BESCHLUSS

Sustainable management for sustainable prosperity - Establishing the framework for the social-ecological market economy



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Antragstext

- 1 Our economic system and our understanding of prosperity are facing dramatic changes. This is
- 2 much more than an economic downturn that follows boom years. Many of today's structural
- 3 incentives for production, trade and consumption present us with ecological problems of
- 4 dramatic proportions and fuel socio-economic distribution crises. This is a matter of very
- 5 fundamental challenges.
- 6 An unbridled consumption of nature and resources, dependence on export surpluses,
- 7 insufficiently regulated globalisation, the care crisis, lack of investment in the future:
- 8 The crises illustrate that our traditional economic model no longer able to function in this
- 9 manner. The liberal economist Nicolas Stern has rightly stated: "Climate change is the
- 10 biggest case of market failure the world has ever seen."
- 11 The enormous gains in prosperity are not reaching too many and inequality is on the rise.
- 12 Global corporations that elude national legislation and financial markets rather than
- democratic policies decide under what conditions we humans live. All this not only
- 14 undermines the foundations of community and increasingly threatens our confidence, as well
- as that of many other countries, in democratic politics. It also destroys the economic
- 16 foundations of our society. At the same time, global trade conflicts shake the world economy
- and the multilateral world economic order. The threat of Brexit is also creating uncertainty
- in the EU. This all has consequences. After years of boom, there are signs of a serious
- 19 economic downturn in Germany.
- Every generation has its task. To redefine prosperity as a question of sustainability and justice and to align politics accordingly is ours... We must now have the courage to take far-reaching decisions, to campaign passionately for them across the entire spectrum of society and not to think despondently, taking only tiny steps. The over-arching goal is an ecologically sustainable, just and emancipatory world. These three dimensions are the guiding principles for assessing the sustainability of our economic and financial system. They are interdependent and must not be played off against each other. We are not blind to
- 27 conflicting goals that have to be resolved in processes of democratic negotiation.
- Concepts such as "growth", "efficiency", "competition" and "innovation" are currently seen
 as an end unto themselves rather than as what they should be: A means to achieve prosperity
 and quality of life within planetary limits. But we want to conduct the fundamentally more
- important debate about society's goals to which these means are subordinate. That is how we
- 32 want to revitalize individual and social freedom.

- ³³ Properly designed, we will establish the basis for the necessary innovations to be developed
- ³⁴ and made marketable in Europe, thus creating sustainable new jobs in the skilled trades, in
- 35 start-ups, in the service sector and also in traditional industrial companies. This also
- ³⁶ includes massive public and private investments to counter the immense investment backlog in
- 37 our country and to tackle the immense challenges of climate protection quickly and
- 38 decisively with productivity and new ideas.
- ³⁹ We strive for an economic and financial system that respects planetary limitations and at
- ⁴⁰ the same time guarantees human development worldwide, across borders and for future
- generations. A primary medium for this is the **social-ecological reset of the market economy**.
- ⁴² This is the counter-model to unregulated capitalism and authoritarian state capitalism. The
- common good orientation of property has already been established as the basis for this
- 44 sustainable model of a market economy. Article 20a of the Basic Law obligates the guarding
- of the natural foundations of life. The social obligation of property in Article 14 (2) of
- the Basic Law therefore also includes the necessity of complying with ecological guardrails.
- 47 We strive for an economic and financial system that respects planetary limits and at the
- same time guarantees human development worldwide, across borders and for future
- 49 generations.
- ⁵⁰ The way to this is directed by a **Green New Deal**. This establishes the new regulatory
- ⁵¹ framework for fair, ecological and sustainable management. The Green New Deal invests
- 52 courageously in the future. It releases new forces for creativity and innovation. It ensures
- 53 social balance and should contribute to gender equality. It creates the basis for
- ⁵⁴ sustainable prosperity that is not based on the exploitation of nature or a fossil economy
- 55 but focuses on people.
- ⁵⁶ We are convinced that free and creative action by people and the dynamics of fair
- 57 competition and social cooperation can create sustainable prosperity and innovative
- solutions to problems. If the basic conditions are right, the market economy offers the best
- ⁵⁹ conditions for social-ecological economic activity. The forces of markets and capital can be
- impressive they have fundamentally changed our societies and our planet in recent
- ⁶¹ generations. Markets can bring needs and capabilities together in complex societies and many
- ⁶² people have thus been able to free themselves from absolute poverty. Market mechanisms can
- also contribute to the solution of some of society's problems. On the other hand, they can
- ⁶⁴ also be the source of great destructive forces: Incentives for the exploitation of non-
- ⁶⁵ renewable resources, for the overexploitation of renewable resources and for the
- 66 exploitation of human labour come at the cost of ecosystems and the global community.
- ⁶⁷ Tendencies toward concentration on markets counteract their positive aspects.
- ⁶⁸ Markets only function with clear guardrails. But these require the entire range of
- instruments from taxes, levies and regulations as well as intelligent public research and
- ⁷⁰ funding policy. We want to set the guardrails in the market in such a way that the market
- 71 produces sustainable results. Those who do not counteract overriding social goals but rather
- 72 promote them through a decentralised search for the most efficient offers for needs should
- ⁷³ succeed in competition. We want to shift taxation from the "labour" factor to the
- ⁷⁴ "resources" and "capital" factors and internalise externalised environmental and social
- ⁷⁵ costs, thereby incorporating ecological and social values into corporate accounting.

- 76 However, the market cannot be the sole organisational principle for economic activity in a
- ⁷⁷ society. A large part of human economic relations occurs outside of markets through the
- ⁷⁸ state, in households or in commonly organised sectors. Innovation and the assertion of best
- ⁷⁹ ideas also exist in cooperative systems outside capitalist markets. Production and ownership
- ⁸⁰ can also be organized in other forms outside the market and the state, such as cooperatives.
- ⁸¹ This requires active promotion of such alternatives and an improvement of the legal
- 82 framework for their expansion and safeguarding.
- 83 Technological development is an essential building block for achieving these goals. Instead
- of blindly striving for technical innovations, we want to design and promote them in a
- value- and target-oriented manner. We GREENS want progress that is not based on a mere
- ⁸⁶ number of technical innovations, but on a concrete improvement in people's living conditions
- 87 and the protection of natural resources.
- A Green New Deal that respects the limitations of the planet earth requires a radical change of course and a willingness to embrace a cultural change that does not equate development with consumption, but rather enhances leisure, education, family, community and health.
- ⁹¹ The task is to align all these allocation and cooperation processes of the future in such a
- ⁹² way that they serve people and nature. Property obliges. The focus of our economic policy is
- not the profits of individuals, but the well-being of all citizens and the protection of the
- 94 environment. To achieve this, we need a policy that moves forward courageously. If we do it
- ⁹⁵ well, we can use the major challenges now to turn our economies in Germany and Europe
- ⁹⁶ towards the future, the common good and sustainable prosperity. Germany can take on a
- pioneering role here and show that human development is possible while respecting planetary
- 98 limits.

99 It will succeed

- 100 Our aim is that people can develop in freedom and dignity along the paths of their ideas.
- 101 This requires an economic system that promotes entrepreneurship as well as protects the
- 102 rights of employees, creates sustainable prosperity, aims at global justice, overcomes
- 103 gender inequalities and at the same time guarantees justice and security through strong
- 104 social institutions. A strong and sustainable economy, strong state institutions and
- 105 ecological guardrails as well as a strong social network are therefore basic conditions for
- 106 a social-ecological market economy. Economic education for sustainable development is also
- 107 needed so as to realize this transformation and to enable people to participate in the
- ¹⁰⁸ implementation of the goals for sustainable development locally, nationally and globally.
- 109 What companies, employees and consumers do not need is a fickle policy that lapses (too)
- 110 late into hectic activity to correct its failings. What they need is a sure path into a
- 111 fundamentally new world.
- 112 For Germany, overcoming era of coal and oil is a decisive, even crucial, moment. The
- 113 automotive, chemical and mechanical engineering industries have been the pillars of the
- 114 success for the German economy in recent decades, but they must reinvent themselves in order
- 115 to meet the challenges of the 21st century. German industry can build on what has made it
- 116 strong and above all on the strength of small and medium-sized enterprises: Its
- 117 engineering skills, its creativity, its medium-sized tinkering companies, its social
- 118 partnership with the trade unions and its European and global orientation.

119 The Green New Deal for a new social-ecological foundation of the market economy will be

120 successful if it is based on a new alliance of work and environment. Without the

121 participation of employees, works councils and trade unions, without their perspectives,

122 their immense wealth of knowledge and their impact in companies, it will not be possible to

123 build an economic order oriented towards the common good. We want to fight for change side

124 by side with employees.

125 Many companies are already on their way there. Medium-sized companies are switching their

126 production to climate neutrality, financial institutions are turning away from the fossil

127 energy business, IT companies are focusing on renewables and major corporations are

128 expanding their green product portfolios. Industry is already demanding a convincing,

129 ecological modernisation programme for Germany. The technologies, innovations and ideas are

130 there. Politicians have to deliver now. A majority that is still somewhat silent and

131 becoming ever louder is in favour of a positive, social-ecological vision for society. We

132 want to convert this into political weight and will seek close cooperation with business

133 representatives, citizens' groups, student organisations, trade unions and critical

134 researchers. We will consistently assert ourselves against the forces that stand in the way

135 of transformation.

136 With the following measures we want to pave the way for a social-ecological transformation:

137 **1. A new understanding of prosperity**

138 In order to fulfil people's universal aspirations for dignity, freedom and happiness within

139 planetary limitations, we need a different method of determining wealth. Today's economic

- 140 and social system depends on the steady growth of the economy. If it does not grow, the
- 141 current system is threatened by economic crises and unemployment, the national budget and
- 142 social security system become unbalanced and social distribution conflicts intensify. One
- 143 thing is clear: ecologically blind economic growth and the ecological limitations of our
- 144 planet are in conflict with each other. **To that end, we will decouple prosperity from** growth
- 145 **and, as far as possible, growth from the consumption of resources.** Economic growth is not

146 the problem per se - the associated consumption of natural resources, the overloading of

147 natural sinks - such as oceans and forests - and the exploitation of cheap labour are.

148 It is therefore crucial, in accordance with criteria for the global load-bearing capacity

149 and ecological regeneration and load limits, to establish economic process targets for the

150 maximum consumption of renewable resources and the marketing of fossil resources. We must

151 therefore prepare our systems to remain stable independent of growth.

152 Gross domestic product (GDP) is already a poor indicator of prosperity and quality of life;

153 it is blind to the social consequences and environmental damage of our economy. For example,

154 the extraction of resources and the destruction of natural and social capital are not taken

155 into account at all by GDP. While companies, for example, contrast the decline in own

156 natural resources with profits and calculate depreciation, the government does not yet do

157 so. Repair measures for environmental damage also appear as an increase in GDP, although at

158 best the status quo has been restored and the bottom line is that nothing has been gained.

159 In the same manner, unpaid care work, which is mainly performed by women and forms an

160 indispensable basis for our prosperity, is not currently taken into account in the

161 measurement of prosperity. We therefore propose a new measure of prosperity and a new form

162 **of economic reporting** in order to measure not only economic but also ecological, social and 163 societal developments and to define indicators for them.

164 We want to use it to more comprehensively measure prosperity in Germany and Europe in the 165 future and to map progress in the ecological restructuring of the economy over the long 166 term. We want publicly-owned companies to set a good example and participate in the 167 development of integrated reporting as pilot companies. In the future, we want to make the 168 sustainability indicators such as CO2 emissions, which all major private companies are 169 required to publish in their annual financial statements, mandatory for listed companies to 170 communicate their financial results in order to establish an ongoing dialogue with investors and society on social-ecological values. We want to abolish existing exceptions for non-172 listed companies and for many banks and insurers. We want to change stock corporation law 173 and accounting rules in such a way that stock corporations change from the inside out and 174 focus on long-term, sustainable development. We will obligate stock corporations to adopt a 175 sustainability strategy. On the one hand, this will create transparency; on the other hand, 176 it will only make it possible, with the exception of a breach of duty on the part of the 177 board of management, if a decision serves the sustainable development of the company rather 178 than short-term profit expectations. The non-financial targets and indicators, like the 179 financial ones, should be externally audited and certified. In the long term, we want to 180 ensure that these ecological and social values are priced accordingly and thus have a direct

181 influence on the economic success of a company.

182 2. Making the economy climate neutral¹

We can change our economies, but not our dependence on an intact nature. From a scientific perspective, we are on the verge of crossing all the red lines in CO2 emissions that almost every researcher has warned us about. This would have serious repercussions for us, our children and grandchildren. We are already feeling the effects drastically today. They already affect people in the southern hemisphere more, even though they have contributed least to man-made climate change. Politically, the climate and environmental impacts of our current economic system will challenge our societies beyond any previous measure.

After years of stagnation, the time has now come to invest quickly and intensively in the infrastructure that supports a climate-neutral economy and society. In order to achieve a climate-neutral economy, **railways, cars and buildings have to be electrified to a large extent**. Hydrogen will play a central role for trucks, aircraft and ships, as well as for the steel industry, the cement industry and parts of the chemical industry.

