

## 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  
13 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  
15 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  
17 and the multilateral world economic order. The threat of Brexit is also creating uncertainty  
18 in the EU. This all has consequences. After years of boom, there are signs of a serious  
19 economic downturn in Germany.

20 Every generation has its task. To redefine prosperity as a question of sustainability and  
21 justice and to align politics accordingly is ours... We must now have the courage to take  
22 far-reaching decisions, to campaign passionately for them across the entire spectrum of  
23 society and not to think despondently, taking only tiny steps. The over-arching goal is an  
24 ecologically sustainable, just and emancipatory world. These three dimensions are the  
25 guiding principles for assessing the sustainability of our economic and financial system.  
26 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.

28 Concepts such as "growth", "efficiency", "competition" and "innovation" are currently seen  
29 as an end unto themselves rather than as what they should be: A means to achieve prosperity  
30 and quality of life within planetary limits. But we want to conduct the fundamentally more  
31 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  
41 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  
43 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  
45 of the natural foundations of life. The social obligation of property in Article 14 (2) of  
46 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  
48 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  
58 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  
60 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  
63 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  
69 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  
84 of blindly striving for technical innovations, we want to design and promote them in a  
85 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.

88 A Green New Deal that respects the limitations of the planet earth requires a radical change  
89 of course and a willingness to embrace a cultural change that does not equate development  
90 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  
93 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  
97 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  
171 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 neutral<sup>1</sup>**

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

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

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

201 We can rely on the fact that technological and social developments are not linear, and that  
202 we can become more efficient or better in one **leap out of the ordinary.** And that the market  
203 economy can develop its full innovative power if we set the right political guardrails.

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.

212 We want to move away from a system that only rewards short-term returns and instead use  
213 instruments that promote a long-term and socially responsible corporate policy.

214 **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  
224 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  
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*

234 For us, **an effective CO2 price** is the second part of the vital mix of instruments that we  
235 want to make both effective in terms of climate policy as well as socially just. Only in  
236 this manner can a stable, long-term investment framework be established, and market-based  
237 means create incentives to reduce CO2 emissions, to change production methods and to make  
238 “efficiency first” our standard way of handling resources. This is the only way to create  
239 the potential for fair competition on a basis that is transparent for every market  
240 participant. The CO2 price creates justice and also increases competitiveness on the world  
241 market in the medium term - because climate protection is not only necessary, but also a  
242 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.

269 In order to promote ecological restructuring and at the same time combat the impending  
270 economic 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  
278 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  
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.

314 New investment guidelines for the public sector, funds such as for civil servant pensions or  
315 reserves of the Federal Labour Office should adhere sustainability and climate protection  
316 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.

319 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-  
333 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  
337 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  
341 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  
363 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  
370 a self-determined way and to be able to creatively and innovatively shape ecological-social  
371 change.

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

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

383 For both developments - the shortage of skilled workers and the changes in the world of work  
384 - education and training policy, labour market policy, immigration policy and integration  
385 policy need to be much better equipped than before. This holds true for the self-employed as  
386 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**  
392 **training**. Lifelong learning thus becomes part of the public educational mandate. The current  
393 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  
408 education centres, chambers of commerce, vocational colleges, universities and other  
409 continuing education institutions network in order to be able to offer the best continuing  
410 education and advice on a nationwide and low-threshold basis. In the standard case, the  
411 education agency is organised by the Federal Employment Agency. However, municipalities  
412 should have the choice of organising the education agency themselves, especially if there  
413 are already strong cooperation structures that have developed locally and if quality  
414 standards are adhered to. We also want to continue to use the possibilities of digitisation  
415 for education. To this end, a public and independent digital platform will bundle all

416 further education and training offers. This will provide new access for people who want to  
417 continue their education. We pay particular attention to people who have to overcome  
418 particular obstacles in order to integrate into the world of work, for example because they  
419 cannot read or write well.

