

PREAMBLE

Over the last four decades the PSD has been one of the protagonists of the effort to build a western European, representative and constitutional democracy in Portugal based on the values of political pluralism and social justice. During the critical phase of the revolutionary process and under the inspiring leadership of Francisco Sá Carneiro, its founder, the PSD stood side by side with the political forces that fought the threat of pro-Soviet communism and from the very start defended the construction of a truly open and free society. During the first decade of European integration, following our accession to what was then the EEC, the PSD was at the forefront in the country's modernisation, successfully achieving the reconversion of its productive infrastructures, building the core structures of the welfare state, expanding access to education and creating conditions for a future of growth and prosperity. A revision of the constitution also took place during this period, so that the economy was liberalised from State-heavy asphyxiation and its institutions modernised. This is an historic heritage of which we are proud and which we seek to honour.

Inspired by this heritage and by the responsibility generated by its legacy PSD party members should not encounter mere empty formulas in the fundamental values and principles of their party, which are excessively generic and disconnected from its action and intervention. Rather the values with which we started – freedom, equality and solidarity, represented in the three arrows that figure on the party symbol – are translated among us into effective principles of political action, without which such an action would be reduced to mere erratic and inconsequential pragmatism.

The value of freedom combines with the humanist principle of political action. The PSD considers people's dignity as the ultimate purpose in politics, as well as a source of and justification for the exercise of power and its institutions. Equality is indissociably linked with the value of freedom. The PSD believes that affirming people as a fundamental value, defending their equal dignity and their right to a good and happy life does not have to lead to egalitarianism that radically levels and inhibits differences. The truth is that the PSD considers that assuming this value implies rejecting

ideological egalitarianism and respecting people in their peculiarities and differences, refraining from instrumentalising them or sacrificing them to the capricious ideologies of social engineering.

This value of solidarity leads to the principle of the affirmation of a popular and social democratic party, that is, a party that articulates and defends the common interest of the Portuguese, committed to fulfilling the democratic promise of social mobility, fighting the material needs of the more vulnerable social groups and enhancing the action of civil society independent of the public powers.

The values of freedom, equality and solidarity combine with a decisive realistic principle of our political practice. In its political practice the PSD rejects an ideology that is closed to reality, preferring instead to be open to its complexity, permanent innovation and wealth. It is based on this realistic openness that the PSD critically and without dogmatisms prepares the best analyses and the best solutions to the problems. In a word, the PSD considers itself a party whose personalist and realistic action is guided by serious confrontation, free of ideological constraints and open to public democratic debate, with the major problems and major challenges of our time.

1. A personalist principle

The dignity of politics consists in serving the dignity of each person, that is, the human being as an end in himself and therefore the *raison d'être*, measure and limit of political action. The PSD considers that the actions of the State, public magistracies and even social institutions find in that dignity of the person the natural limits of the exercise of power. That is the ultimate criterion of assessment of structures, policies and institutions of our society. That is the ultimate criterion of the definition of the limits of the action of the State and of society, and is also the end that justifies and guides action and politics.

- 1.1. If the things that exist in the world are measured in terms of their value and compared in view of their price, a human being is unique, irreplaceable and immeasurable. In that sense he has no price, only dignity. This also means that

he cannot be instrumentalised or placed at the service of purposes that seek to relativise his value. It is not people who should serve the State but the State that should serve the people. So, it is not up to the State to programme people's lives, to think for them, to stand in for them in deciding how they should pursue their ideas of happiness or even present them with a model of society that in principle should make them feel fulfilled. The State should not impose a model of human happiness and fulfilment but rather guarantee each person's right to be free and to pursue a model of fulfilment along his own path, whilst respecting the law and the rights of others.