Following on the phases of market introduction and market penetration, the energy transformation must now move into the third phase, in which it supplies the economy with renewable energy across the board. It has outgrown its infancy and will have to develop in the areas of transport, industry and heating via **sector coupling** in the coming decade. At the same time, companies must drastically reduce energy consumption, use it more efficiently and replace CO2-intensive production processes with CO2-neutral ones.

We can rely on the fact that technological and social developments are not linear, and that we can become more efficient or better in one **leap out of the ordinary**. And that the market

- 204 **Markets are a powerful instrument**; they create and destroy at a rapid pace. They can ignite
- 205 devastating crises just think of Lehman Brothers and at the same time they can ensure
- 206 that within a few years the smartphone connects people even in the remotest corners of the
- 207 earth. If the incentives are right, markets can spark a green revolution that will test our
- ²⁰⁸ imagination. For this to happen, the state must set the framework through **regulatory**,
- 209 pricing, promotion and investment policies in such a way that the path to climate-neutral
- 210 behaviour in a socially and ecologically framed market is legally binding and economically
- 211 worthwhile.
- We want to move away from a system that only rewards short-term returns and instead use instruments that promote a long-term and socially responsible corporate policy.
- **Regulatory law means planning security for companies**. In other words, the steadfast
- 215 stipulation that cars, aircraft, machines and power plants may no longer emit greenhouse
- 216 gases after a certain date. **Pricing policy creates fair competition** because the climate
- 217 balance of products becomes part of the price. Climate-damaging economic activity becomes
- 218 more expensive, climate-friendly behaviour cheaper. **Promotion and investment policy** provides
- 219 start-up aid for new products and production methods and helps them cross the threshold to
- 220 profitability. And by expanding the public infrastructure, it creates the basis for an
- 221 ecological economy and way of life.
- 222 A climate protection law sets the standard
- 223 The **climate protection law** is the core of regulatory policy. Such a law defines binding CO2
- reduction targets and CO2 reduction paths as well as the necessary measures for every
- 225 economic sector. It guarantees close monitoring of whether the measures are effective and
- 226 provides for severe sanctions in the event of failure to meet the targets. Such a climate
- 227 protection law is supplemented by further regulatory requirements. For example, we want **only**
- 228 **zero-emission cars** to be registered **from 2030** and the way to achieve this to be paved by
- 229 binding quotas for e-cars. The restructuring of energy-intensive companies could not only be
- 230 made more reliable by increasing quotas, for example for climate-neutral steel in cars or
- $\scriptstyle 231$ wind turbines and buildings, but especially in view of the global overcapacities -
- 232 companies would also have a competitive advantage on the European market.
- 233 CO2 must have a price
- For us, an effective CO2 price is the second part of the vital mix of instruments that we want to make both effective in terms of climate policy as well as socially just. Only in this manner can a stable, long-term investment framework be established, and market-based means create incentives to reduce CO2 emissions, to change production methods and to make "efficiency first" our standard way of handling resources. This is the only way to create the potential for fair competition on a basis that is transparent for every market participant. The CO2 price creates justice and also increases competitiveness on the world market in the medium term - because climate protection is not only necessary, but also a global trend for the future.
- 243 No further tax euros for climate-damaging behaviour

- 244 We want to **systematically reduce environmentally and climate-damaging subsidies** so that
- 245 economic incentives can develop their full potential and additional financial opportunities
- ²⁴⁶ for future investments is created. In total, these amount to over 57 billion euros in
- 247 Germany. We want to finally put an end to government subsidies such as the tax exemption of
- 248 crude oil for the production of plastics, the procurement subsidy still granted for new oil
- 249 heating systems or the non-taxation of kerosene.
- 250 Investments in CO2-neutral industrial processes, especially in the areas of metal production
- 251 (e.g. steel, aluminium, lithium), chemicals and cement, usually only pay off at very high
- 252 CO2 prices, which are not yet reflected in the European emissions trading system. To ensure
- 253 that such investments pay off for companies already today, we want to reimburse companies
- ²⁵⁴ for the difference between the current CO2 price and the actual CO2 avoidance costs they
- ²⁵⁵ incur as a result of investments in new processes and technologies (Carbon Contract for
- 256 Difference). The costs for this can be refinanced via a climate levy that is added to the
- 257 end products and applies equally to domestic products and imports. In this manner, these
- 258 investments pay off immediately and short-term competitive disadvantages compared to regions
- 259 without corresponding CO2 pricing are avoided.
- 260 Subsidy policy kick starts transformation
- ²⁶¹ We do not leave the companies to fend for the ecological transformation by themselves and
- 262 want to support them. For investments in transformative, CO2-neutral industrial processes in
- ²⁶³ the areas of steel, chemicals or cement, we therefore want to create better depreciation
- 264 opportunities and specifically promote lighthouse projects for CO2-neutral processes and
- ²⁶⁵ **procedures**. The basis for the development of such processes is the corresponding research.
- 266 In addition, we consistently align public procurement with climate responsibility and thus
- ²⁶⁷ create lead markets that give innovative companies the necessary certainty that their
- 268 products will also find a market in which they can start.
- In order to promote ecological restructuring and at the same time combat the impendingeconomic downturn, we will reintroduce degressive write-offs for a limited period of time.
- 271 Making plural education and research possible
- 272 For an understanding of the challenges of the future, such as the climate crisis, and the
- 273 development of solutions, we need a variety of methods and theories in research and
- 274 education, as well as critical scrutiny of normative assumptions. In economics, for example,
- 275 this means that so-called heterodox approaches such as feminist and ecological approaches
- ²⁷⁶ are taught and researched much more intensively. We are committed to ensuring that this is
- 277 taken into account in the conception and awarding of research and funding programmes. More
- research and education on post-growth economies is also an important key to a climate-
- 279 neutral economy.
- 280 Investing in the ecological infrastructure
- 281 Above all, investing in climate protection means developing and expanding power generation
- 282 from renewable energies and the storage and power grids necessary for this; expanding rail
- ²⁸³ infrastructure, local public transport, bicycle and pedestrian traffic infrastructure, but

284 also developing charging infrastructure for e-mobility and infrastructure for renewable

285 hydrogen. Heating networks, energy-efficient building refurbishment and the replacement of

286 oil and gas heating systems need support. We also need to save our forests, raise dikes and

287 create more flood plains for rivers, and convert our agriculture to be climate and animal-

288 friendly.

289 Rail alone needs at least three billion euros per year in order to be able to shift traffic

290 from air and road to rail. We need an investment programme of EUR 600 million to set up an

291 electric charging post network. Our "Fair Heat" programme, with which we want to support the

- 292 energy-efficient renovation of buildings, is for 7 billion euros a year. These are just
- 293 three examples. In total, we advocate additional public investment of 30 billion euros per

294 **year**.

295 Guaranteeing competitiveness, stopping climate dumping

296 In addition to the necessary incentives, when introducing regulatory climate measures, we

²⁹⁷ must also protect European industry from possible disadvantages in international competition

²⁹⁸ with countries without a comparable climate protection policy. This can be done by means of

299 **border adjustment measures** such as European **climate tariffs**, which are also added to

300 imports, or by means of **compensation for raw materials**, which rewards recycling and less

³⁰¹ energy-intensive materials. Financing the additional necessary investment costs for clean

302 technologies could also be a way forward instead of continuing to issue free certificates in

303 emissions trading.

304 Divestment: Steering capital from fossil to green business fields

305 With a broad-based **divestment strategy**, we want to ensure that in the future investment

306 capital finances climate protection instead of climate destruction. Public banks and

307 insurance companies should redirect **investments towards decarbonizing the economy** and

³⁰⁸ immediately abandon climate-damaging economic productions such as coal and oil industries.

309 We need an **EU label for sustainable financial products** with strong ecological and social

310 standards so that small investors can also benefit from the transition to green financing

 ${\scriptstyle 311}$ and invest their money with a clear conscience. To ensure that all investors can understand

312 whether companies are doing business ecologically, we will introduce appropriate disclosure

313 requirements.

New investment guidelines for the public sector, funds such as for civil servant pensions or reserves of the Federal Labour Office should adhere sustainability and climate protection criteria. The federal government can provide important impetus to the market for sustainable

³¹⁷ investments. To do so, it must stop investing in coal, oil and gas companies that do

318 business at the expense of the climate.

In order to make climate and social compatibility the basis for decisions on investments and

320 lending in addition to returns, we need a binding European standard for sustainability,

³²¹ whose guardrails are the 17 UN Sustainability Goals (SDGs), which can be used to clearly

322 identify economic sectors that are harmful to society, gender, climate and the environment.

323 On this basis, all financial market players must disclose the impact of their investments.

- 324 Climate risks that are dormant in group and bank balance sheets should be taken into account
- ³²⁵ when rating agencies and financial market regulators assess them, e.g. through **climate**
- 326 **stress tests for banks and insurance companies** or through surcharges on capital requirements
- 327 for financing transactions involving high climate and environmental risks.

328 3. Recycling instead of waste: Circular economy as the overarching framework

329 The ecological transition can only succeed if we are not permanently dependent on more and

- 330 more raw materials. In this manner, companies can make substantial savings in costs and
- ³³¹ hundreds of thousands of new jobs can be created. In the field of electromobility, for
- 332 example, there is great potential to reduce the ecological footprint by recycling lithium-
- ion batteries on the one hand and to reduce the need for raw materials on the other. All
- 334 that would have to be done is to reform the EU Battery Directive.
- 335 Our goal is the parallel **development of a functioning circular economy**. This is based on
- ³³⁶ closed material cycles. The cycle begins with the product design. Products must be designed
- in such a way that the individual parts can be separated from each other and recycled in a
- 338 meaningful way. To this end, we want to create binding specifications in the EU Eco-design
- ³³⁹ Directive. We want to strengthen waste prevention and recycling through a mix of incentives
- ³⁴⁰ and targets; we want to **introduce recycling quotas** that measure the recyclable materials
- that are actually recycled. Manufacturers are to be obligated to a fixed **use quota for**
- 342 recycled raw materials.
- ³⁴³ The obligation to take back and recycle products such as packaging and waste electrical and
- ³⁴⁴ electronic equipment must be extended and strengthened by financial incentives. One such
- ³⁴⁵ incentive is the further development of licence fees for packaging into a **resource levy**,
- ³⁴⁶ that simultaneously promotes ecological packaging through a bonus. Take-back premiums for
- ³⁴⁷ individual product groups, such as mobile phones, can also be a possible way forward. Our
- 348 goal is to cost-effectively recycle or reuse all plastic products by 2030. Finally, we want
- ³⁴⁹ to intensify research into recycling processes and the substitution of raw materials.

350 4. Rethinking social security in the context of ecological-social change

- 351 Both the necessary ecological restructuring of the economy and digitisation will create many
- 352 new jobs, but on the other hand many jobs will be lost. New qualifications will be needed,
- 353 but there will also be uncertainties. The world of work is becoming more colourful and
- 354 diverse as a result of digitisation. For social security, this change in work and the labour
- 355 market means that it must become more universal. The more diverse the world of work becomes,
- 356 the more we need social security that is not based on employment status, but protects all
- 357 citizens, regardless of whether they are full-time or part-time, dependent or self-employed,
- 358 or even not working at all, especially since there will be more and more changes between
- 359 these different forms of employment and more and more interruptions in employment, both
- 360 voluntary and involuntary.
- ³⁶¹ We therefore want to develop pension, health and long-term care insurance into citizens'
- ³⁶² insurance schemes into which all citizens pay for all types of income. Unemployment
- insurance should be developed into employment insurance for all gainfully employed persons,
- ³⁶⁴ employees and the self-employed, with the right to further training, which must also be
- 365 socially secured, so that people with low incomes, in particular, can also afford further

366 training. And we want the minimum subsistence level to be guaranteed in all circumstances.

367 That is why we want to introduce a basic child income, a guaranteed retirement income and a

368 guarantee device with which we can overcome Hartz IV. This is not only about a social

369 cushioning of the transformations, but we want to enable people to participate in society in

a self-determined way and to be able to creatively and innovatively shape ecological-socialchange.

372 **5.** Good and self-determined work - we are shaping the transformation of the working world

Our working world will change rapidly and profoundly in the coming years, above all as a result of digitalisation. Known activities and jobs will disappear or change significantly, new jobs and professions will be created. Whether there will then be fewer jobs in many places or more, nobody can reliably predict at present. It is clear, however, that the way we will work will also change dramatically. Our work will become more flexible, more selforganised and more cooperative. At the same time, we are already experiencing new forms of exploitation, excessive demands and heteronomy. Another major problem is the already noticeable massive **shortage of skilled workers** - one million jobs are unfilled. Without immigration, the number of people of working age will shrink by six million in the next 15 years.

For both developments - the shortage of skilled workers and the changes in the world of work
education and training policy, labour market policy, immigration policy and integration
policy need to be much better equipped than before. This holds true for the self-employed as
well.