420 We also see it as our responsibility to take employees with us, especially in the context of  
421 ecological and digital change. In foresight, we want to introduce a new **"short-time work  
422 qualification"** as an important measure in order to improve the chances of employees and  
423 enterprises in the structural change. The phase of short-time work must be used consistently  
424 for the qualification of employees. We want to closely link "short-time work qualification"  
425 to the social partnership by means of collective agreements and works agreements. This is  
426 because companies, trade unions and works councils can only jointly provide structural  
427 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  
473 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.

495 We want to **regulate temporary agency work** more strongly; the same pay should apply to  
496 temporary workers from the first day on as to the permanent workforce, as well as an  
497 additional flexibility premium. We want to **abolish unfounded time limits**. We call for an  
498 **effective equal pay law** with the right of collective action for equal pay for equal work and  
499 work of equal value. Our aim is to **convert mini-jobs into employment subject to social**  
500 **security contributions** and to ensure that contributions are coordinated through taxes,  
501 contributions and social benefits in such a way that gainful employment always pays off. At  
502 the same time, the burden of taxes and levies must not rise by leaps and bounds. And we  
503 argue in favour of upgrading professions that are still mostly practised by women today, for  
504 example in education, care or the health system, and paying them better. We want **work on**  
505 **call** to no longer be possible when activities can be carried out under normal working  
506 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

512 persons who are not otherwise covered against poverty in old age. In order for this to  
513 succeed, we want them to participate in the solidarity system of pension insurance by  
514 introducing a citizens' insurance scheme. In order not to overburden them financially, we  
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  
518 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.

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

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

567 We also want half the positions in management positions in companies to be filled by women,  
568 which is why we need **binding quotas for women on supervisory boards** and comparable  
569 regulations for management boards. For supervisory boards, we demand a 40 percent quota for  
570 all 3,500 listed or co-determined companies and the possibility of sanctions if this is not  
571 adhered to. After all, the quota is not a burden for the economy, but an opportunity to  
572 really get the best brains in management positions. Digitisation also makes it easier for  
573 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.**

589 We are committed to strengthening and better coordinating the efforts of private and public  
590 employers. For the private sector, we want to strengthen this through the exchange of  
591 experience and information, moderated and promoted by the Federal Ministry of Economic  
592 Affairs and Energy and the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. We are campaigning  
593 for even more companies and public bodies to adopt to the **Charter of Diversity**. In the 21st  
594 century, we expect modern and innovative companies to assume a modern and professional  
595 approach to diversity: Through **diversity and equality strategies**, through diversity-based  
596 training programmes, especially for managers, and through clear complaint and intervention  
597 structures in the event of discrimination and sexualised violence. Public service and public  
598 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  
611 tomorrow. We want to support them with a fiscal research bonus, take advantage of the  
612 opportunities offered by resource-saving and low-emission products and processes and relieve  
613 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  
618 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  
621 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  
628 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-  
660 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 insurance to 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  
681 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  
696 and networks for start-ups and young companies can make the difference between a good idea  
697 on the flipchart and a globally successful company.

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

705 The fund is to be provided with equity capital and then borrow further capital cheaply on  
706 the financial market. Its profits are to be invested in their entirety to increase the  
707 company's own capital. The future fund is to be managed politically independently. Our  
708 independently managed citizen fund for a stable and profitable investment opportunity should  
709 be able to invest in the future fund and also be able to finance other investments in the  
710 venture capital sector. By separating the future fund from the citizens' fund, we prevent  
711 problematic conflicts of interest between industrial policy objectives and the citizens'  
712 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.

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

## 729 **7. Becoming digital no. 1**

730 Digitisation holds enormous potential for greater resource efficiency and the minimisation  
731 of transport routes and storage through the establishment of decentralised production and  
732 supply structures. Global networking and the free exchange of production knowledge for the  
733 manufacture of welfare-boosting products and services are also crucial. We want to promote  
734 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  
742 the possibilities of digitisation to skip over the early phase of industrialisation as far  
743 as 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 **protect local**  
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  
776 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  
800 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  
834 and protects the environment at the same time. Home office regulations ensure that commuting  
835 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  
845 addition, we want to introduce an EU-wide certification system for products and services  
846 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  
852 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 risk-averse  
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  
872 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  
886 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.