1.2. In this limitation of political power and this deep respect for people in their right to happiness, lies another restriction of the State: a restriction of the State with regard to the society whose political unity it constitutes. Not in the name of atomist individualism but of the understanding of the human being as an essential relational being, that is, immersed in a bundle of spontaneously generated family and community ties. Being sociable by nature, anyway, people and their relations cannot be the target of its determination by the intervention of the State and of the public powers. Society is primordial with regard to the State and therefore the State cannot seek to determine all social life. Accordingly, just as a person's dignity requires the limitation of State intervention in the personal sphere, respecting life and freedom, so society cannot cease to be a complex reality in whose areas public power must intervene merely restrictedly, with no claims to determine, mobilise and politicise everything. Often under the cloak of an emancipating and egalitarian intervention, excessive State intervention in the various social spheres has been the cause of imbalances and disturbances, of poverty, conflicts and instability. On the one hand, with excessive State intervention in the many plans of social life, society loses its dynamic and its vitality, and even sometimes a freedom it should not be called on to abdicate. On the other hand, by making society lose its vitality, spontaneity and autonomy, the State is extending and reproducing itself in its power, increasingly feeding dependence with regard to that power, multiplying its intervention and even disseminating it in all spheres of social life. Excessive State intervention in the social sphere

and the devitalisation of society in the face of a State that increasingly interferes in all its spheres, being mutually supportive, tend to constitute a vicious circle which political intervention should be responsible for trying to break and invert.

- 1.3. So, it should be stated that the family is the first manifestation of the relational nature of the person deserving the respect of and immunity from public powers. It is the spontaneous seat of each person's socialisation and development, a community of a life of solidarity and affection between generations and the pre-eminent place for the transfer of ethical and cultural practices and values.
- 1.4. The PSD identifies with a decentralised society vis-à-vis its centres of decision, power and initiative, regulated by the rule of law, the effectiveness of rights, freedoms and guarantees and by the principle of the separation and balance of powers.
- 1.5. This transverse commitment has administrative and constitutional consequences. Since the foundation of the Portuguese democratic regime the PSD has led the deepening of regional autonomies and local authority. This deepening must be continued according to the specific rhythms of Portuguese political and institutional life, in so far as local authorities and regional autonomies constitute social democratic responses for the coming together in the State of local and island communities, bearers of particular characteristics in historical and cultural terms, with specific interests and needs in the economic and social world.
- 1.6. In the first place this implies the reaffirmation and reinforcement of regional autonomy, whilst respecting the letter and spirit of the Portuguese Constitution. It also implies the political subsistence of the respective political and administrative statutes, which institutionally and legally fulfil the decentralisation of the functions of the State, as well as a decentralisation which must be adjusted to geo-economic and social conditions and to the respective needs of development. The PSD considers that regional autonomy is a factor of integrity of the territory, of reinforced national unity, and accomplishment of the country's solidarity. In administrative, political and

constitutional terms it translates the valorisation of diversity and the principle of subsidiarity.

1.7. In the second place, the PSD is also committed to the development of local authority, the democratic heir of our municipalist tradition, to guarantee decentralised public administration, citizens' access to political and civic intervention and balanced regional progress.

1.8. Generally, the State should regulate its performance, structures and purposes through a culture of service to citizenship, invitation to scrutiny and respect for the taxpayer. Tax revenues are resources that were originally obtained by the individual and collective agents of society in the exercise of their capacities and faculties. This creates the democratic imperative of subjecting collection and expenditure of State resources to strict monitoring and evaluation, concerning which accessible and transparent public information should be made available in real time. The sustainability of public finances is a natural corollary of the rights of citizenship and it affirms the commitment to inter-generational justice, whose financial aspect should be compared to the inter-generational responsibilities in the field of the environment.

1.9. Furthermore, public administration should be protected from groups and powers that wish to colonise it and make it a place in which to reproduce clientele, just as it should be submitted to rigorous, efficient and innovative management, bearing in mind national and international best practices.

1.10. The technological advances of the last decades have opened up an enormous field of new possibilities for the intervention of State authority in the sphere of social life and in the concrete plan of people's lives, from genetic manipulation to data control and registry. Given these new possibilities and regarding the defence of the dignity and freedom of the person, the PSD fully agrees with the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man and the new rights already identified in pioneering fashion by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union: from the right to physical and mental integrity to the right of protection of personal data, from explicit condemnation of the death penalty to the condemnation of any form of discrimination. Similarly, the PSD

affirms the subjection of scientific and technological progress, an essential tool in raising the standards of living and the solution of many collective problems, to the service of the human being. The usefulness of its practical applications and its legitimacy must be subjected to democratic political scrutiny and the rule of ethics.