387 Education for the future is the key

³⁸⁸ The training regulations for existing occupations must be revised to meet the requirements

- ³⁸⁹ of a sustainable society (sustainable occupations). Above all, this means that people must
- ³⁹⁰ have the opportunity to further their education and acquire new qualifications. For this

³⁹¹ they need money, time and suitable offers. We want to establish a **legal right to further**

training. Lifelong learning thus becomes part of the public educational mandate. The current
 unemployment insurance system will be converted into an employment insurance system.

- Just as
- ³⁹⁴ we have begun to insure ourselves against illness or unemployment in the past two centuries,
- 395 we should also establish a guarantee for further training within the framework of employment
- ³⁹⁶ insurance in the 21st century. Employment insurance should both finance further training
- 397 counselling and secure livelihoods in further training phases. For this purpose, there will

398 be a training allowance during training phases resulting from the labour market; the

³⁹⁹ allowance will be higher than the unemployment benefit. For all those who are not entitled

400 to benefits under the employment insurance scheme, we are creating a further training BAföG

⁴⁰¹ so that no wish for career development fails because of cashflow.

402 Wherever there is a local employment agency, we want additional education agencies to be

403 created. The education agencies are central contact points for anybody who is interested in

404 further education. Employers, especially small and medium-sized enterprises, can also obtain

- ⁴⁰⁵ information from the education agencies if they are looking for suitable further training
- 406 opportunities for their workforces or for support. The education agencies are to become the
- 407 heart of regional education networks in which employment agencies, job centres, adult

education centres, chambers of commerce, vocational colleges, universities and other
continuing education institutions network in order to be able to offer the best continuing
education and advice on a nationwide and low-threshold basis. In the standard case, the
education agency is organised by the Federal Employment Agency. However, municipalities
should have the choice of organising the education agency themselves, especially if there
are already strong cooperation structures that have developed locally and if quality
standards are adhered to. We also want to continue to use the possibilities of digitisation
for education. To this end, a public and independent digital platform will bundle all
further education and training offers. This will provide new access for people who want to
continue their education. We pay particular attention to people who have to overcome
particular obstacles in order to integrate into the world of work, for example because they
cannot read or write well.

We also see it as our responsibility to take employees with us, especially in the context of ecological and digital change. In foresight, we want to introduce a new **"short-time work qualification**" as an important measure in order to improve the chances of employees and enterprises in the structural change. The phase of short-time work must be used consistently for the qualification of employees. We want to closely link "short-time work qualification" to the social partnership by means of collective agreements and works agreements. This is because companies, trade unions and works councils can only jointly provide structural change with the right direction.

428 Combating skills shortages

- ⁴²⁹ The shortage of skilled workers is a problem for many companies. We want to respond to this
- 430 by not only focusing on qualification and further training and by further strengthening the
- 431 employment of women. In view of demographic change in particular, we also believe that an

432 **ambitious immigration policy** is urgently needed. The grand coalition's law on the

- 433 immigration of skilled workers does not fulfil this requirement. We want to revise it and
- ⁴³⁴ make it less bureaucratic. Germany needs a **genuine immigration law** with a transparent points

435 system and the possibility of a "lane change". At the same time, we are working for an

436 improvement in working conditions and higher wages in professions that have hitherto been

437 too poorly paid. These are still, in particular, those with a high proportion of women. We

438 want to better integrate refugee women into the labour market, in particular, by offering

439 tailor-made language-learning and training opportunities.

- 440 For a fair distribution of care and gainful work
- 441 Care work in our society is still often regarded as a "private matter" and is not reflected
- 442 in the usual measures of prosperity. This work is essential for living together in our
- ⁴⁴³ society and for a functioning economy. The majority of these tasks are still performed by
- 444 women, whether in nursing or childcare. A lack of compatibility between family, care and
- 445 work often leads to a lack of independent security for women in particular. This is
- ⁴⁴⁶ reflected in the high proportion of women in precarious employment and leads to a much
- 447 higher risk of old-age poverty.
- 448 Profound investment in good and reliable childcare and educational facilities with
- 449 sufficient staff is therefore essential. With KinderZeit Plus, we also want to support
- 450 parents over time and help them to increase their work volumes in gainful employment. In

- 451 addition, we want to develop a law for more sovereignty over time for working carers and
- ⁴⁵² introduce a three-month PflegeZeit Plus per person to be cared for.
- 453 New jobs
- 454 We have major bottlenecks where people care for people: in care, education, childcare and
- 455 care for the elderly. These jobs in care work must be expanded and need the recognition,
- 456 including financial recognition, to which they are entitled in terms of their social
- ⁴⁵⁷ relevance. Those who take care of other people must not end up at the minimum wage or have
- 458 problems to afford housing.
- 459 The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development estimates that by 2030 up to 170
- 460 million new jobs could be created worldwide with steady investment in sustainability. The
- ⁴⁶¹ Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (BMU) expects
- 462 the number of **jobs in the renewable energy sector** in Germany to double to at least 500,000
- ⁴⁶³ in the next ten years alone. Today, 1.5 million people are already employed in the **field of**
- 464 environmental technology and resource efficiency in Germany. An annual increase of 6.7

⁴⁶⁵ percent is expected. For this industry of the future, we need qualified mechanical

- 466 engineers, electrical engineers, engineers, sales staff and office staff from young
- 467 professionals to experienced specialists.
- 468 Good working conditions
- ⁴⁶⁹ Negotiating good working conditions and a fair distribution of wealth between labour and
- 470 capital is primarily a task of the social partners. We want to strengthen collective self-
- 471 **organisation and co-determination** and overcome precarious employment. In accordance with
- 472 European law, public contracts should be awarded to companies that belong to a collective
- agreement or pay collectively agreed wages. We also want to make it easier to make
- 474 collective agreements generally binding. We will facilitate the formation of works councils
- 475 by giving special protection to initiators and by considering and prosecuting the prevention
- 476 of employee representation of interests as a clear criminal offence.
- 477 We want to make the economy more democratic. This applies both to decisions on what and how
- 478 to produce and to the rights of employees in the company. That is why we will expand co-
- 479 determination within the companies. On the way there, we want the works councils to be more
- 480 closely involved in personnel planning and to have a genuine right of proposal and
- ⁴⁸¹ initiative for further training and job security. Parity co-determination in supervisory
- 482 boards should take full effect for companies with more than 1,000 employees and the co-
- 483 determination rights of employee representatives should be extended into the supervisory
- 484 board for strategic company decisions.
- 485 The statutory minimum wage was an important milestone for fair working conditions. We want
- 486 to **abolish exceptions to the minimum wage**, improve control and also ensure that it is really
- 487 poverty-proof in future. That is why we want an immediate measure to increase the minimum

488 **wage to 12 euros**, so that full-time workers can live off their work. We want to reform the 489 Minimum Wage Commission and increase its scope for decision-making. In future, the 490 adjustment of the minimum wage must no longer be based solely on the development of

491 collective bargaining agreements. Instead, we want to enshrine in law that the minimum wage

⁴⁹² must protect people from poverty and can therefore rise significantly above the development

⁴⁹³ of collective bargaining. At the same time, representatives of the scientific community

⁴⁹⁴ should be given the right to vote in the Minimum Wage Commission.

We want to **regulatetemporary agency work** more strongly; the same pay should apply to temporary workers from the first day on as to the permanent workforce, as well as an additional flexibility premium. We want to **abolish unfounded time limits**. We call for an **effective equal pay law** with the right of collective action for equal pay for equal work and work of equal value. Our aim is to **convert mini-jobs into employment subject to social security contributions** and to ensure that contributions are coordinated through taxes, contributions and social benefits in such a way that gainful employment always pays off. At the same time, the burden of taxes and levies must not rise by leaps and bounds. And we argue in favour of upgrading professions that are still mostly practised by women today, for example in education, care or the health system, and paying them better. We want **work on call** to no longer be possible when activities can be carried out under normal working conditions, for example through the use of work-time accounts.

507 We want to adapt the regulation of labour to the **challenge of digitisation**. To this end, we

⁵⁰⁸ want to regulate the demarcation criteria between dependent and self-employed employment in

509 a clearer and more practical way and redefine the concept of "employee". The aim is, on the 510 one hand, to create greater planning security for the self-employed and, on the other hand,

511 to prevent bogus self-employment. At the same time, it is necessary to protect self-employed

bit to prevent bogus sen-employment. At the same time, it is necessary to protect sen-employed

persons who are not otherwise covered against poverty in old age. In order for this to succeed, we want them to participate in the solidarity system of pension insurance by

⁵¹⁵ succeed, we want them to participate in the solidarity system of pension insurance system of pension insuran

⁵¹⁵ are in favour of flexibility in the payment of contributions. We will also sound out in

⁵¹⁶ which sectors and areas of self-employment legal protection mechanisms such as minimum fees,

⁵¹⁷ fee regulations and pay-as-you-go procedures are necessary and practically possible. At the

same time, we are committed to ensuring that the principles of planning security, minimum

⁵¹⁹ income and social security are taken into account when public authorities award contracts to ⁵²⁰ self-employed persons.

521 Digitisation offers great potential to further **reduce working hours**, better reconcile them

⁵²² with other spheres of life and redistribute work, both gainful and care-related. It is

523 particularly important to us that there is also a fairer division of gainful and care-

⁵²⁴ related work between the sexes. Digitisation will also make it easier for employees to work

525 from home or on the move in different places (coworking spaces, etc.). We will introduce

⁵²⁶ rules for a right to home office and mobile work, taking into account that there are

527 professions where this is not feasible.

528 Home office and the possibility of working on the move can contribute to a better

529 reconciliation of family and career. However, neither may lead to career opportunities being

⁵³⁰ impaired or to a disconnection from the rest of the workforce, or from operational processes

531 or further training measures. Employees in the home office, on the road or at changing

⁵³² places of work (coworking spaces, etc.) must be protected with regard to occupational safety

⁵³³ just as much as when working at a permanent company site. There must be no compulsion to

534 work at home or on the move. When work fits better into life, employees are more productive,

535 less stressed and more committed. The growing demand for skilled workers can also be better

536 managed in this way.

537 At the same time, automation and robotization relieves us of monotonous and repetitive

538 tasks. We welcome this as an opportunity to reduce human labour. However, this may not lead

- 539 to a further increase in inequality. We want to politically ensure that the gains in
- 540 prosperity attained by digitisation are distributed fairly.
- ⁵⁴¹ We do not need more availability of workers around the clock. To protect health, even in the
- ⁵⁴² digital age we need a limit on the maximum daily working hours and sufficient rest periods
- ⁵⁴³ without interruption, as provided for in the Working Time Act. We want to take advantage of
- 544 the opportunities offered by digitisation and create more sovereignty over time for
- 545 employees, and we call for a **selected period of between 30 and 40** hours per week, because
- 546 this would allow 30-hour jobs to be recognised as full-time jobs. This redefines full-time
- ⁵⁴⁷ work and transforms it into a working time corridor and distributes work more fairly. Even
- ⁵⁴⁸ in the case of flexible working hours, care must be taken to ensure that every hour worked
- 549 by the employee is credited to the working time account. This also applies to overtime. At
- 550 the same time, it is clear to us that every human being deserves a dignified life, which is
- ⁵⁵¹ why in the future we want to decouple the need to secure one's existence from hourly wages.

The right of part-time employees to return to their previous number of hours is necessary so
that they can get off to a full start again in their careers. The part-time work bridge
introduced by the grand coalition exclusively for large companies falls far short of meeting
these requirements. Due to the restrictions, the majority of employees (especially women)
will not be able to claim the right to return to full-time. In many companies there is still
a pronounced culture of attendance in which long presence at the workplace is considered a
special performance criterion. We want companies to develop in a different direction: It is
a great relief, especially for people who look after children or relatives, when meetings
take place between 9 am and 3 pm.

It is also important, especially for parents, that models such as job sharing and part-time leadership are possible. So that not only those people who are available around the clock are always promoted, and at the same time those who perform care work, especially women, still end up in the "once part-time always part-time trap". As a first step, we want to use incentives to ensure that companies develop along these lines and also use the power in public procurement to promote such companies.

We also want half the positions in management positions in companies to be filled by women, which is why we need **binding quotas for women on supervisory boards** and comparable regulations for management boards. For supervisory boards, we demand a 40 percent quota for all 3,500 listed or co-determined companies and the possibility of sanctions if this is not adhered to. After all, the quota is not a burden for the economy, but an opportunity to really get the best brains in management positions. Digitisation also makes it easier for employees to work from home. We will therefore introduce the right to a home office.

