long term, threaten to destroy the entire marine ecosystem” (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich für Deutschland*”..., 2013: 53). The second

²⁶ The CDU and CSU pointed out that “the protection of forests is essential, as they provide habitat to many species and are also the lungs of the world. More than ever before, we need to intensify forest protection at the regional, national and international levels” (“*Wir haben die Kraft...*, 2009: 72).

²⁷ The protection of areas such as the Alps, the Arctic and the Antarctic was also considered (“*Ja zu Deutschland...*, 1990: 16; “*Wir haben die Kraft...*, 2009: 70–71).

²⁸ For more on this topic see: *Katowice climate package*, 2021.

negative element indicated by the CDU and CSU was overfishing, and so catching too many fish in one area, resulting in an insufficient number of adults to produce offspring and maintain healthy populations (“*Für ein Deutschland...*”, 2017: 67). The third one involved the catching and killing of animals at risk of extinction, such as whales (“*Wir haben die Kraft...*”, 2009: 73). In addition to these factors, the German Christian Democrats also mentioned poaching and the illegal wildlife trade (“*Gemeinsam erfolgreich in Europa*”..., 2014: 50). Since all these activities could lead to a “major catastrophe,” they demanded that immediate preventive action be taken (“*Für ein Deutschland...*”, 2017: 67).

CONCLUSION

In their election platforms for the Bundestag and European Parliament elections from 1990 to 2021, the CDU and the CSU repeatedly emphasized their role in ensuring clean air, water, soil and healthy food for present and future generations. They derived this from the principle of a Christian responsibility for the world on the one hand, and from the fact that environmental protection was increasingly important to German voters, including Christian Democratic voters, on the other.

Taking responsibility for ensuring environmental security at the federal level was made possible through the office of Chancellor, held by Christian Democratic politicians Helmut Kohl (until 1998) and Angela Merkel (2005–2021), but also through the office of Minister of the Environment held by Klaus Töpfer (1990–1994), Angela Merkel (1994–1998), Norbert Röttgen (2009–2012) and Peter Altmaier (2012–2013), the office of Minister of the Economy held by Michael Glos (2005–2009), Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg (2009) and Peter Altmaier (2018–2021), and through having the majority in the Bundestag (1990–1998, 2005–2021).²⁹ The Christian Democrats were able to influence environmental decision-making at the European level in the European Council (by German Chancellors), the Environment Council (by Environment Ministers), the European Commission (by Günther Oettinger, Commissioner for Energy/Digital Economy and Society/Budget and Human Resources, 2010–2019; Ursula von der Leyen, EC President from 2019) and the European Parliament (by Egon Klepsch, EP President, 1992–1994, Hans-Gert Pöttering, EP President, 2007–2009, and other German Christian Democratic politicians – EPP members in the EP). German influence in the UN was primarily exercised by Chancellors and ministers from CDU/CSU. Both parties indicated that Germany was a leader of environmental policy conducted at the national level and a pioneer in international partnership for the protection of the environment.

Indeed, the first program addressing environmental protection was passed by the Bundestag in the second half of 1971.³⁰ Around the same time, Articles 74 and 75 of

²⁹ The environmental policy of Germany was also devised in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (*Auswärtiges Amt*), Department for Economy and Sustainable Development (*Abteilung für Wirtschaft und nachhaltige Entwicklung*), and Unit 404 for Foreign Policy on Climate and Environment and Sustainable Economy (*Referat 404 Klima- und Umwelt-Außenpolitik, nachhaltige Wirtschaft*).