1.11. Protecting these rights requires an active but not an interventionist nor even a socially intrusive State. Consequently, the PSD defends a State that can find its own limits but not an absent State: a State with sufficient authority to guarantee social freedom itself and reinforcement of the order of law, ensuring that people's safety and rights are effectively protected and respected. The PSD therefore defends a State whose scope of intervention in the social sphere is limited. However, the party defends this not in terms of a passive, minimal and absent State but on behalf of a State that is able to promote justice, freedom and full integrity for its citizens, one that expresses the feeling of responsibility of each and everyone given the historic tradition and future continuity of the country.

1.12. The PSD rejects an idea of a State that standardises and defends another idea of the State that federates diversity. The social openness and pluralism needed for integrity to be respected are achieved by protecting the integrity of the person. We consider that the social space in which a person is fulfilled is a free and dynamic society, able to promote and reward initiative, work, creativity and the feeling of responsibility of the people that are included there.

1.13. The rule of law requires justice that is speedy in its operation, efficient in its management and effective in its material achievement, always respecting the freedom, independence and autonomy of legal professionals. It also requires that all inequalities regarding access thereto should be removed and that justice should fundamentally serve the freedoms and the security of its citizens. Economic prosperity and relations of trust in society depend on the high standard of fulfilment of these requirements.

1.14. We reaffirm the dignity of work as an individual means of expression of subjectivity, that is, of personal fulfilment and construction of each person's path of life, as well as a source of recognition, individual independence, social

mobility and improved standards of living. But we also reaffirm the value of work as a social activity, that is, as a source of social integration and as an integrating activity for people's participation in common spaces and projects. Work should be framed by the limits imposed by the right to health and safety at work and by the imperatives associated to the dignity of each person.

1.15. The PSD promotes education as an individual and social asset. All Portuguese have the right to competent and inclusive education to help them fully develop their personality, achieve social integration and enhance each one's skills and talents. Education must also serve the needs of men and women as cultural beings. For that it is necessary to reaffirm the values of the school as an autonomous community of transfer of knowledge, know-how and social references which must be guided by a culture of rigour, responsibility and dedication of all the agents involved.

1.16. The PSD is committed to defending and sustaining the National Health Service, a core pillar of the Portuguese welfare state, and attributes to the State the unquestionable function of guaranteeing universal access to healthcare, fulfilling a right of citizenship and a policy of development, cohesion and equal distribution of risks.

1.17. The PSD is also committed to defending the sustainability of a public social security system which functions as a guarantor of basic and universal protection against social risks.

2. A realistic judgement

We know that reality is complex and unpredictable and that the course of human development cannot be confined to the narrow limits of a unilateral, systematic pathway. Human action and political action are projected onto an open and undetermined future. That is possibly the aspect that most clearly distinguishes us from a socialist approach to the political phenomenon. In its varied forms and facets socialism is structurally marked by a simplistic and limited conception of history. Encouraged by excessive optimism socialist thinkers and politicians consider the

political path of human societies as a march in a straight line towards a destination regarding whose characteristics they believe they are the trustees, guardians and interpreters. Hence their temptation to replace the contact with concrete reality with rigidly designed plans, however much these differ from reality, as well as their drive in trying to change this reality by decree or from within the State.

2.1. In contrast with this attitude the PSD begins on principle with political realism. This matrix of political realism makes the PSD, like no other, a party that is open to change, unlimited debate and internal pluralism. Realism as a simultaneously practical and theoretical political attitude is achieved through the courage to openly confront, without dogmatic reservations, a reality that is constantly and increasingly changing. A modern, responsible party with a vocation for governing cannot refrain from being a forum of reflection, debate and action based on the realistic analysis of the problems and the search for concrete solutions to real problems. Far from holding on to visions of the world and of history based on major ideological narratives, replacing the contact with reality with a construction forged in the media by propaganda, the PSD seeks to be a party in close contact with the concrete lives of the Portuguese, their particularities, projects, ambitions, experiences and expectations.

2.2. In fact the State's function is not to impose a single model of happiness nor should this be the aim of political activity. Politics, however, should promote a model of society where the State and political power are not at the service of the invisible powers that can instrumentalise them. A model of society where resources are redistributed and mobilised to enhance each person's construction of his own projects and accomplishments and to multiply the opportunities for all.