574 Including employees in prosperity

- 575 Improved employee participation in companies can counteract both a shortage of skilled
- 576 workers and an unequal development of wealth. It is a way of improving the participation of
- 577 the population in society's productive assets. So far, however, we have been at the bottom
- 578 of the European league when it comes to employee participation. We therefore want to
- 579 significantly increase the tax allowance for the transfer of employee shareholdings. We also
- 580 want to create a platform to make examples of successful participation models more
- ⁵⁸¹ accessible and to provide interested companies with more information.
- 582 Diversity as a competitive advantage
- 583 Appreciation of **diversity in the workplace** improves individual participation in the
- ⁵⁸⁴ workplace and promotes equal opportunities and performance. Diversity in the workplace
- 585 encompasses all facets: The diversity of the sexes, sexual orientation and gender identity,
- 586 the inclusion of people with disabilities, the diversity of cultures, religions and social
- ⁵⁸⁷ origins. Companies with a diverse workforce are generally more **productive**, **more creative and**
- 588 thus more successful economically as well.
- We are committed to strengthening and better coordinating the efforts of private and public employers. For the private sector, we want to strengthen this through the exchange of experience and information, moderated and promoted by the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy and the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. We are campaigning for even more companies and public bodies to adopt to the **Charter of Diversity**. In the 21st century, we expect modern and innovative companies to assume a modern and professional approach to diversity: Through **diversity and equality strategies**, through diversity-based training programmes, especially for managers, and through clear complaint and intervention structures in the event of discrimination and sexualised violence. Public service and public enterprises must set a good example. This requires inclusive, fair and **discrimination-**
- 599 **sensitive application and selection procedures**. We want to work to ensure that anonymous
- ⁶⁰⁰ application procedures are generally used in the public sector and in state-owned companies.
- ⁶⁰¹ They lead to more equal opportunities and lower bureaucratic costs.
- ⁶⁰² The prohibition of discrimination must also apply to employees of companies owned by
- ⁶⁰³ religious communities. Conduct outside the workplace by employees of a church, religious or
- 604 philosophical community, e.g. remarried and LGBTQ people, whose work does not include the
- ⁶⁰⁵ area of proclamation, may not suffer any consequences according to labour law, such as
- 606 dismissal. We therefore want to narrow down the exceptions for religious and philosophical
- 607 communities and thus make individual rights much more applicable.

608 6. Enabling a new founding age

- 609 Many **small and medium-sized enterprises(SMEs)** are driving ecological change and are already
- 610 in the black with green ideas. They are creating new jobs that will continue to exist
- 11 tomorrow. We want to support them with a fiscal research bonus, take advantage of the
- opportunities offered by resource-saving and low-emission products and processes and relieve
- them with simpler depreciation regulations, simplifications in VAT and good conditions for
- 614 employee participation. In regions undergoing structural change, we want to strengthen
- ⁶¹⁵ regional economic development so that local companies can quickly meet the new market

- 616 requirements. Small and medium-sized enterprises in the trades are particularly
- 617 indispensable. They are implementing the energy revolution, ensuring professional thermal
- insulation is installed and are regional partners for agriculture. In order to make the
- ⁶¹⁹ trades more attractive again, we are relying on stronger collective bargaining and industry-
- 620 specific minimum remuneration. Trade enterprises should be given more advice, support and
- assistance in the training and recruitment of trainees. By making a **legal claim to a fast**

622 **broadband Internet connection**, we will ensure that the trades are also online in rural

623 areas.

624 Promoting female founders

- 625 We need a new wave of founders. No good idea should fail due to a lack of equity. We
- 626 therefore call for a rapid introduction of unbureaucratic start-up capital, which guarantees
- 627 founders a one-off amount of up to a maximum of 25,000 euros, subject to a performance
- audit. The start-up capital is to be disbursed as interest-free government loan. The
- ⁶²⁹ repayment takes place flexibly and orients itself on the profits of the respective
- 630 enterprise. We want to update the criteria for the Exist Start-up Scholarship and take
- 631 better account of the diversity of the start-up teams as well as ecological and social
- 632 innovations.
- ⁶³³ Women are successful founders, but underrepresented in company start-ups. According to the
- ⁶³⁴ Female Founder Monitor, only 15 percent of start-ups in Germany are founded by women. At
- ⁶³⁵ such a low rate, Germany misses out on a huge potential of innovative companies. As a rule,
- 636 public funds tend to reach male rather than female founders, which is why we want to make
- 637 the diversity of the founding team an evaluation criterion for the allocation of public
- 638 funds. We therefore propose to create a government-funded venture capital fund aimed only at
- 639 **female entrepreneurs**. Ireland has had good experience with this model. After a period of
- 640 five years, it should be checked whether the fund had a lasting effect. In addition, tailor-
- ⁶⁴¹ made training and coaching measures for women seeking to set up, develop or take over small
- 642 businesses should be financially supported, as should networking organisations. Such
- 643 platforms can be used to learn from each other, to jointly develop and implement new
- 644 business ideas or interests.
- 645 Every fifth founder, both male and female, has an immigration history. The migrant economy
- 646 has become an important economic factor. Throughout Germany, companies run by people with a
- ⁶⁴⁷ migration history now account for around 20 percent of all companies. In some regions of the ⁶⁴⁸ country, the figure is significantly higher. They thus make a decisive contribution to
- 649 economic development. We want to remove the hurdles in all instruments of business and
- 650 start-up promotion for people with a migration background. Funding may not depend on a
- 651 passport or personal background; information must be offered in different languages and we
- ⁶⁵² want to create a tailor-made advisory service for the migrant economy.
- ⁶⁵³ Through the public procurement of products and services, the state is an important driving
- 654 force for the economy. By awarding contracts, the public sector can serve as an active role
- 655 model and steering function, strengthen a sustainable economy and promote innovation. We
- 656 want procurement procedures to be designed in such a way **that the federal government takes**
- 657 greater account of start-ups and younger companies, new technologies and

innovative business

- 658 models in its public procurement and tendering procedures. To this end, procurement
- 659 procedures must be streamlined and speeded up, including the prompt settlement of public-
- sector obligations and speedy decision-making procedures, so that start-ups, with
- 661 comparatively short planning horizons, can also assert themselves over established
- 662 companies. Requests for tender should also be published in an SME-friendly manner.
- ⁶⁶³ We demand **start-up centres** similar to the French Station F, which provides founders with the ⁶⁶⁴ necessary working space. We call for two years' exemption from reporting obligations that
- 665 are not absolutely necessary, and we want to enable start-up advice and support from a
- 666 single source in "one-stop shops" so that start-ups have time to start up. Spin-offs from
- 667 universities and cooperations between founders are to be promoted through better advice and
- 668 support. Today's start-up support is strongly tailored to technology-oriented start-ups. We
- 669 want to make the existing funding instruments more neutral and thus promote, for example,
- ⁶⁷⁰ socially oriented companies or the creative industries more strongly than in the past.
- 671 We want to **open up** voluntary **unemployment insuranceto self-employed persons** to a large
- 672 extent and ensure that self-employed persons who are not otherwise covered are included in
- 673 the statutory pension insurance. And we also need a culture of failure in Germany.
- ⁶⁷⁴ Insolvency law must be designed in such a way that it enables new beginnings to be made more

675 quickly.

- 676 We want to introduce a European Start-up Pass for the most promising start-ups. This should
- ⁶⁷⁷ give them the opportunity to participate in all European start-up funding programmes and to
- ⁶⁷⁸ receive support from incubators. They will also receive broad support in the form of
- 679 information and advice on the legal situation and patents, as well as simplified visas for
- 680 foreign start-up staff. In addition to a European start-up visa, foreign start-ups are to be
- offered advice and financial support so that they can settle in Europe.
- 682 Making administration more efficient and cooperative
- 683 At the same time, public administration can become more innovative and cooperative. We
- 684 therefore call for a **German GovTechprogramme** based on the Danish model. Our goal is complete
- 685 electronic processing in the administration. This saves companies, citizens and the
- 686 administration a lot of time and money.
- ⁶⁸⁷ We want to align regulations consistently with the protection of ecological and social
- 688 protection goals. In particular, we want to relieve smaller companies and SMEs of
- 689 unnecessary regulation. We want to completely suspend certain regulations for the start-up
- 690 phase of a company. We want to **speed up approval procedures**. The decisive factor here is to
- ⁶⁹¹ provide for participation procedures at an early planning stage and to provide the
- ⁶⁹² authorities with sufficient resources (e.g. personnel) for rapid planning.
- 693 Embracing risk
- ⁶⁹⁴ We can not only be technologically excellent, but also be able to transform breakthrough
- 695 technologies into new business models, markets, services and products. Funding opportunities

and networks for start-ups and young companies can make the difference between a good idea on the flipchart and a globally successful company.

Start-up funding needs start-up financing and strong financing in the growth phase. We want to trigger a wave of investment in the venture capital market with a **public fund for the future**. As a kind of silent partner, this fund will provide young and growing start-ups with the necessary equity capital. This prevents our start-ups from being dependent on foreign investors, from being bought up and from having their technological know-how transferred abroad. We want to provide companies with subsidies in the form of equity capital wherever possible. If start-ups are sold at a later date, the funds will be paid for by the buyer.

The fund is to be provided with equity capital and then borrow further capital cheaply on
the financial market. Its profits are to be invested in their entirety to increase the
company's own capital. The future fund is to be managed politically independently. Our
independently managed citizen fund for a stable and profitable investment opportunity should
be able to invest in the future fund and also be able to finance other investments in the
venture capital sector. By separating the future fund from the citizens' fund, we prevent
problematic conflicts of interest between industrial policy objectives and the citizens'
fund.

713 Crowdfunding can also - especially if reward-based - open up new sources of financing for

714 young companies. We want to ensure that public funding for start-ups and research can be

715 combined with crowdfunding.

716 Good conditions for good ideas are also created by the European internal market with over

717 500 million people participating. The EU venture capital market is currently fragmented into

718 many small national markets. We want to coordinate and harmonise national support

719 instruments. In particular, we want to set up European venture capital funds that focus on

720 financing innovations in strategic areas such as resource efficiency, IT security or

721 administrative modernisation (Govtech). The structures should be set up in such a way that

722 not all member states have to participate immediately, but individual member states can also

723 join forces for such venture capital funds.

In doing so, we also want to create incentives to enhance not only the ecological potential
of digitisation, but also its social potential. Start-ups and digital ecosystems can help us
achieve environmental and social goals through new technologies and business models. We
GREENS want technological progress that can be measured by its ecological and social effects
(SDGs).

729 7. Becoming digital no. 1

Digitisation holds enormous potential for greater resource efficiency and the minimisation of transport routes and storage through the establishment of decentralised production and supply structures. Global networking and the free exchange of production knowledge for the manufacture of welfare-boosting products and services are also crucial. We want to promote this exchange of knowledge in a targeted manner.

735 At the same time, digitisation is presenting us with enormous challenges due to the expected 736 high consumption of energy and rare resources. Without fundamental intervention in the

737 current production pattern, digitisation will intensify the overexploitation of nature and

738 society – super activism on speed.!

739 The digital transformation must therefore be shaped socio-ecologically. To this end, the

740 influence of multinational oligopolies must be limited in favour of self-determination and

741 local entrepreneurship. We want to support countries that are not yet industrialized to use

the possibilities of digitisation to skip over the early phase of industrialisation as faras possible.

744 We advocate a policy of **European technological sovereignty** and call for a strong European 745 digital infrastructure. Instead of having to choose between Amazon or Alibaba for cloud

746 services, for example, we want to build our own European cloud infrastructure. This should

747 provide our companies with an efficient and secure alternative to American and Chinese

748 providers.

749 Our priority here is to **strengthen the European semiconductor industry** - a key technological

- 750 sector. We are intensifying cooperation in the area of research and development at the
- 751 European level and strengthening the clusters on a sustainable basis. Particular attention
- 752 must also be paid to the reuse of resources. In Eastern Germany, we have one of the largest

753 semiconductor production sites in Europe. We want to build on this strength by promoting the

754 research and development of ultra-efficient chips and strengthening the microelectronics

755 cluster in Dresden.

756 Diversity and openness rather than digital monopolies

757 Digitisation has produced data-based platform business models with a tendency towards

758 monopoly. Competition and modern consumer protection require that the principles of

759 **interoperability** - as we know them from mobile telephony - also apply to online services.

- 760 What is now taken for granted for telephone, SMS and e-mail, for example, must also be
- 761 guaranteed for messenger services or social networks, namely being able to communicate and
- 762 switch easily between providers and platforms.