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

#### 911 *New paths in research and development*

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

922 SMEs are to be given a greater role in the research, development and innovation offensive,  
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.

944 The federal government and the states should be put in a position to better support  
945 structurally weak regions so that basic regional services are guaranteed everywhere. This  
946 can be achieved through a new joint task "Basic regional services". We also want to create  
947 competence agencies to support local authorities in planning investments and accessing  
948 subsidies. Support across all regions often means that stronger regions, because of their  
949 functioning infrastructure and administration, are the first to apply for and receive  
950 funding, while weaker regions then lose out. We want to focus support on regions that are  
951 truly structurally weak, taking gender aspects into account when designing basic regional  
952 services. The best support will not help if the funds do not get to where they are intended  
953 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, Wrocław 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  
998 goals and instruments should be geared to the need for a social-ecological transformation of  
999 the economy. In this way, the European single market can become the lead market for the  
1000 world, not least because of its size.

1001 *An industrial strategy to reinforce innovation and sustainability*

1002 **An industrial strategy** must first and foremost actively promote innovation in Germany and  
1003 Europe, for example through regulatory guardrails and public contracts that stimulate demand  
1004 for new technologies. In particular, it should support the ecological transformation of the  
1005 economy through measures such as a long-term climate protection strategy, a Europe-wide  
1006 minimum price for CO<sub>2</sub>, or the promotion of industrial lighthouse projects with the aim of  
1007 reducing greenhouse gas emissions in energy-intensive sectors. Financial markets must be  
1008 regulated in such a way that sustainable investments pay off and are not disadvantaged.  
1009 European investment programmes must also be geared towards sustainability.

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

1017 *Combating biases in competition*

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

1029 *Control of critical infrastructure*

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

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

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

1050 *Regulatory power for social-ecological goals*

1051 We Europeans should also set rules globally and put our entire European weight into the  
1052 balance. Anyone who wants to sell products in Europe must produce fairly. Production must be  
1053 in line with the Paris climate objectives. Human and labour rights and the protection of the  
1054 environment must be respected. This requires trade agreements that make ecological and  
1055 social standards enforceable against trading partners and a **supply chain law** that makes  
1056 transparency and human rights due diligence legally binding on companies. We want to promote  
1057 the use of new technologies that make the intermediate stages in the production process  
1058 comprehensible. For example, we prevent products from being sold whose semi-finished  
1059 products were manufactured with child labour in Africa.

1060 *Making the Euro a key currency*

1061 Hardly any other country in the EU benefits as much from the common European currency.  
1062 Instead of celebrating itself as an exporting nation, Germany should therefore invest  
1063 particularly in strengthening the eurozone for the benefit and prosperity of all. Europe's  
1064 economic strength will depend centrally on whether we **complete monetary union**. So far, we  
1065 have relied almost entirely on the European Central Bank to handle the difficult tasks. This  
1066 cannot continue. What is more, a monetary union cannot function well in the long term  
1067 without macroeconomic compensation mechanisms. That is why we want a **common fiscal policy**  
1068 for the eurozone, which can take courageous countermeasures during a downturn, stabilise the  
1069 economy and finance European common goods. Common budget investments should be used for  
1070 European common goods such as climate protection, the expansion of renewable energies,  
1071 communications and the Internet, or rail infrastructure. Such a eurozone budget, which  
1072 stabilises and invests, should cover at least one percent of the economic output of the  
1073 participating states in order to be macroeconomically effective. It could also be financed  
1074 through Europe-wide taxes such as a digital corporate tax, a financial transaction tax or  
1075 part of a harmonised European corporate income tax.