2.3. The structure of economic life that most scrupulously follows these principles is the one based on private property, free enterprise and open competition. This does not mean a devaluation or belittlement of public intervention. On the contrary it assumes that the State has a non-delegable role as the regulator, the one who fixes the rules of the game and who executes these rules, in addition to the space that always exists in a complex

economy to enable the State to act as a promoter or incentiviser of economic activity. It also assumes recognition of the relevance of the State in guaranteeing the provision of public assets, and its intervention in proven market failures, when the State solution is superior. Nor are other forms of property or entrepreneurial, public, mixed or cooperative enterprise excluded here. What we want is for economic activity to be subject to an open environment of competition and disclosure of information which can only be supplied by the market structure.

2.4. If the order of a competitive and dynamic market does not, then, exclude the presence of the State there is, on the other hand, significant space for State intervention that complies with non-economic criteria such as ethics and social justice. All in all, economic and social life combines competitive and cooperative aspects. The action of the State should facilitate and smooth the integration of these two aspects.

2.5. The State is also responsible for the decisive task of ensuring that the market becomes a broad space of participation, accessible to all without barriers or pockets of unjustified privilege. In that sense, the State should be an agent of democratisation of the economy. Only a space that is open to the participation of all in productive life, rewarding work, creativity, effort and merit, can supply the economic context for each one to fulfil his ideals of happiness.

2.6. Our politically realistic attitude compels the confrontation with the European and often global nature of the problems of our times. Consequently, the PSD accepts the cosmopolitan public debate and affirms the wish to contribute together with our international partners to the reflection on and resolution of the major challenges facing mankind. Faithful to our history, our traditions and our cultural heritage the PSD affirms its openness to debating with all the political, cultural and intellectual movements of our times, in a healthy, uncomplicated, complex-free cosmopolitan spirit.

2.7. In a world characterised by the constant acceleration of cultural, economic and social rhythms, what we demand from political leaders are two skills that are mutually complementary: on the one hand, realism in their

approach to problems, awareness of the scarcity of resources which can be mobilised for their solution, and attention to the delicate balances formed by circumstances; and on the other, a capacity to think prospectively, projecting solutions beyond the immediate present.

- 2.8. A realistic confrontation with problems implies broadened perspectives. In a globalised world problems and solutions can only be settled at a scale that is also global. The PSD does not disregard the fact that doing politics in Portugal implies a realistic approach to the problems that affect us globally: problems ranging from the ecological devastation of the planet to climate change, from demographic imbalances to the new military or paramilitary threats to security, from the problem of the stabilisation of a balanced international peace-enhancing order to the phenomena of financial contagion, from extreme poverty in most of the world's population to the scarcity of and difficult access to food, water or energy resources, the demand for which is global and growing. The PSD is fully aware that international relations have their own logic, often independent of the intentions of participants, a principle that also compels the development of a realistic policy of defence and alliances.
- 2.9. National interests in these matters demand active participation and strategic positioning in international political organisations and in the networks of the so-called global civil society. It is the only way to preserve our ecological heritage and reconcile it with the needs of economic and social development; to control the proliferation of aggressive and destructive technologies; to contribute to the multi-lateralisation of international relations; to move forward in the fight against global economic asymmetries; to coordinate effectively the financial flows that disturb productive economic activity; and to ensure balanced access to the resources needed for our collective life.
- 2.10. The PSD believes in the importance of Portugal's participation in promoting human rights in the world, in the dialogue between civilisations and in enriching mankind's common heritage. We participate in the global debate from a concrete geopolitical position, which has political and diplomatic consequences. We are a European and an Atlantic nation.

2.11. Our Atlanticism sets us apart in the European space, whilst inclusion in Europe strengthens us within the Atlantic framework and in the global world. These two dimensions of our belonging are mutually reinforcing and should never be an alternative, rather complementary. Our membership of NATO, an alliance of security and collective defence at the service of the values of democracy and freedom, of which Portugal is a founding member, is part of this complementarity.