763 Large digital corporations must also comply with European regulatory law. That is why we

- 764 advocate fair taxation of large digital corporations, which has so far been prevented by the
- 765 federal government.
- 766 Infrastructures are a public task. This principle, which is taken for granted in electricity
- 767 networks or roads, must be renegotiated in the digital domain. If, for example, Google
- 768 exploits its dominant position in mobile phone operating systems or Amazon its dominant

769 position in sales via the marketplace, we must put a stop to this. We will **protectlocal**

- 770 **retailers** from unfair dumping competition from Amazon and Co. The goal is to **make privatized**
- 771 marketplaces accessible to the public again. We will also regulate the fees for platforms
- ⁷⁷² with far-reaching market power so that the profits of small companies cannot be siphoned off
- 773 by the platform operators.
- 774 Google and Facebook now dominate the online advertising market. Hardly any company can
- 775 afford not to advertise its own products online via them. Such an oligopoly must be
- regulated. We want to create a legal basis for online advertising in Europe.
- 777 Standardizing the data-driven economy

- 778 We want to create a uniform European legal framework for data-driven business models. Data
- 779 is a key resource in the digital world, especially for technologies such as artificial
- 780 intelligence. We want to leverage these resources and advocate the anonymous provision of
- 781 public data in order to create new innovations and business models. **Open data is the primary**
- 782 prerequisite for start-ups, companies and research institutions, but also civil society, to
- 783 be able to use this wealth of data for the development of innovative technologies and the
- 784 provision of public services. The federal government has a leading role to play here that it
- 785 has not yet assumed. It must set an example and lead the way in innovations and new
- 786 technological solutions in the public sector.
- 787 However, we must also ensure that anonymous data cannot subsequently be assigned to
- 788 individual persons by linking to other information. As long as this cannot be guaranteed,
- 789 there must be no further obligations for the exchange of data. Under no circumstances should
- ⁷⁹⁰ deanonymised data become the basis of business models or government forecasts, because this
- 791 would deeply interfere with people's fundamental rights. To that end, we want more research
- 792 and standard setting on the anonymisation of data and on the use of synthetic data, as well
- 793 as clear regulations against deanonymisation, which also include prohibitions under criminal 794 law.
- 795 Particularly in the industrial sector, new approaches are needed to ensure the legally
- 796 secure cooperative use of non-personal or non-personal data, for example from development
- ⁷⁹⁷ and manufacturing processes, especially in the interests of small and medium-sized
- ⁷⁹⁸ enterprises. This can be achieved by creating clear legal requirements for cooperative and
- 799 decentralised data pools and data trust models, which are organised on a fiduciary basis in
- accordance with clear legal requirements and enable a joint use of this data that can be
- 801 verified by the antitrust authorities. We want to develop appropriate options for fiduciary
- 802 models or approaches for data donations, for example from individuals, as soon as possible
- 803 together with the relevant players and initiate the first model projects.
- 804 We want to counter the reality of global data monopolies of a few corporations and the
- 805 escalating digital monitoring and evaluation of data by government agencies with tight data
- 806 protection controls and international regulation. Just as we were able to strengthen our
- 807 European legal framework in the digital world with the General Data Protection Regulation,
- 808 which others must adhere to, we also want to establish ethical, social and security policy
- 809 principles for intelligent machines and algorithmic decision-making systems at the EU level.
- ⁸¹⁰ These include rules regarding liability, transparency, non-discrimination and verifiability
- 811 of algorithmic decisions as well as essential IT security standards.
- 812 Using IT for green goals
- ⁸¹³ We want to use digitisation to further combine economy and ecology. Digitisation creates
- 814 enormous opportunities for eco-efficiency and recycling. To that end, we want an EU funding
- ⁸¹⁵ programme that is exclusively dedicated to the **ecological potential of digitisation** and
- ⁸¹⁶ promotes eco-efficiency in companies. Digitisation can contribute to the ecological
- 817 transformation of our society. If we do not act, however, there is a risk that digitisation
- 818 will become a driver of the climate crisis and environmental destruction. At present,
- ⁸¹⁹ valuable raw materials are increasingly being used for digitisation, and the energy

- 820 requirements for digital processes are growing massively every year. According to experts,
- 821 digital energy demand will exceed global energy production by 2040 unless we change course.
- 822 As part of the energy system transformation, we want to promote **low-energy IT technology** and
- 823 launch a European "Green IT" strategy. We are also committed to green IT criteria for public
- 824 procurement and a label for energy-efficient, sustainable data centres. Digitisation in
- 825 particular also offers considerable potential for climate protection and for saving
- 826 greenhouse gases and resources.
- 827 By 2030 digitisation alone could reduce global CO2 emissions by 20 percent compared with
- 828 current forecasts. Studies estimate energy savings of 15 to 20 percent from building climate
- 829 management systems. IT-controlled process optimisation could reduce industrial energy
- 830 consumption by 25 to 30 percent by intelligently networking machines. We want to make
- 831 consistent use of this potential.
- 832 For large companies, it has long been taken for granted that video conferencing often
- 833 replaces travel by train or plane. This saves time and money, takes the strain off employees
- and protects the environment at the same time. Home office regulations ensure that commuting
- and thus CO2 emissions can be reduced. With the self-propelled cars of tomorrow, networking,
- 836 car sharing and additional flexible public transport services, especially in rural areas,
- 837 offer the opportunity to replace many individual travels with cars. Digitisation can support
- 838 the energy revolution in the form of intelligent networks or help to optimise transport
- 839 chains and prevent empty transports, for example.
- 840 IT-security for industry
- ⁸⁴¹ We urgently need a comprehensive package to strengthen the IT security of our industry. This
- ⁸⁴² includes the establishment of a **European research network for IT security**, in which the
- 843 National Research Centre in Darmstadt will become an integral part in order to promote the
- 844 development of technologies and industrial capabilities in the field of IT security. In
- addition, we want to introduce an EU-wide certification system for products and services
- recognized in all member states, as well as comprehensive consulting services.

847 8. Developing tomorrow's technology

- 848 In order to lead Germany into the future as a business location, we must also set the right
- 849 framework conditions for research, development and education. Innovations are created in
- 850 ecosystems that are characterised by cooperation, trans- and interdisciplinarity and
- 851 creativity. The aim is to promote cooperation, to break up work in isolated specialist
- s52 communities, to share knowledge and to move seamlessly from invention to implementation.
- 853 We therefore call for **more** research platforms in which universities, independent research
- 854 institutes, civil society organisations, individual interested parties and companies in
- 855 particular can participate, cooperate with each other, exchange knowledge and develop
- 856 creativity. In addition, real laboratories and experimental spaces in research are a
- 857 suitable instrument for jointly developing ground-breaking new innovations and testing their
- 858 implementation. "Horizon Europe" will be strengthened to promote inter- and
- 859 transdisciplinary research. In addition, a separate funding line is to be set up for the
- 860 development of new technologies and technology assessment.

- 861 Every technology in use today is based on publicly-funded basic research. In Europe and
- 862 Germany, too, the public sector should invest massively, especially where markets fail: In
- ⁸⁶³ high-risk research, public infrastructure, leapfrog innovations. For this task of the
- 864 century, German and European funding programmes must become more ambitious, less riskaverse
- 865 and agiler. For us this is a matter of a targeted, proactive and entrepreneurial state that
- 866 takes entrepreneurial risks and, as a **lead investor**, creates an innovation-friendly
- 867 environment, for private companies and their ideas as well.
- 868 We attach particular importance to the freedom of research and teaching. Universities and in
- 869 particular basic research do not function according to entrepreneurial logic. Disruptive
- 870 innovations in particular can profit from this. Basic research without a view to direct
- 871 (economic) usability is just as important and necessary as research programmes on pressing
- social issues. This is why we are committed to solid basic funding and democratic self-
- 873 organisation of universities as well as scientific freedom.
- 874 Investing in technologies of the future and the digital infrastructure
- 875 European cooperation is a prerequisite for meeting the challenges of the 21st century with
- ⁸⁷⁶ regard to technology and societal change in the context of the climate crisis. We therefore
- 877 want to again invest intensively in Europe as a location for knowledge and innovation and
- 878 increase the funds of the forthcoming European Research Framework Programme to 120 billion
- 879 euros. In doing so, we want to establish a powerful follow-up programme to "Horizon 2020"
- 880 that promotes basic research and scientific freedom in an interdisciplinary and
- 881 transdisciplinary way, knowing full well that a society needs technical and orientation
- 882 knowledge in order to successfully cope with the future.
- 883 It therefore remains a mistake that the federal government has not accepted and seriously
- 884 pursued the proposals made by the French President to establish a **European agency for**
- 885 leapfrog innovations and a Franco-German AI centre. Instead, the grand coalition has
- established a national agency for leapfrog innovations. We demand that this should now at
- 887 least be closely interlinked with the European institutions and initiatives. In addition,
- 888 the planned 500,000 euros in funding for a virtual Franco-German AI network are far too
- 889 little to bring together the best researchers and actually establish synergies.
- 890 A **fast network** is the basis for everything industry, mobility, agriculture, digital 891 management, participation, economic success. For companies, broadband expansion is a strong
- ⁸⁹² factor in location. And it is often the rural regions in particular that are cut off from
- 893 the fast Internet. We are a long way from the nationwide basic service promised by the
- 894 federal government. There are considerable gaps in investment for the digital infrastructure
- 895 for fibre optics and 5G mobile communications.
- 896 We are guided by the supplier principle in the establishment of the 5G networks. We
- ⁸⁹⁷ therefore call for the publication of the results of studies already carried out on the
- 898 effects of 5G financed in whole or in part by public funds and call on companies to publish
- 899 their own studies in full. We support the review and, if necessary, development of suitable
- 900 test and measurement procedures on the effects of high-frequency transmitters and receivers
- 901 above 20 GHz and the establishment of binding limit values by the Federal Office for

⁹⁰² Radiation Protection. We are committed to EU-wide coordination on these issues and call for ⁹⁰³ as uniform a procedure as possible in the member states.

We need solid financing to ensure that the fibre optic roll-out moves ahead quickly and that fast Internet access is available to every building (FTTB) in the country. To this end, we want to set up public broadband companies for fibre-optic expansion in rural areas, to which the federal government will contribute at least the proceeds from the sale of its Telekom shares. In addition, when it comes to network regulation, especially new frequency tenders, we will ensure that network operators sign hard commitments to supply even remote rural regions.

911 New paths in research and development

We need a strong science to solve the questions of the future. That's why we want to support
science in digitising. The free accessibility, lucidity and comprehensibility of knowledge
is a central building block for an innovative economy that is at the same time oriented on
the common good. We want to promote free content (in research and teaching), in particular
open access publications, and research data (Open Science Data), while taking data
protection into account. We want to promote scientific initiatives, communicate results
broadly to society and facilitate access to and comprehensibility of knowledge via creative
and new communicative channels. In addition to lectures, citizen science and science slams,
(research) museums, real laboratories and public events at research institutions form
important bridges between citizens and researchers.

⁹²³ which we want to support through tax incentives for research and development. We also want

⁹²⁴ to make basic innovations widely available and promote open source solutions for them,

925 especially if they are developed by public research institutions. We find it important to

⁹²⁶ take greater account of NGOs and other civil society players in research concerns. To that

927 end, we need, for example, more real laboratories and a broader public dialogue in

928 formulating research questions.

929 A fair design of the international legal system must prevent patents and other intellectual

930 property rights (e.g. on HIV preparations, seeds or traded knowledge) from being used in a

⁹³¹ socially harmful way and hindering economic development. Investments from third countries

⁹³² must contribute to the development of local knowledge and higher-quality shares in global

⁹³³ value creation. As many as possible of these technologies should be developed in forms of

⁹³⁴ open knowledge (open design, open source, open data, creative commons) and made available to

935 everybody.

936 9. Equivalent living conditions in east and west, urban and rural

⁹³⁷ Together we can ensure that city and country, structurally weak and economically strong

938 regions do not drift further apart. In German municipalities, there is a public investment

939 gap of 138 billion euros in infrastructure. So much money is lacking in child-care

940 facilities, roads, bridges and playgrounds just to preserve what exists. Many municipalities

941 cannot finance this. This means that we do not fulfil our commitment to equal living

⁹⁴² conditions everywhere in the country, especially in structurally weak regions, particularly

943 in eastern Germany.

The federal government and the states should be put in a position to better support structurally weak regions so that basic regional services are guaranteed everywhere. This can be achieved through a new joint task "Basic regional services ". We also want to create competence agencies to support local authorities in planning investments and accessing subsidies. Support across all regions often means that stronger regions, because of their functioning infrastructure and administration, are the first to apply for and receive funding, while weaker regions then lose out. We want to focus support on regions that are truly structurally weak, taking gender aspects into account when designing basic regional services. The best support will not help if the funds do not get to where they are intended to be effective.

954 We want to align the current funding from its project orientation to processes so that local

⁹⁵⁵ projects are secured in the long term and the commitment of local residents is sustainably

956 promoted. In addition, an old debt fund is to open up new opportunities for municipalities

957 with high levels of old debt by allowing the federal government to assume part of the debt,

- 958 but also by taking the responsibility of the federal states into account, as well as the
- 959 fact that some state governments have already done this on their own. The federal government
- 960 can finance itself at very low at the moment even negative interest rates, and thus give
- ⁹⁶¹ the municipalities air to breathe again. In addition, we will relieve the municipalities of
- ⁹⁶² the burden of social spending and examine how the states and municipalities can improve
- ⁹⁶³ their debt management and benefit from the favourable interest conditions of the federal
- ⁹⁶⁴ government. We want to realign **regional economic development** and focus more on regions that

⁹⁶⁵ have to cope with major structural changes. The decisive factor in attracting companies to

- 966 the region is not the money from the state, but an excellent infrastructure and well-trained
- ⁹⁶⁷ local specialists. If there is no data highway, no company will settle there today.
- ⁹⁶⁸ For the Lausitz, for example, this means that you can get to Cottbus quickly from the small
- 969 towns, and from Cottbus quickly by train to Berlin, Wroclaw or Warsaw. Fast Internet and the
- 970 digital office would make it possible to live in the Mecklenburg Lake District with a
- 971 workplace in Berlin. Good rail connections would allow the occasional, fast trip to the
- 972 company. We want to **strengthen the regional centres** and make them anchor points in regions
- ⁹⁷³ with a wide range of public and cultural services. In border regions, we also want to make
- 974 this cross-border and European. We also want to establish or expand universities and
- 975 universities of applied sciences, because they can organise the transfer of knowledge to the
- 976 local economy. At the same time, well-educated students bring their own business ideas with
- ⁹⁷⁷ them or are future specialists for the local economy. This can also motivate young
- 978 immigrants to move to the Uckermark or East Saxony, for example.