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

1087 At the same time, we want to ensure that Europe can resolve its crises itself. To that end,  
1088 we want to develop the European Stability Mechanism ESM into a fully-fledged **European**  
1089 **Monetary Fund**, enshrine it in EU law and subject it to democratic co-determination and  
1090 control by the European Parliament. To combat crises effectively, the banking union must  
1091 also be completed. In this way, we can ensure that banks will in future be run in a uniform,  
1092 European manner and not at the taxpayers' expense. To that end, we need, on the one hand, a  
1093 credible settlement regimen including robust ultimate collateral for the common settlement  
1094 fund. On the other hand, we need a **common European deposit guarantee**. It should be  
1095 structured as reinsurance, so that the European guarantee only intervenes when the national  
1096 guarantee is overstretched. The German savings banks and cooperative banks can thus continue  
1097 to rely on their proven institutional guarantee systems. In the end, Germany in particular  
1098 should make a much greater contribution to the good functioning of the eurozone with its own  
1099 fiscal policy.

1100 To **compensate for macroeconomic imbalances** within Europe and strengthen European demand,  
1101 Germany must actively reduce its excessive current account surplus and give its European  
1102 partners more room to breathe and must not return to a one-sided and divisive austerity  
1103 policy. To achieve this, we in Germany want to ensure fair wages, especially at the lower  
1104 end of the income scale, and boost investment. At the EU level, we advocate the introduction  
1105 of European unemployment reinsurance as an automatic stabiliser.

#### 1106 **11. Fair competition instead of power economics**

1107 Competition is the basis of the market economy and the engine of progress. A strong  
1108 antitrust law that ensures fair competition and limits the concentration of economic power  
1109 is essential not only for the economy, but also for the functioning of democracy. It keeps  
1110 markets open and ensures that the best idea prevails and not always the top dog. If there is  
1111 no competition, monopolists can make high profits at the expense of consumers and hinder  
1112 start-ups in their development. Excessive market concentration goes hand in hand with the  
1113 concentration of wealth and increases inequality. And those who control markets can also  
1114 exercise political control and determine the rules of the game. The **competition law needs an**  
1115 **update**. Digital business models change business relationships and competitive dynamics.  
1116 Users pay for many services on the Internet not with money, but with data. Network effects  
1117 turn individual platforms into giants with huge data resources. They can abuse their market  
1118 power to lower data protection regulations, dictate prices to business partners or boot out  
1119 competitors.

1120 We want to **strictly regulate** dominant **digital platforms**. If they deny other companies access  
1121 to the market or demand absurd conditions, the antitrust authorities must take tough action.  
1122 If 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  
1124 umbrella of this cartel office, a European digital supervisory authority is to be  
1125 established which functions as a political early warning system for critical concentrations  
1126 of market power and consumer-damaging behaviour, in particular regulating large platform  
1127 markets and natural, digital monopolies, and can impose cooperation and transparency  
1128 obligations that have proven their worth by sanctions.

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



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

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

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

1144 If you want fair competition, you have to take **effective legal action against infringements**.  
1145 The exhaust scandal has once again shown how companies try to circumvent fair competition by  
1146 fraud. We GREENS want to strictly punish such behaviour, which is harmful to the common  
1147 good. We want a legal regulation that makes it easier to prosecute and sanction crimes  
1148 committed by companies. The state must consistently enforce its laws and regulations.  
1149 Furthermore, loopholes identified in the law should be closed. The exhaust scandal is also  
1150 an example of the fact that it does not always do this - because it was made possible only  
1151 through years of cronyism between the car industry, supervisory authorities and politicians.  
1152 And in order to reveal the influence of lobbyists and interest groups on the Bundestag, we  
1153 want to establish a **mandatory public lobby register**. Those who, as whistle-blowers, uncover  
1154 unethical or punishable behaviour in the economy act in the interest of the common good and  
1155 need legal protection against sanctions and economic disadvantages. In order for such abuses  
1156 to be detected and remedied at an early stage, we also need clear and secure reporting  
1157 channels for whistle-blowers. We want to set up such secure and anonymous reporting channels  
1158 for digital and analogue data at public supervisory and law enforcement agencies and make  
1159 them known.