2.12. We fight for the active and constant exercise of the rights arising out of our condition as a Member-State of the European Union, to defend our specificities and national interests, although this is not incompatible with our cooperative participation in the construction of a common future with our partners. Our identification with the European project, however, transcends the simple instrumental valorisation of the benefits arising from Portugal's membership of the European Union, both economically and diplomatically. It transcends the adoption of mere strategic rationality on the part of a small country in a global context of the constitution of large regional blocs. The very important and undeniable advantages in the rise in the standards of living of the Portuguese as a result of our membership of the European Union, or the reinforced projection of the Portuguese voice in the world because it is combined with that of our European partners, does not exhaust the reasons for our dedication to European integration. The fact is that the PSD defends deepening the economic, monetary and political union of the European space as it institutionally translates common civilisational values and mutual needs. The historic deeds already achieved by the European communities, such as securing lasting peace on the continent, overcoming aggressive nationalisms, constituting a large space of prosperity, freedom, tolerance and respect for human rights, together with the defence of cultural diversity and of solidarity between peoples, strengthen us in our commitment to a more united Europe.

2.13. This united Europe that the PSD wishes must be supported on the will of the European peoples and in their democratic participation. That is why the PSD proposes to deepen European citizenship in its concrete and not merely its

formal sense. This can only arise with the gradual formation of a European public opinion in an increasingly shared European public space.

2.14. The PSD also valorises our geographical position and our historic legacy as an Atlantic people, open to the world, who sowed communities scattered throughout the various continents, one that is conscious of a cosmopolitan vocation. That is why it is also urgent to ensure that Portugal can politically contend with its language, by adopting the firm intention of reinforcing privileged and mutually advantageous relations with Portuguese-speaking countries and contributing to the projection of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries as a great transcontinental community of political, social and cultural intervention, as well as a privileged instrument for economic promotion and stronger commercial ties.

3. A popular and democratic policy: Portuguese social democracy

The Social Democratic Party is a popular, social and democratic party. This means that we are essentially a participative, deliberative and representative party in which we openly discuss and confront different projects and perspectives about what the future can be. For us the future is not settled, nor is it deposited in self-appointed groups that propose to mould society according to their view of what it should be, ignoring citizens' projects, references and expectations, in an attitude of elitism. So, the PSD's essential relationship with society should be genuinely representative. Consequently, the political and constitutional form that is most in agreement with these designs is provided by a democratic system that is essentially based on the representation and proximity between elected and electors. Furthermore, as a social party, in the name of the value of social justice and the regulation of social balances, the PSD expresses solidarity in its actions which it also achieves in its policies, both between social and age groups and between geographical areas, as a fundamental element in the construction of a prosperous society. Ultimately, the core political purpose of the PSD is to contribute to the development of an advanced democracy and an open and free society of solidarity in Portugal. And also to contribute to the constitution of an active

and efficient but not invasive State; one that is energetic but not omnipresent; endowed with political authority but respecting the enterprise, freedom and plurality of its citizens.

- 3.1. The PSD reasserts that there are assets that are common to all Portuguese and to the national space. Portugal is more than an abstract idea which can be made and unmade depending on the political or geopolitical interests of a particular moment. Portugal is a particular community, a life in common, with old historic memories and its own assets to achieve and enjoy. Communal life at the heart of society is an experience that cannot fail to respect an acquired heritage that expresses the continuity of our political community. It is this experience that provides inter-generational solidarity and the feelings of belonging that are vital for a flourishing social life.
- 3.2. The PSD respects and identifies with the customs, traditions and historic experience of the Portuguese. They constitute an intrinsic value, which can enhance genuine social life and form the national identity. And it is aware of the fact that, in this experience acquired in a life in common, lies the basis of a relationship between society and the State in which the latter exercises power based not on force but on recognised and democratically legitimised authority.
- 3.3. The PSD is committed to the increased improvement of the quality of our democracy. The tendencies for civic disengagement or political passiveness, which reflect a propensity for the political system to close in on itself, must be the target of constant critical stimulation. It is therefore essential continuously to contradict the operative faults that undermine people's trust in the regime and in its institutions. Between the instrumentalisation of the State by political parties and groups of interest or the performance of leaders who allocate public resources to undertakings they cannot honour, it is the citizens' trust in the system of representation and democratic authority of the State that is at stake. Democracy must be open to and inclusive of contributions of citizenship. It is a core responsibility of the PSD to watch over the vitality of the common democratic space of the country. That involves opposing the diminishment of political debate in the Portuguese democracy and releasing it from simple

mechanical repetition of received ideas or the mere reproduction of old formulas. A genuine democracy must stimulate confrontation, participation, debate, argumentation and reflection of its citizens, as much as their social solidarity, feeling of responsibility and participation in a society rooted in its history and projected into the future.