979 10. Benefiting from the strength of the single European market with a joint industrial

980 strategy

- ⁹⁸¹ The core of a good industrial policy lies in strengthening one's own innovative strength,
- 982 not in defending against competition. Nevertheless, it is important that Germany and Europe
- 983 develop fair rules and then enforce them internally and externally.
- 984 The **European single market** is the largest common economic area in the world. No large global

985 company can afford not to be present in this huge market. We must use the European internal

986 market to reinforce democracy, the rule of law and fair rules of the game, rather than

987 allowing ourselves to be divided by national interests.

988 Anyone who wants to play in the European market must follow the European rules. We have

- ⁹⁸⁹ shown how this works with the General Data Protection Regulation. Either companies abide by
- ⁹⁹⁰ it or they are denied access to the market. The GDPR is now making an international career.
- ⁹⁹¹ The European Union, as a strong and united player, must develop common standards for a
- ⁹⁹² sustainable economy instead of being the recipient of the strategic choices of others. If
- ⁹⁹³ the USA relies on financial market-driven capitalism and China on authoritarian state
- ⁹⁹⁴ capitalism, then we do not have to decide, but give a European answer: with a **Green New Deal**
- 995 for the social-ecological market economy.
- ⁹⁹⁶ Europe needs a **common industrial policy** whose core lies in strengthening its own innovative
- 997 strength and enforcing fair rules for the economy both internally and externally. Its

goals and instruments should be geared to the need for a social-ecological transformation of the economy. In this way, the European single market can become the lead market for the nonworld, not least because of its size.

1001An industrial strategy to reinforce innovation and sustainability

1002An industrial strategy must first and foremost actively promote innovation in Germany and 1003Europe, for example through regulatory guardrails and public contracts that stimulate demand 1004for new technologies. In particular, it should support the ecological transformation of the 1005economy through measures such as a long-term climate protection strategy, a Europe-wide 1006minimum price for CO2, or the promotion of industrial lighthouse projects with the aim of 1007reducing greenhouse gas emissions in energy-intensive sectors. Financial markets must be 1008regulated in such a way that sustainable investments pay off and are not disadvantaged. 1009European investment programmes must also be geared towards sustainability.

1010An industrial strategy should also ensure that European forces are concentrated in 1011artificial intelligence and that public investments are made in European common goods, such 1012as transport, telecommunications and energy infrastructure. We reject unlawful tax evasion 1013and tax fraud, because companies must also participate appropriately in the financing of 1014public tasks. Fair working conditions, minimum social security standards and European 1015reinsurance for national unemployment insurance systems must also be part of such a social-1016ecological industrial strategy.

1017Combating biases in competition

1018A European industrial strategy must ensure fair competition on the European market vis-à-vis 1019state-subsidised monopolists from China and unregulated digital corporations from the USA, 1020for example by further developing anti-dumping and anti-subsidy instruments, reforming the 1021WTO and sharpening the rules in antitrust law. The European Union must also be able to 1022penalise biases in competition in public contracts more severely. One way could be to create 1023possibilities in procurement law to add a surcharge to bids from countries that subsidise 1024their companies and to take high labour and environmental standards into account even for 1025non-EU bidders. In the medium term, the principle of reciprocity should apply to third 1026countries in order to achieve a level playing field. A European response is also needed to 1027the question of how to deal with the situation where, for example, Chinese companies buy up 1028European companies and then grant them de facto free loans, thereby distorting competition.

1029Control of critical infrastructure

1030Foreign direct investment in **key technologies and critical infrastructure** should be better 1031monitored. The new European screening mechanism for direct investment should be integrated 1032into the German foreign trade directive and applied consistently. Because if we no longer 1033have control over our critical infrastructure, we have a huge security problem, are 1034dependent and in the worst case can be subjected to extortion.

1035Progressive digitisation makes it necessary to better monitor foreign direct investment in 1036**key technologies and to safeguard critical infrastructure**.

1037The new European screening mechanism for direct investments should be integrated into the 1038German foreign trade order and applied consistently. Secure digital infrastructures have 1039long been systemically relevant. With a view to the concrete decision on 5G, we note that 1040Huawei has not yet fulfilled the criteria of the IT security catalogue currently available 1041and may therefore not be approved, at least in networks that are particularly relevant to 1042security. The discussion has shown how great the failures of the federal government are, 1043especially when it comes to the protection of particularly critical infrastructures. It has 1044shown that there is still an urgent need for clear legal requirements for the use and 1045verifiability of hardware and software, new liability regulations, the increased use of open 1046source and open hardware and independent supervisory structures - far away from individual 1047providers and even for European companies. This is the only way can we achieve the goal of 1048effectively increasing IT security, reducing dependencies on individual providers and 1049pursuing digital sovereignty for Europe's citizens and businesses.

1050Regulatory power for social-ecological goals

1051We Europeans should also set rules globally and put our entire European weight into the 1052balance. Anyone who wants to sell products in Europe must produce fairly. Production must be 1053in line with the Paris climate objectives. Human and labour rights and the protection of the 1054environment must be respected. This requires trade agreements that make ecological and 1055social standards enforceable against trading partners and a **supply chain law** that makes 1056transparency and human rights due diligence legally binding on companies. We want to promote

1057the use of new technologies that make the intermediate stages in the production process 1058comprehensible. For example, we prevent products from being sold whose semi-finished 1059products were manufactured with child labour in Africa.

1060Making the Euro a key currency

1061Hardly any other country in the EU benefits as much from the common European currency.
 1062Instead of celebrating itself as an exporting nation, Germany should therefore invest
 1063particularly in strengthening the eurozone for the benefit and prosperity of all. Europe's
 1064economic strength will depend centrally on whether we **complete monetary union**. So far, we

1065have relied almost entirely on the European Central Bank to handle the difficult tasks. This 1066cannot continue. What is more, a monetary union cannot function well in the long term 1067without macroeconomic compensation mechanisms. That is why we want a **common fiscal policy**

1068for the eurozone, which can take courageous countermeasures during a downturn, stabilise the 1069economy and finance European common goods. Common budget investments should be used for

1070European common goods such as climate protection, the expansion of renewable energies, 1071communications and the Internet, or rail infrastructure. Such a eurozone budget, which 1072stabilises and invests, should cover at least one percent of the economic output of the 1073participating states in order to be macroeconomically effective. It could also be financed 1074through Europe-wide taxes such as a digital corporate tax, a financial transaction tax or 1075part of a harmonised European corporate income tax.

1076Hardly any other country in the EU benefits so much from the common European currency. 1077Instead of celebrating itself as an exporting nation, Germany should therefore invest 1078particularly in strengthening the euro zone for the good and prosperity of all. The 1079completion of monetary union requires not only a common fiscal policy, but firstly a large 1080market for secure European bonds and secondly a credible framework for joint crisis 1081management. For the expansion of the pan-European infrastructure, such as cross-border 1082electricity or rail networks, it **makes sense to create common European bonds** that can be 1083used to finance part of these investments through loans within the framework of the eurozone 1084budget and, in the long term, even the EU budget. In this way, we can succeed in turning the 1085**euro into** a global reserve currency. This is not just a question of economic stability; it 1086is also a central question of European sovereignty and our ability to act in foreign policy.

1087At the same time, we want to ensure that Europe can resolve its crises itself. To that end,
1088we want to develop the European Stability Mechanism ESM into a fully-fledged European
1089Monetary Fund, enshrine it in EU law and subject it to democratic co-determination and
1090control by the European Parliament. To combat crises effectively, the banking union must
1091also be completed. In this way, we can ensure that banks will in future be run in a uniform,
1092European manner and not at the taxpayers' expense. To that end, we need, on the one hand, a
1093credible settlement regimen including robust ultimate collateral for the common settlement
1094fund. On the other hand, we need a common European deposit guarantee. It should be
1095structured as reinsurance, so that the European guarantee only intervenes when the national
1096guarantee is overstretched. The German savings banks and cooperative banks can thus continue

1097to rely on their proven institutional guarantee systems. In the end, Germany in particular 1098should make a much greater contribution to the good functioning of the eurozone with its own 1099fiscal policy.

1100**To compensate for macroeconomic imbalances** within Europe and strengthen European demand,

1101Germany must actively reduce its excessive current account surplus and give its European 1102partners more room to breathe and must not return to a one-sided and divisive austerity 1103policy. To achieve this, we in Germany want to ensure fair wages, especially at the lower 1104end of the income scale, and boost investment. At the EU level, we advocate the introduction 1105of European unemployment reinsurance as an automatic stabiliser.

110611. Fair competition instead of power economics

1107Competition is the basis of the market economy and the engine of progress. A strong 1108antitrust law that ensures fair competition and limits the concentration of economic power 1109is essential not only for the economy, but also for the functioning of democracy. It keeps 1110markets open and ensures that the best idea prevails and not always the top dog. If there is 1111no competition, monopolists can make high profits at the expense of consumers and hinder 1112start-ups in their development. Excessive market concentration goes hand in hand with the 1113concentration of wealth and increases inequality. And those who control markets can also 1114exercise political control and determine the rules of the game. The c**ompetition law needs an**

1115**update**. Digital business models change business relationships and competitive dynamics. 1116Users pay for many services on the Internet not with money, but with data. Network effects 1117turn individual platforms into giants with huge data resources. They can abuse their market 1118power to lower data protection regulations, dictate prices to business partners or boot out 1119competitors.

1120We want to **strictly regulate** dominant **digital platforms**. If they deny other companies access

1121to the market or demand absurd conditions, the antitrust authorities must take tough action. 1122If European competition policy is to meet the demands of the 21st century, we need an

1123**independent European antitrust authority** with adequate resources and personnel. Under the

1124umbrella of this cartel office, a European digital supervisory authority is to be

1125established which functions as a political early warning system for critical concentrations 1126of market power and consumer-damaging behaviour, in particular regulating large platform 1127markets and natural, digital monopolies, and can impose cooperation and transparency 1128obligations that have proven their worth by sanctions.

1129Today, the anti-trust authorities have to prove abuse of a dominant position in order to
1130unbundle a company. As a rule, this is hardly possible. We therefore advocate that companies
1131can also be split up independently of an abuse if their market power becomes too great and a
1132problem for the economy and society. The Facebook monopoly, for example, is such a case. We
1133want to unbundle Instagram, Facebook and WhatsApp again. By transferring the principles of

1134interoperability, which are now taken for granted for telephone, SMS and mail, to messenger 1135services, we want to make it easier for new providers to enter the market and spark 1136competition for the best data protection regulations.

1137We GREENS want competition law to be applied in accordance with the European treaties. 1138Environmental protection and the promotion of sustainable development must be taken into 1139account. The mergers of Bayer, Monsanto and other agrochemical groups, for example, pose 1140problems not only for competition but also for the environment. The consequences are a lack 1141of variety, the use of pesticides and the extinction of species.

1142In addition, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy should be 1143involved in merger control and asked for a security policy assessment.

1144If you want fair competition, you have to take effective legal action against infringements.

1145The exhaust scandal has once again shown how companies try to circumvent fair competition by

1146fraud. We GREENS want to strictly punish such behaviour, which is harmful to the common

1147good. We want a legal regulation that makes it easier to prosecute and sanction crimes 1148committed by companies. The state must consistently enforce its laws and regulations. 1149Furthermore, loopholes identified in the law should be closed. The exhaust scandal is also 1150an example of the fact that it does not always do this - because it was made possible only 1151through years of cronyism between the car industry, supervisory authorities and politicians. 1152And in order to reveal the influence of lobbyists and interest groups on the Bundestag, we 1153want to establish a **mandatory public lobby register**. Those who, as whistle-blowers,

uncover

1154unethical or punishable behaviour in the economy act in the interest of the common good and 1155need legal protection against sanctions and economic disadvantages. In order for such abuses 1156to be detected and remedied at an early stage, we also need clear and secure reporting 1157channels for whistle-blowers. We want to set up such secure and anonymous reporting channels

¹¹⁵⁸for digital and analogue data at public supervisory and law enforcement agencies and make ¹¹⁵⁹them known.

1160So far there has been no financial compensation in Germany and Europe for those affected by 1161the diesel scandal. It is often far too difficult for individuals to enforce the applicable 1162law. Airlines, for example, refuse to comply with compensation claims. Even under our 1163pressure, we have succeeded in making it possible for the first time in Germany to bring 1164model declaratory litigation. They are, however, inadequate, because each party still has to 1165sue individually. That is why we finally want to make class actions possible in order to 1166spread the risk of litigation over many shoulders.