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

## 1167 **12. Creating a fair world trade and monetary order**

1168 Our aim is to **re-regulate globalisation**. Recent years have shown that unregulated  
1169 globalisation leads to the exploitation of people and the environment and accelerates the  
1170 destruction of our livelihoods. The gains in wealth from international trade are unequally  
1171 distributed. Right-wing extremists and nationalists use the justified criticism of  
1172 undesirable developments in globalisation to propagating a relapse into nationalism. That is  
1173 the wrong response. We oppose this with a liberal and cosmopolitan response. Properly used,  
1174 a good trade policy can strike a balance between environmental protection, climate  
1175 protection, human rights, workers' rights and economic interests. And in that manner  
1176 maintain the competitiveness of companies, create justice in the global South and combat  
1177 disenchantment with democracy. But we also need a Global Green New Deal. After all, our  
1178 economies and our ecosystems are interdependent. In a globalised world, not only are crises  
1179 global, solutions must also be global. That doesn't mean waiting until others take the lead.  
1180 The prosperous and technologically highly developed countries in particular must pave the  
1181 way for a green change on a global scale.

1182 Europe has something to offer with the largest single market in the world - and we want to  
1183 combine that offer with a clear call for progressive policy. Access to our markets is only  
1184 granted if minimum social and environmental standards are met. This will have a positive  
1185 impact on workers worldwide. If governments want to take economic policy measures to comply  
1186 with the Paris Climate Convention, the UN Human Rights Conventions or the objectives of  
1187 Agenda 2030, these must not be made more difficult or even counteracted by trade agreements  
1188 or investment protection suits. Part of contracts should be that all trading partners  
1189 undertake to impose a human rights due diligence obligation on the companies operating or  
1190 headquartered in them in accordance with the UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human  
1191 Rights.

1192 But for that we need a **reorientation of EU trade policy**. The Mercosur Agreement, which the  
1193 EU wants to conclude with Brazil, among others, is the last fatal example of an agenda that  
1194 focuses on liberalisation and deregulation. We criticise the highly problematic corporate  
1195 arbitration tribunals in agreements such as TTIP, CETA or JEFTA, which, on the other hand,  
1196 do not contain effective mechanisms for protecting the climate, the environment, human  
1197 rights and workers or consumers. The burning Amazon shows us this fatal logic more than  
1198 clearly, because the trade facilitation for beef agreed between the EU and the Mercosur  
1199 states 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**.  
1201 Meanwhile, more and more European governments are realising that the sustainability clauses  
1202 in the agreement are toothless and do not offer sufficient protection for the climate, the  
1203 rainforest or the indigenous peoples living there, as there is no effective sanction  
1204 mechanism through which trade facilitation could be revoked.

1205 **We GREENS reject this agreement as well as CETA and JEFTA in their present form**, because  
1206 despite individual improvements, they do not fulfil the conditions of fair trade. That is  
1207 why we want the German government to work in the council for a halt to the ratification of  
1208 the current Mercosur Agreement and for renegotiations with a new mandate. In addition, it is  
1209 time for an **alliance for fair trade** - building on the corrections that have already been  
1210 made following extensive criticism, particularly by civil society, and which have also  
1211 prompted some European governments to reconsider.

1212 The 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-  
1214 equitable and ecological trade with the aim of making globalisation fair. Bilateral trade  
1215 agreements can be intermediate steps. For this, however, they must be open to other trading  
1216 partners and designed in such a way that they can be integrated into a global world trade  
1217 system. In future, the focus must be on trade liberalisation that has a positive impact on  
1218 sustainable development.

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

1225 We want to apply the **supply principle** to the protection of the environment and consumers in  
1226 all parts of trade agreements. Parliaments may not be circumvented or weakened by rules on  
1227 regulatory cooperation in trade agreements. Fair trade policy gives states, regions and  
1228 municipalities the freedom to organise and regulate services as they see fit.

1229 Instead of unilateral special litigation rights for private investors (ISDS/ICS), we  
1230 advocate for a **permanent international commercial court**, before which those affected can

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

1235 *Introducing a supply-chain law*

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

1243 We want to hold transnational companies **operating in Germany** liable if they are involved in  
1244 human rights violations within their production and resource chains. **If companies have**  
1245 **demonstrably 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  
1247 is possible. Companies must comply with minimum social and ecological standards along their  
1248 supply chains and, above all, these must be transparent so that it is clear under what  
1249 conditions products were produced. Wars, human rights violations and exploitation may not be  
1250 financed by products sold in the EU. We do not want to see products that do not meet minimum  
1251 social and environmental standards on our supermarket shelves. We want a consistent  
1252 implementation of the UN's guiding principles for business and human rights.