3.4. It is an integral part of the quality of democracy that voters can choose between truly alternative political programmes and options, under conditions of political stability that are not restricted to endorsing the routines of pure alternation of power in government. The Portuguese Constitution should be open to the full co-existence of these political alternatives, respecting national constitutional values and the regulations of the rule of law. This decrees a constitutional philosophy indicating the principles that are essential to the policy of defending people and promoting economic and social rights, in such a way that there is room for various programmes that reflect different political options. The constitutional structure should not be a constraint containing within it a pre-established model of society. If the community cannot choose between various models of society or between various programmatic proposals by voting, its very political freedom is affected.

3.5. As a popular, social and democratic party the PSD proposes mobilising resources and structures of the State and of society to achieve justice and social cohesion. Nevertheless, it does not confuse a high standard of social justice with a uniform, impoverishing egalitarianism that generates injustices and relations of dependence. The appropriate pattern for a social democratic party should correspond to the dominant sense of justice in an open and democratic society. So we defend that equity and social mobility respond better to the intuitions of social justice of the majority of the population than strict egalitarianism or radical and disproportionate redistribution. It is not so much the differences between people that destroy the meaning of justice and social cohesion in a democratic society but the impermeableness of the classes or layers which define those differences.

3.6. The broad conception of social democratic justice includes the requirements of justice vis-à-vis the coming generations, contained in multiple

plans, from fiscal sustainability to environmental balances. The understanding of our political community as a life in common compels us necessarily to the duty of caring for our natural resources and our natural and human landscape, and to broaden the horizon of political decision to the generations which in the future will pursue this life in common. Social cohesion must be associated to generational cohesion. The PSD does not forget that as a political community Portugal includes all its members who have died and those as yet unborn.

3.7. It also includes the imperatives of territorial cohesion. Regional imbalances and asymmetries create obvious pernicious consequences in the field of social justice, reducing the opportunities and life perspectives of those who live in more impoverished places, questioning the preservation of our cultural heritage, degrading the environmental and strategic projection of the territory and undermining citizens' feeling of community and solidarity.

3.8. However, the PSD does not ignore that the Portuguese community is not limited to the geographical boundaries of the national State. Not only because the phenomenon of de-territorialisation of the national community has become more or less generalised throughout the world as a result of the mobility of the populations and the new communication technologies, but also because our country has a historic tradition of spreading beyond our administrative borders. Accordingly, the PSD has the political obligation to go beyond the traditional borders and serve the entire Portuguese community in its mission of representation.

3.9. It is quite clear to the PSD, as it has always been, that it is the State's duty to guarantee universal access to the essential assets which bring with them multiplying collective effects, such as healthcare, education or security against social risks. But as we have always said, if the State is the guarantor of that access this does not mean that it must always be the exclusive agent providing such assets. Considerations such as effectiveness in social assistance, together with its humanisation and de-bureaucratisation, are directly linked to respect for the right to choose the entities that may provide such services to users and beneficiaries.

3.10. The PSD knows that there are sectors of society that are more vulnerable to the threat of economic deprivation and ethnic and social discrimination. Consequently, they must be given priority in the public policies to combat poverty and exclusion, and by mobilising public resources.

Having thus set out the principles, values and guidelines of the PSD they should be framed within a generic attitude that marks our political action. Disregarding the projects of radical transformation of society through social engineering plans issuing from the State and from political power, the PSD is rather a reformist party. The reformist meaning that guides us, pursues the objectives of modernisation of society, prosperity for all, opening the country to the globalised world and the deepened exercise of liberties. The political changes which the PSD considers indispensable for a future of prosperity and social cohesion must comply with the principle of gradualism and above all must empower the Portuguese to be full participants in and agents of those transformations. That is how we must confront our old and new national problems, as well as those already visible in the future.