116712. Creating a fair world trade and monetary order

1166Our aim is to **re-regulate globalisation**. Recent years have shown that unregulated 1169globalisation leads to the exploitation of people and the environment and accelerates the 1170destruction of our livelihoods. The gains in wealth from international trade are unequally 1171distributed. Right-wing extremists and nationalists use the justified criticism of 1172undesirable developments in globalisation to propagate a relapse into nationalism. That is 1173the wrong response. We oppose this with a liberal and cosmopolitan response. Properly used, 1174a good trade policy can strike a balance between environmental protection, climate 1175protection, human rights, workers' rights and economic interests. And in that manner 1176maintain the competitiveness of companies, create justice in the global South and combat 1177disenchantment with democracy. But we also need a Global Green New Deal. After all, our 1176economies and our ecosystems are interdependent. In a globalised world, not only are crises 1179global, solutions must also be global. That doesn't mean waiting until others take the lead. 1180The prosperous and technologically highly developed countries in particular must pave the 1181way for a green change on a global scale.

¹¹⁸²Europe has something to offer with the largest single market in the world - and we want to ¹¹⁸³combine that offer with a clear call for progressive policy. Access to our markets is only ¹¹⁸⁴granted if minimum social and environmental standards are met. This will have a positive ¹¹⁸⁵impact on workers worldwide. If governments want to take economic policy measures to comply

1186with the Paris Climate Convention, the UN Human Rights Conventions or the objectives of 1187Agenda 2030, these must not be made more difficult or even counteracted by trade agreements 1188or investment protection suits. Part of contracts should be that all trading partners 1189undertake to impose a human rights due diligence obligation on the companies operating or 1190headquartered in them in accordance with the UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human 1191Rights.

1192But for that we need a **reorientation of EU trade policy**. The Mercosur Agreement, which the 1193EU wants to conclude with Brazil, among others, is the last fatal example of an agenda that 1194focuses on liberalisation and deregulation. We criticise the highly problematic corporate 1195arbitration tribunals in agreements such as TTIP, CETA or JEFTA, which, on the other hand, 1196do not contain effective mechanisms for protecting the climate, the environment, human 1197rights and workers or consumers. The burning Amazon shows us this fatal logic more than 1198clearly, because the trade facilitation for beef agreed between the EU and the Mercosur 1199states acts like a fire accelerant for the rainforest. We want an **import ban on agricultural** 1200**products from cleared areas of the Amazon and on palm oil from the Indonesian rainforest**.

1201Meanwhile, more and more European governments are realising that the sustainability clauses 1202in the agreement are toothless and do not offer sufficient protection for the climate, the 1203rainforest or the indigenous peoples living there, as there is no effective sanction 1204mechanism through which trade facilitation could be revoked.

1205We GREENS reject this agreement as well as CETA and JEFTA in their present form, because

1206despite individual improvements, they do not fulfil the conditions of fair trade. That is 1207why we want the German government to work in the council for a halt to the ratification of 1208the current Mercosur Agreement and for renegotiations with a new mandate. In addition, it is 1209time for an **alliance for fair trade** - building on the corrections that have already been 1210made following extensive criticism, particularly by civil society, and which have also 1211prompted some European governments to reconsider.

1212The EU should focus first and foremost on reforms of multilateral trade rules and on a 1213**common plurilateral treaty** that establishes global standards for fair, open, gender-1214equitable and ecological trade with the aim of making globalisation fair. Bilateral trade 1215agreements can be intermediate steps. For this, however, they must be open to other trading 1216partners and designed in such a way that they can be integrated into a global world trade 1217system. In future, the focus must be on trade liberalisation that has a positive impact on 1218sustainable development.

1219Strong rules for fair markets are at the core of trade agreements. This includes key 1220international agreements such as the ILO core labour standards or the Paris Climate 1221Protection Agreement. Trade facilitation could thus also be revoked if, for example, a 1222trading partner were to terminate the Paris Climate Treaty or fail to comply with its 1223objectives. The same applies to violations of human rights and non-compliance with minimum 1224standards for the environment and labour.

1225We want to apply the **supply principle** to the protection of the environment and consumers in 1226all parts of trade agreements. Parliaments may not be circumvented or weakened by rules on 1227regulatory cooperation in trade agreements. Fair trade policy gives states, regions and 1228municipalities the freedom to organise and regulate services as they see fit. 1229Instead of unilateral special litigation rights for private investors (ISDS/ICS), we

1230advocate for a **permanent international commercial court**, before which those affected can

1231also sue if companies violate investor obligations in the area of fundamental human rights, 1232social or environmental standards. The underlying rules, which allow corporate lawsuits, 1233must be narrowly limited in order to exclude for instance lawsuits against fracking bans or 1234the nuclear phase-out.

1235Introducing a supply-chain law

1236To ensure that human rights and the environment are no longer neglected in international 1237supply chains, we want to introduce statutory regulations on transparency and due diligence 1238for companies. This means that the EU must enforce traceable deforestation-free supply 1239chains on a binding basis. For example, if international treaties and obligations are 1240breached, an import ban can be imposed on agricultural products such as soya and beef from 1241cleared areas of the Amazon. In public procurement, Germany should set a good example by 1242purchasing only products from supply chains that are demonstrably deforestation-free.

1243We want to hold transnational companies **operating in Germany** liable if they are involved in 1244human rights violations within their production and resource chains. **If companies have**

1245demonstrably acted negligently or deliberately ignored their duty of care, those affected

1246**should be able to sue them under civil law in Germany**. The example of France shows that this

1247is possible. Companies must comply with minimum social and ecological standards along their 1248supply chains and, above all, these must be transparent so that it is clear under what 1249conditions products were produced. Wars, human rights violations and exploitation may not be 1250financed by products sold in the EU. We do not want to see products that do not meet minimum 1251social and environmental standards on our supermarket shelves. We want a consistent 1252implementation of the UN's guiding principles for business and human rights.

1253And we expect the German government to finally participate actively in the UN Binding Treaty 1254process, which aims to hold transnational corporations and other business enterprises 1255accountable for human rights abuses.

1256We demand that social and ecological standards for companies that import products into the 1257EU be enshrined in legally binding form in all EU trade agreements. For example, we ensure 1258that smartphones whose raw materials were dug up with child labour in the Congo, jeans whose

1259production poisoned rivers in Bangladesh or beef from cleared areas of the Amazon no longer 1260reach the European market. The resulting import restrictions ensure that the market power of 1261the world's largest single market ensures that environmental and social improvements are 1262implemented internationally along the supply chain.

1263Not trading at the expense of the most impoverished

1264Development opportunities for economically weaker countries must be increased rather than 1265reduced through trade agreements. These include effective clauses to protect sensitive 1266economic sectors, permission for export taxes on raw materials, promotion of regional 1267integration, technology transfer and appropriate taxation of economic activity. Human rights 1268and development opportunities must take precedence over pure trade interests. That is why a 1269certain asymmetry in the form of treaties is in the interests of economically weaker 1270countries, but also in our own interest.

1271The industrialised countries in particular will benefit economically, peace policy and 1272climate policy from a stable development in the global South that will give people 1273opportunities, prospects and education. The economic partnership agreements are 1274counterproductive in this respect. At the same time, we demand that the EU lower or abolish 1275its tariffs on processed products from developing countries in order to promote local 1276production. We want to promote the regional integration of developing countries. And we 1277prefer the World Trade Organisation and multilateral agreements to bilateral trade 1278agreements, because otherwise the interests of poorer countries in particular could fall by 1279the wayside.

1280Development opportunities for raw material-producing countries

1281The extraction, processing and use of mineral resources also involves development 1282opportunities for the countries that extract the raw materials. The disproportionate 1283consumption of raw materials in the industrialized countries does not give us the right to 1284disproportionate access. Only fair distribution can guarantee a peaceful long-term future. 1285That is why we rely on **international and cooperative solutions**. The extraction of raw 1286materials is often accompanied by serious violations of human rights. The EU regulation on 1287conflict minerals will go into effect in 2021 and is an important step towards curbing the 1289worst crimes. We are committed to extending the regulation, because so far only a few raw 1289materials have been covered. At the same time, there are also benefits if access to and 1290trade in raw materials is stable and long-term. The prerequisite for this is that the human 1291rights, security, environmental and democratic consequences are taken into account and that 1292standards are set for them. These must start at various levels: in the country of origin, 1293among investors and companies, in the consumer country and at the international level.

1294Creating a secure and stable world monetary order

1295After the international monetary system "Bretton Woods" was abandoned in the 1970s - it 1296regulated international financial and exchange rate relations - the states were not prepared 1297to establish a new common order. Instead, the major industrial nations allowed their 1298exchange rates to fluctuate freely to a large extent, and the international financial 1299institutions advocated unrestricted international capital and financial flows. Since then, 1300regular currency and financial crises have shaken the world and, above all, less developed 1301countries have been repeatedly set back in their development by speculative capital flows. 1302At the same time, global trade imbalances have exploded and represent a new source of 1303instability. We want to stimulate an international **discussion on a new system of stabilised** 1304**exchange rates within the framework of the G20**. We are convinced that we can only curb 1305speculation, promote development and trade and reduce trade imbalances in this manner.

1306**For the world's poorest countries,** public development finance is of major importance. We are

1307striving for a world monetary order that not only enables wealthy countries to finance long-1308term investments reliably in the long term. To that end, short-term, speculative financial 1309flows must be regulated, made more expensive and, if necessary, banned. We must protect 1310ourselves against speculative attacks on nations and their currencies. This requires global 1311public institutions. But no short-term successes are to be expected here. Nevertheless, in 1312order to bring about change quickly, we want the European Central Bank to take into account 1313the effects of its policies on developing countries and to support them. It should be able 1314to come to the aid of developing countries that come under pressure from unjustified 1315currency speculation, provided such assistance is compatible with monetary policy 1316objectives. For example, currency swap agreements or Article 219 of the Treaty on the 1317Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) could be used to define exchange rate policies.

1318Global transformation means massive investment, especially in poorer countries. Providing 1319these investments in a sustainable, social-ecological and local way must be a central tenet 1320of the global financing architecture.

1321The multilateral financial institutions **IMF, World Bank** and regional development banks can 1322play a decisive role in achieving the sustainability development goals (SDGs) and the global 1323social-ecological transformation. We want to grant countries reliable access to financing 1324for transformation processes. At the same time, the global community must enable burden 1325sharing for global commons (such as climate, biodiversity, forests) in the sense of "common 1326but differentiated responsibility". At present, this includes specifically aligning its 1327commitment to the Paris Climate Agreement. We may not release them from their responsibility

1328to contribute to a stable, sustainable and poverty-reducing global financial architecture.

1329In order not to turn the necessary loans into financial boomerangs, an orderly state 1330insolvency procedure is needed in the event of over-indebtedness in foreign currency. Only a 1331system that balances the interests of creditors and debtors will lead to an adequate supply 1332of credit and a sustainable solution to over-indebtedness crises. Current governance and 1333debt management play a central role in this. Just as corrupt debtor governments may not be 1334rewarded subsequently for bad investments through debt relief, through collectively agreed 1335rules "vulture funds" must be denied the right to sue for debts.

1336We are actively engaged against tax revenues and for a sustainable financing of the common 1337good. A large number of poorer countries are "net lenders" against all logic - that is, the 1338money lost to them through capital and tax evasion exceeds the sum of direct investments, 1339remittances and development payments. We therefore support an aggressive approach against 1340organised exploitation via tax havens and banking secrecy. We must also support countries in 1341building sound tax systems.

134213. Stable and sustainable financial markets and safe investments

1343The financial sector should be a central basis for enabling real economic activities and
1344thus the diversity of our lifestyles. Today, it often does not perform this positive
1345function. We therefore need clear and effective rules that focus the global financial market
1346architecture on this task. These include payments, lending, savings, investment finance,
1347hedging and international trade support. The aim is to safeguard its function as a service
1348provider for all population groups and to promote the ability of the state to handle
1349financial services ("financial inclusion").

1350Banks and financial markets should serve to offer citizens attractive savings opportunities 1351and finance investments. With appropriate regulations and a comprehensive financial 1352transaction tax, we want to make purely speculative transactions and, above all, high-1353frequency trading unattractive. We want to use unused assets in so-called dormant accounts 1354to create a fund that invests specifically in sustainable and social innovations, as long as 1355 there are no inheritance claims. To that end, we need a data-protection-compliant procedure 1356 for determining these accounts, the credit of which would otherwise pass into the possession 1357 of the banks.

1358Locally operating small and medium-sized banks in Germany, and increasingly in the rest of 1359the EU as well, ensure the supply of credit for most companies. In Germany, the three-pillar 1360model of savings banks, cooperative banks and private banks has proven its worth. That is 1361why we want to **strengthen the local bank principle throughout Europe**. Public banks are 1362particularly committed to the common good and should play a pioneering role in non-financial 1363reporting on social, ecological and economic factors. Savings banks should draw up public 1364service reports and become more transparent with regard to the disclosure of salaries.