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

1256 We demand that social and ecological standards for companies that import products into the  
1257 EU be enshrined in legally binding form in all EU trade agreements. For example, we ensure  
1258 that smartphones whose raw materials were dug up with child labour in the Congo, jeans whose  
1259 production poisoned rivers in Bangladesh or beef from cleared areas of the Amazon no longer  
1260 reach the European market. The resulting import restrictions ensure that the market power of  
1261 the world's largest single market ensures that environmental and social improvements are  
1262 implemented internationally along the supply chain.

1263 *Not trading at the expense of the most impoverished*

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

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

1278 agreements, because otherwise the interests of poorer countries in particular could fall by  
1279 the wayside.

1280 *Development opportunities for raw material-producing countries*

1281 The extraction, processing and use of mineral resources also involves development  
1282 opportunities for the countries that extract the raw materials. The disproportionate  
1283 consumption of raw materials in the industrialized countries does not give us the right to  
1284 disproportionate access. Only fair distribution can guarantee a peaceful long-term future.  
1285 That is why we rely on **international and cooperative solutions**. The extraction of raw  
1286 materials is often accompanied by serious violations of human rights. The EU regulation on  
1287 conflict minerals will go into effect in 2021 and is an important step towards curbing the  
1288 worst crimes. We are committed to extending the regulation, because so far only a few raw  
1289 materials have been covered. At the same time, there are also benefits if access to and  
1290 trade in raw materials is stable and long-term. The prerequisite for this is that the human  
1291 rights, security, environmental and democratic consequences are taken into account and that  
1292 standards are set for them. These must start at various levels: in the country of origin,  
1293 among investors and companies, in the consumer country and at the international level.

1294 *Creating a secure and stable world monetary order*

1295 After the international monetary system "Bretton Woods" was abandoned in the 1970s - it  
1296 regulated international financial and exchange rate relations - the states were not prepared  
1297 to establish a new common order. Instead, the major industrial nations allowed their  
1298 exchange rates to fluctuate freely to a large extent, and the international financial  
1299 institutions advocated unrestricted international capital and financial flows. Since then,  
1300 regular currency and financial crises have shaken the world and, above all, less developed  
1301 countries have been repeatedly set back in their development by speculative capital flows.  
1302 At the same time, global trade imbalances have exploded and represent a new source of  
1303 instability. 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  
1305 speculation, 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  
1307 striving for a world monetary order that not only enables wealthy countries to finance long-  
1308 term investments reliably in the long term. To that end, short-term, speculative financial  
1309 flows must be regulated, made more expensive and, if necessary, banned. We must protect  
1310 ourselves against speculative attacks on nations and their currencies. This requires global  
1311 public institutions. But no short-term successes are to be expected here. Nevertheless, in  
1312 order to bring about change quickly, we want the European Central Bank to take into account  
1313 the effects of its policies on developing countries and to support them. It should be able  
1314 to come to the aid of developing countries that come under pressure from unjustified  
1315 currency speculation, provided such assistance is compatible with monetary policy  
1316 objectives. For example, currency swap agreements or Article 219 of the Treaty on the  
1317 Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) could be used to define exchange rate policies.

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

1321 The multilateral financial institutions **IMF, World Bank** and regional development banks can  
1322 play a decisive role in achieving the sustainability development goals (SDGs) and the global  
1323 social-ecological transformation. We want to grant countries reliable access to financing  
1324 for transformation processes. At the same time, the global community must enable burden  
1325 sharing for global commons (such as climate, biodiversity, forests) in the sense of "common

1326 but differentiated responsibility". At present, this includes specifically aligning its  
1327 commitment to the Paris Climate Agreement. We may not release them from their responsibility  
1328 to contribute to a stable, sustainable and poverty-reducing global financial architecture.