³⁰ For more on the principles and objectives of German environmental policy see: Molo, 2009.

the Basic Law were amended, vesting the Federation with powers concerning important areas of environmental protection (such as animal and plant protection, waste disposal or keeping the air clean).³¹ The amendments to the Basic Law coincided with West Germany embarking on cross-border cooperation to effectively address environmental problems. It should be noted that this was necessary in the rapidly growing West Germany, facing environmental destruction, manifested in serious water pollution or dying forests, and accusations of being the main European emitter of pollutants into the atmosphere. Importantly, this cooperation was being established when the issue of environmental protection was increasingly being raised within the European Communities, the United Nations and environmental protest groups, which undoubtedly made Germany more committed to environmental protection at the national and international levels (Wyligala, 2013: 96–99). This environmental activism was also evident over the period analyzed in this article. When Christian Democratic deputies were a majority in the Bundestag and held offices whereby they were able to directly influence the national and international environmental policies, they contributed to the emergence and application of the EU climate and energy frameworks, the European Green Deal, and the creation and ratification of the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement.

As they realized that international cooperation was essential for ensuring the environmental security of Germany and the whole of Europe, in their election platforms for the 1990–2021 Bundestag and European Parliament elections, the CDU and CSU referred mainly to two organizations, namely the European Union and the United Nations, with only a few sentences referring to the G7/G8. The absence of a broader reference to the G7 in this respect can be explained by its informal and non-binding nature, and by the fact that several countries participating in its meetings, such as Germany, France, the UK and Italy, were also members of the EU³² and the UN, organizations with legal personality and therefore the capacity to conclude agreements, among other things. Significantly, in their election platforms, both Christian Democratic parties referred more frequently to activities of the European Union rather than of the UN. First, this had to do with the function the documents analyzed were intended to serve. Since they were drawn up for the Bundestag and EP elections, they focused on the issues of most interest to German voters, namely national and European issues, including environmental protection, in order to encourage the parties' regular electorate and other voters who cared for environmental security to vote for the Christian Democrats. Second, this was related to the involvement of the European Union and its member states in international efforts to prevent climate change within the framework of the UN Convention, which was why the parties focused their election platforms on the actions of Germany and the EU, seeking to achieve the goals and principles set in the UN forum. Third, the approach they adopted resulted from both parties perceiving Germany as an environmental leader on the European scale. It should be noted that the Christian Democrats were

³¹ Amendments to the Basic Law were also made at a later date. The 1994 amendment is noteworthy, under which Article 20a was added, which stipulated that the state, which is responsible to future generations, protects the natural basis of life (*Ustawa Zasadnicza...*, 1997: 93, 157, 159).

³² The United Kingdom – until January 31, 2020.

able to negotiate arrangements that were in line with particular German interests. As a result, more aspects of environmental security related to EU activities (energy transition, reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, protection of oceans and biodiversity, high environmental standards in agricultural production and soil protection, and environmentally sound waste management and recycling policies) can be identified in the election platforms of the Christian Democratic parties rather than actions of the UN.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to present the position of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) on ensuring environmental security through international cooperation within the European Union and the United Nations. The election platforms published by the German Christian Democratic parties from 1990 to 2021 for the elections to the Bundestag and the European Parliament are analyzed.

Keywords: CDU, CSU, European policy, environmental security, elections to the Bundestag, elections to the European Parliament, European Union, United Nations

NIEMIECKA CHADECJA O ZAPEWNIENIU BEZPIECZEŃSTWA EKOLOGICZNEGO POPRZEZ MIĘDZYNARODOWĄ WSPÓLPRACĘ

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie pozycji Unii Chrześcijańsko-Demokratycznej Niemiec (CDU) i Unii Chrześcijańsko-Społecznej (CSU) wobec zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa ekologicznego poprzez międzynarodową współpracę w ramach Unii Europejskiej oraz Organizacji Narodów Zjednoczonych. Analizie poddane zostały programy wyborcze na wybory do Bundestagu oraz Parlamentu Europejskiego, które zostały opublikowane przez niemieckie partie chadeckie w latach 1990–2021.

Słowa kluczowe: CDU, CSU, polityka europejska, bezpieczeństwo ekologiczne, wybory do Bundestagu, wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego, Unia Europejska, Organizacja Narodów Zjednoczonych