1365Small banks would be relieved of a burden by a regulatory system consisting of clear, hard 1366but much fewer complex rules. Our European **debt brake for banks** - an unweighted equity ratio

1367of ten percent - ensures that sufficient safety margins are in place. Systemically important 1368banks subject to ECB banking supervision must also build up additional capital that is 1369geared to the risk of the business model. In addition, all banks are required to make a 1370higher percentage contribution to the deposit protection fund, taking into account the size 1371and risk of the bank's balance sheet. Big banks must become smaller. They will no longer be 1372able to endanger the financial system through an effective segregation banking system, high 1373capital requirements and a complete banking union. Rescuing banks with taxpayers' money will 1374then become a thing of the past.

1375With the possibilities of digitisation, new players can emerge or grow on the financial 1376markets. For many, they make financial and payment transactions simpler and faster and offer 1377new investment opportunities. We want to create clear competition rules in which neither 1378banks nor large tech companies can use their dominant position to hinder unwelcome 1379competitors or innovations. The introduction of an **e-euro** offers opportunities for payment 1380transactions and new, innovative services. This electronic currency, introduced by the 1381central banks of the Eurosystem, will also serve as a simple, secure and convenient means of 1382payment for many people in their everyday lives. **Private money** such as the Libra planned by 1383Facebook, on the other hand, would not solve a problem, but would potentially create many 1384new ones. We reject the suppression of small companies by the currency of a corporate group, 1385the accumulation of payment transaction data in a company that already has problematic data 1386power and we reject the erosion of the state money and currency monopoly and will not allow 1387Libra.

1388**Insurance companies and pension funds** are currently experiencing financial problems because

1389their interest rate expectations have not been fulfilled. The grand coalition has repeatedly 1390introduced measures to solve the insurers' crisis unilaterally at the expense of clients. We 1391firmly reject this policy. In the event of an insurance crisis, we will ensure fair burden 1392sharing between the owners of the companies and the clients. The volume of the Protektor 1393protection fund is far too small in the event of a crisis. To remedy this, the volume of the 1394fund must be significantly increased. A European reinsurance system should also be 1395introduced. Furthermore, we will no longer allow companies to resell insurance contracts 1396without the client's consent. 1397**Financial advice** must fundamentally change. Today, commissions mean that investors are not

1398recommended the proper products, but those with the highest commissions. With the gradual 1399transition to fee-based consulting - the client no longer pays the advice indirectly via the 1400commission, but directly to the consultant, the product being cheaper - the quality of the 1401advice will improve and the career profile of the consultants will change. As an 1402intermediate step, financial institutions are to provide contracts with premium calculations 1403including and excluding commissions.

1404The **financial sector** is crucial for more climate protection. Climate risks that are dormant 1405in corporate and bank balance sheets should be taken into account when rating agencies and 1406financial market regulators assess them, for example through climate stress tests for banks 1407and insurance companies or through surcharges on capital requirements for financing that 1408involves high climate and environmental risks. Public-sector financial institutions in 1409particular, such as German and European development institutions, but also public-sector 1410savings banks, must put an end to their investments in coal, oil and gas groups that do 1411business at the expense of the climate. In addition, government guarantees in export 1412promotion must be in line with the Paris Climate Agreement.

1413The European Central Bank can also make a contribution to climate protection. It should take 1414climate change objectives into account when deciding which assets to accept as collateral 1415and which to purchase as part of the quantitative easing.

1416A citizens' fund for stable and profitable investment opportunities

1417So that the population in Germany can benefit more from the economic profits of the economy, 1418we propose setting up a **citizens' fund**. It is intended to ensure that all citizens, even 1419these whose incomes are too small to be able to participate in shares, real estate or other 1420assets, are able to take part in gains in wealth. Every citizen automatically pays a certain 1421portion of their income into the citizens' funds. In this way, we ensure a high investment 1422sum for the fund and thus reduce administrative costs. But those who prefer other forms of 1423investment can simply opt out of paying into the citizens' funds. In order to avoid 1424Riester's mistakes, the fund will not grant interest guarantees because they reduce the 1425return. Instead, we will ensure security through a broadly diversified, sustainable and 1426long-term investment strategy. The citizens' funds therefore offers people who have small 1427savings a low-risk and, above all, extremely inexpensive form of investment. The economy 1428will also benefit from this fund. Because there is a desired side effect: The capital is not 1429driven by an expectation of short-term returns but is committed to sustainable investment 1430development.

143114. Strengthening public welfare-oriented companies

1432In the field of social and technical infrastructure (health, education, energy, water, 1433transport), which provides basic goods and services for the lives of citizens, the public 1434sector has an important role to play. We reject the privatisation of public companies in the 1435field of public services, and we want to limit the spread of commercial institutions. We 1436also need to strengthen the public interest orientation of companies.

1437Many companies are already committed to ecological and social goals. More and more companies

1438are binding these social goals parallel to their economic success. We will systematically

1439strengthen this economic citizens' movement. Our goal is to create a wave of new

1440**cooperatives and socially and ecologically inspired companies**. At the same time, we also

1441want to make a legal form of company possible that allows a complete asset-lock, so that the 1442company is no longer held by asset owners but rather by responsibility owners.

1443We will systematically open up public financing programmes for business development, 1444information services for entrepreneurs and advisory services for businesses to all 1445companies. We also want to strengthen cooperatives, social start-ups and associations that 1446are economically active.

1447Companies in the social and solidarity-based economy need attractive legal forms. In
1448cooperation with the cooperative associations, we want to make a simplified, generally
1449understandable model statutes for cooperatives widely accessible. We will relieve small
1450cooperatives of the relevant requirements of commercial law. The revision of the legal forms
1451should make it possible for companies in the solidarity-based economy to become more visible
1452and thus better represented in Germany and Europe. In future, social cooperatives should no
1453longer be hampered by a de facto ban on combining paid and voluntary work. We want to exempt

1454profits placed in a legal reserve from corporation and trade tax. In this way we strengthen 1455the equity base and investment capacity of cooperatives. At the European level, we advocate 1456a label for products from the social and solidarity-based economy. Organisations that do not 1457aim to make a profit, need inexpensive financing. We want to make this available to social 1458enterprises, for example through loan programmes from the public development banks.

1459In this way we support the promotion of cooperative and regional forms of enterprise and 1460thus strengthen local economic structures. In this way, we promote closer relationships 1461between consumers and producers and regionalise value chains.

1462At the same time, the **citizens' energy cooperatives** must be relieved of their regulatory 1463shackles so that they can once again become powerful players in the energy shift. We want to 1464translate the EU directive on the single electricity market into German law in such a 1465business-friendly way that citizen energy is comprehensively strengthened. In the case of 1466tenant electricity, we want to abolish obstructive price targets in order to make 1467decentralised investments in renewables possible.

1468Many companies are committed to the common-wealth economy. We also want companies owned by

1469the German government to draw up **public-economy balance sheets** or to report on social-1470ecological criteria integrated into the financial report on an equal footing with the 1471financial criteria. We want to embed in European and German law an anchoring of social-1472ecological balance sheets or the integrated balancing of social-ecological criteria beyond 1473the CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) guidelines. Even today's profit-oriented legal 1474forms such as stock corporations should be able by majority vote to set themselves other 1475goals in the future than maximizing profits without being exposed to the risk that minority 1476shareholders will sue them.

147715. Financing investments soundly and fairly

1478We want to **significantly increase public investment**. A country in which every eighth of its 147940,000 bridges is dilapidated, which invests less money in education than almost all its

1480neighbours, which is notorious for its dead spots instead of famous for its smartphones, 1481such a country lives from fading substance. It will take time to turn the political 1482indications to reason. It is therefore all the more important to start now. Investments 1483create public goods. They cost money, but if they invest in the right things for the future, 1484they create prosperity. Every expenditure that the state makes in this way leads to income 1485in the economy and jobs are created. For every euro, which we invest wisely, our economic 1486performance can increase by much more than a euro. A stronger investment policy will also be 1487geared towards intergenerational justice, because future generations will not benefit if, in 1488a few decades' time, they are left with a black zero, but also with a poor infrastructure 1489with a massive investment backlog.

1490We want to finance these investments by eliminating misguided incentives, reallocating funds 1491and making targeted investments possible through loans. We distinguish between one-off 1492investments and permanent expenditures. These permanent expenditures, for example for 1493education and justice, are essential for social balance and cohesion in society. We want to 1494finance these permanent expenditures through current tax revenues, fairer taxation of wealth 1495and to combat tax fraud and avoidance.

1496So far, investment programmes have also failed due to a lack of capacity in the construction 1497industry or in the planning departments of public services. Our investment policy is 1498therefore reliable and long-term, so that both the private construction industry and the 1499public sector can build up more capacity again. We invest sustainably and on a long-term 1500basis.

1501Establishing investment companies

1502Many investments create valuable assets with which revenues can be generated. A power line 1503generates revenue from the electricity that passes through it. The same applies analogously 1504to charging infrastructure for electric cars, broadband for the Internet and much more. In 1505order to carry out these investments efficiently, we will bundle them in public investment 1506companies, use these companies to finance and stringently manage the investments. In this 1507way we will create sustainable value for the next generation that also pays off 1508economically, especially in times of zero interest rates and sometimes even negative 1509interest rates.

1510The constitutional regulations on the debt constraints provide that the indebtedness of

1511**government-owned companies** such as the railways, housing associations or public hospitals

1512are not included in the debt constraints. The same applies to the new investment companies 1513to be founded. We will therefore provide them with sufficient equity from the investment 1514fund to enable them, like any private company, to raise additional capital on the financial 1515market themselves. The federal government provides a state guarantee for this borrowing. For 1516example, the federal government could set up a new charging pillar company, allow the 1517Federal Agency for Real Estate Tasks for New Housing Construction and Building Renovation to 1518take out a loan and raise the debt limit for Deutsche Bahn. **Good governance** and democratic 1519participation should ensure transparency and control. The government must be able to 1520control, and the decisions and the use of funds must be transparent for parliament and the 1521public. We want to exclude the privatisation of these companies permanently so that public 1522assets remain public. 1523Combining sovereign debt limitation with infrastructure investments

1524lt was right for Germany to set itself rules that would ensure that there would be no 1525excessive public debt. Together with the monetary policy of the European Central Bank, they 1526have helped to curb debt. In Germany, the debt ratio has thus fallen from 80 percent to 1527below 60 percent of economic output. We want to maintain this success.

1528But debt is not only budget debt. If we do not invest now in education, innovation and 1529research and in climate protection measures, we will lose our future prosperity. Moreover, 1530the financial markets, which always need secure investment opportunities such as government 1531bonds, would no longer function stably if the debt level were to fall because they lack 1532secure investment opportunities. **We therefore want to further develop the debt**

constraints

¹⁵³³within the framework of the European stability criteria and link it to a binding investment

¹⁵³⁴**rule.** If the federal government invests more than its assets lose in value - i.e. if it ¹⁵³⁵creates new value - it should be able to finance this by offering new bonds. **Public**

1536investments should be at least high enough to ensure that public assets move at least in

1537line with economic output less wear and tear and loss in value.

1538For Germany, this option is tied to the fact that the public debt ratio is below the 1539Maastricht mark of 60 percent of GDP and the structural deficit amounts to a maximum of one 1540percent of economic output, in line with European requirements. These restrictions ensure 1541that the debt ratio would fall even further. This is all the more true as it creates 1542additional demand and thus economic development. Particularly in the event of an impending 1543downturn, we believe that this option makes more sense than flat-rate tax increases or 1544expenditure cuts, for these would exacerbate the downturn even further. That would be the 1545opposite of a sustainable fiscal policy.

1546Our proposal would allow the federal government to borrow an average of around 35 billion 1547euros a year. We want to transfer these funds to a **federal investment fund** which, as a 1548special fund in the federal budget, is not subject to the annual considerations of the 1549budget. It can then invest for a specific purpose and also have a stronger anti-cyclical 1550effect. In order to secure and cleanly implement the investment fund, we are striving to 1551amend the Basic Law.

1552In order to optimally manage national debt and investments, Länder and municipalities 1553receive a binding agreed share from the federal investment fund, in which all Länder 1554participate and can decide for themselves for which of the specified investment purposes 1555they use the funds.

1556lt is true that the Maastricht criteria also limit public debt at the European level. In the 1557forthcoming reform, we want to improve the incentives for public investment within the 1558framework of the Stability and Growth Pact. For example, investment expenditures can be 1559written off over several years in the calculation of deficit ratios in a similar way to 1560private investment. In this way, we strengthen public investment, especially in times of 1561economic downturn. We also support efforts to transform the European Investment Bank into a 1562bank for investment in social-ecological transformation and are committed to a stronger 1563European budget. Together, we are making better and faster progress in climate protection, 1564innovation and social cohesion. In return, we are also prepared to defend a greater German 1565contribution to this European added value.

15661 In our proposal "Action - now", we describe in detail our action plan for radically 1567realistic and cross-sectoral climate protection.