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

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

### 1342 **13. Stable and sustainable financial markets and safe investments**

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

1350 Banks and financial markets should serve to offer citizens attractive savings opportunities  
1351 and finance investments. With appropriate regulations and a comprehensive financial  
1352 transaction tax, we want to make purely speculative transactions and, above all, high-  
1353 frequency trading unattractive. We want to use unused assets in so-called dormant accounts  
1354 to 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.

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

1365 Small banks would be relieved of a burden by a regulatory system consisting of clear, hard  
1366 but much fewer complex rules. Our European **debt brake for banks** - an unweighted equity ratio  
1367 of ten percent - ensures that sufficient safety margins are in place. Systemically important  
1368 banks subject to ECB banking supervision must also build up additional capital that is  
1369 geared to the risk of the business model. In addition, all banks are required to make a  
1370 higher percentage contribution to the deposit protection fund, taking into account the size  
1371 and risk of the bank's balance sheet. Big banks must become smaller. They will no longer be  
1372 able to endanger the financial system through an effective segregation banking system, high

1373 capital requirements and a complete banking union. Rescuing banks with taxpayers' money will  
1374 then become a thing of the past.

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

1388 **Insurance companies and pension funds** are currently experiencing financial problems because  
1389 their interest rate expectations have not been fulfilled. The grand coalition has repeatedly  
1390 introduced measures to solve the insurers' crisis unilaterally at the expense of clients. We  
1391 firmly reject this policy. In the event of an insurance crisis, we will ensure fair burden  
1392 sharing between the owners of the companies and the clients. The volume of the Protektor  
1393 protection fund is far too small in the event of a crisis. To remedy this, the volume of the  
1394 fund must be significantly increased. A European reinsurance system should also be  
1395 introduced. Furthermore, we will no longer allow companies to resell insurance contracts  
1396 without the client's consent.

1397 **Financial advice** must fundamentally change. Today, commissions mean that investors are not  
1398 recommended the proper products, but those with the highest commissions. With the gradual  
1399 transition to fee-based consulting - the client no longer pays the advice indirectly via the  
1400 commission, but directly to the consultant, the product being cheaper - the quality of the  
1401 advice will improve and the career profile of the consultants will change. As an  
1402 intermediate step, financial institutions are to provide contracts with premium calculations  
1403 including and excluding commissions.

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

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

1416 *A citizens' fund for stable and profitable investment opportunities*

1417 So that the population in Germany can benefit more from the economic profits of the economy,  
1418 we propose setting up a **citizens' fund**. It is intended to ensure that all citizens, even  
1419 these whose incomes are too small to be able to participate in shares, real estate or other  
1420 assets, are able to take part in gains in wealth. Every citizen automatically pays a certain

1421 portion of their income into the citizens' funds. In this way, we ensure a high investment  
1422 sum for the fund and thus reduce administrative costs. But those who prefer other forms of  
1423 investment can simply opt out of paying into the citizens' funds. In order to avoid  
1424 Riester's mistakes, the fund will not grant interest guarantees because they reduce the  
1425 return. Instead, we will ensure security through a broadly diversified, sustainable and  
1426 long-term investment strategy. The citizens' funds therefore offers people who have small  
1427 savings a low-risk and, above all, extremely inexpensive form of investment. The economy  
1428 will also benefit from this fund. Because there is a desired side effect: The capital is not  
1429 driven by an expectation of short-term returns but is committed to sustainable investment  
1430 development.

#### 1431 **14. Strengthening public welfare-oriented companies**

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

1437 Many companies are already committed to ecological and social goals. More and more companies  
1438 are binding these social goals parallel to their economic success. We will systematically  
1439 strengthen 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  
1441 want to make a legal form of company possible that allows a complete asset-lock, so that the  
1442 company is no longer held by asset owners but rather by responsibility owners.

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

1447 Companies in the social and solidarity-based economy need attractive legal forms. In  
1448 cooperation with the cooperative associations, we want to make a simplified, **generally**  
1449 **understandable model statutes for cooperatives** widely accessible. We will relieve small  
1450 cooperatives of the relevant requirements of commercial law. The revision of the legal forms  
1451 should make it possible for companies in the solidarity-based economy to become more visible  
1452 and thus better represented in Germany and Europe. In future, social cooperatives should no  
1453 longer be hampered by a de facto ban on combining paid and voluntary work. We want to exempt  
1454 profits placed in a legal reserve from corporation and trade tax. In this way we strengthen  
1455 the equity base and investment capacity of cooperatives. At the European level, we advocate  
1456 a label for products from the social and solidarity-based economy. Organisations that do not  
1457 aim to make a profit, need inexpensive financing. We want to make this available to social  
1458 enterprises, for example through loan programmes from the public development banks.

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

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

1468 Many companies are committed to the common-wealth economy. We also want companies owned by  
1469 the German government to draw up **public-economy balance sheets** or to report on social-  
1470 ecological criteria integrated into the financial report on an equal footing with the  
1471 financial criteria. We want to embed in European and German law an anchoring of social-  
1472 ecological balance sheets or the integrated balancing of social-ecological criteria beyond  
1473 the CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) guidelines. Even today's profit-oriented legal  
1474 forms such as stock corporations should be able by majority vote to set themselves other  
1475 goals in the future than maximizing profits without being exposed to the risk that minority  
1476 shareholders will sue them.

## 1477 **15. Financing investments soundly and fairly**

1478 We want to **significantly increase public investment**. A country in which every eighth of its  
1479 40,000 bridges is dilapidated, which invests less money in education than almost all its  
1480 neighbours, which is notorious for its dead spots instead of famous for its smartphones,  
1481 such a country lives from fading substance. It will take time to turn the political  
1482 indications to reason. It is therefore all the more important to start now. Investments  
1483 create public goods. They cost money, but if they invest in the right things for the future,  
1484 they create prosperity. Every expenditure that the state makes in this way leads to income  
1485 in the economy and jobs are created. For every euro, which we invest wisely, our economic  
1486 performance can increase by much more than a euro. A stronger investment policy will also be  
1487 geared towards intergenerational justice, because future generations will not benefit if, in  
1488 a few decades' time, they are left with a black zero, but also with a poor infrastructure  
1489 with a massive investment backlog.

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

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

### 1501 *Establishing investment companies*

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

1510 The constitutional regulations on the debt constraints provide that the indebtedness of  
1511 **government-owned companies** such as the railways, housing associations or public hospitals  
1512 are not included in the debt constraints. The same applies to the new investment companies  
1513 to be founded. We will therefore provide them with sufficient equity from the investment  
1514 fund to enable them, like any private company, to raise additional capital on the financial  
1515 market themselves. The federal government provides a state guarantee for this borrowing. For



1516 example, the federal government could set up a new charging pillar company, allow the  
1517 Federal Agency for Real Estate Tasks for New Housing Construction and Building Renovation to  
1518 take out a loan and raise the debt limit for Deutsche Bahn. **Good governance** and democratic  
1519 participation should ensure transparency and control. The government must be able to  
1520 control, and the decisions and the use of funds must be transparent for parliament and the  
1521 public. We want to exclude the privatisation of these companies permanently so that public  
1522 assets remain public.

1523 *Combining sovereign debt limitation with infrastructure investments*

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

1528 But debt is not only budget debt. If we do not invest now in education, innovation and  
1529 research and in climate protection measures, we will lose our future prosperity. Moreover,  
1530 the financial markets, which always need secure investment opportunities such as government  
1531 bonds, would no longer function stably if the debt level were to fall because they lack  
1532 secure investment opportunities. **We therefore want to further develop the debt constraints  
1533 within 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  
1535 creates new value - it should be able to finance this by offering new bonds. **Public  
1536 investments should be at least high enough to ensure that public assets move at least in  
1537 line with economic output less wear and tear and loss in value.**

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

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

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

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

1564 innovation and social cohesion. In return, we are also prepared to defend a greater German  
1565 contribution to this European added value.

1566 [1](#) In our proposal "Action - now", we describe in detail our action plan for radically  
1567 realistic and cross-sectoral climate protection.