

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
2 changes. This is
3 much more than an economic downturn that follows boom years. Many of today's
4 structural
5 incentives for production, trade and consumption present us with ecological problems
6 of
7 dramatic proportions and fuel socio-economic distribution crises. This is a matter of
8 very
9 fundamental challenges.
- 10 An unbridled consumption of nature and resources, dependence on export surpluses,
11 insufficiently regulated globalisation, the care crisis, lack of investment in the future:
12 The crises illustrate that our traditional economic model no longer able to function in
13 this
14 manner. The liberal economist Nicolas Stern has rightly stated: "Climate change is the
15 biggest case of market failure the world has ever seen."
- 16 The enormous gains in prosperity are not reaching too many and inequality is on the
17 rise.
- 18 Global corporations that elude national legislation and financial markets rather than
19 democratic policies decide under what conditions we humans live. All this not only
20 undermines the foundations of community and increasingly threatens our confidence,
21 as well
22 as that of many other countries, in democratic politics. It also destroys the economic
23 foundations of our society. At the same time, global trade conflicts shake the world
24 economy
25 and the multilateral world economic order. The threat of Brexit is also creating
26 uncertainty
27 in the EU. This all has consequences. After years of boom, there are signs of a serious
28 economic downturn in Germany.
- 29 Every generation has its task. To redefine prosperity as a question of sustainability and
30 justice and to align politics accordingly is ours... We must now have the courage to
31 take
32 far-reaching decisions, to campaign passionately for them across the entire spectrum
33 of
34 society and not to think despondently, taking only tiny steps. The over-arching goal is
35 an
36 ecologically sustainable, just and emancipatory world. These three dimensions are the
37 guiding principles for assessing the sustainability of our economic and financial
38 system.
- 39 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
59 best
60 conditions for social-ecological economic activity. The forces of markets and capital
61 can be
62 impressive - they have fundamentally changed our societies and our planet in recent
63 generations. Markets can bring needs and capabilities together in complex societies
64 and many
65 people have thus been able to free themselves from absolute poverty. Market
66 mechanisms can
67 also contribute to the solution of some of society's problems. On the other hand, they
68 can
69 also be the source of great destructive forces: Incentives for the exploitation of non-
70 renewable resources, for the overexploitation of renewable resources and for the
71 exploitation of human labour come at the cost of ecosystems and the global
72 community.
73 Tendencies toward concentration on markets counteract their positive aspects.
74
75 Markets only function with clear guardrails. But these require the entire range of
76 instruments from taxes, levies and regulations as well as intelligent public research
77 and
78 funding policy. We want to set the guardrails in the market in such a way that the
79 market
80 produces sustainable results. Those who do not counteract overriding social goals but
81 rather
82 promote them through a decentralised search for the most efficient offers for needs
83 should
84 succeed in competition. We want to shift taxation from the "labour" factor to the
85 "resources" and "capital" factors and internalise externalised environmental and social
86 costs, thereby incorporating ecological and social values into corporate accounting.
87
88 However, the market cannot be the sole organisational principle for economic activity
89 in a
90 society. A large part of human economic relations occurs outside of markets - through
91 the
92 state, in households or in commonly organised sectors. Innovation and the assertion of
93 best
94 ideas also exist in cooperative systems outside capitalist markets. Production and
95 ownership
96 can also be organized in other forms outside the market and the state, such as
97 cooperatives.
98 This requires active promotion of such alternatives and an improvement of the legal
99 framework for their expansion and safeguarding.
100
101 Technological development is an essential building block for achieving these goals.
102 Instead
103 of blindly striving for technical innovations, we want to design and promote them in a
104 value- and target-oriented manner. We GREENS want progress that is not based on a
105 mere
106 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
116 made it
117 strong - and above all on the strength of small and medium-sized enterprises: Its
118 engineering skills, its creativity, its medium-sized tinkering companies, its social
119 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
120 be
121 successful if it is based on a new alliance of work and environment. Without the
122 participation of employees, works councils and trade unions, without their
123 perspectives,
124 their immense wealth of knowledge and their impact in companies, it will not be
125 possible to
126 build an economic order oriented towards the common good. We want to fight for
127 change side
128 by side with employees.

125 Many companies are already on their way there. Medium-sized companies are
126 switching their
127 production to climate neutrality, financial institutions are turning away from the fossil
128 energy business, IT companies are focusing on renewables and major corporations are
129 expanding their green product portfolios. Industry is already demanding a convincing,
130 ecological modernisation programme for Germany. The technologies, innovations and
131 ideas are
132 there. **Politicians have to deliver now.** A majority that is still somewhat silent and
133 becoming ever louder is in favour of a positive, social-ecological vision for society. We
134 want to convert this into political weight and will seek close cooperation with business
135 representatives, citizens' groups, student organisations, trade unions and critical
136 researchers. We will consistently assert ourselves against the forces that stand in the
137 way
138 of transformation.

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

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

138 In order to fulfil people's universal aspirations for dignity, freedom and happiness
139 within
140 planetary limitations, we need a different method of determining wealth. Today's
141 economic
142 and social system depends on the steady growth of the economy. If it does not grow,
143 the
144 current system is threatened by economic crises and unemployment, the national
145 budget and
146 social security system become unbalanced and social distribution conflicts intensify.
147 One
148 thing is clear: ecologically blind economic growth and the ecological limitations of our
149 planet are in conflict with each other. **To that end, we will decouple prosperity
150 from growth
151 and, as far as possible, growth from the consumption of resources.** Economic
152 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
175 adopt a
176 sustainability strategy. On the one hand, this will create transparency; on the other
177 hand,
178 it will only make it possible, with the exception of a breach of duty on the part of the
179 board of management, if a decision serves the sustainable development of the
180 company rather
181 than short-term profit expectations. The non-financial targets and indicators, like the
182 financial ones, should be externally audited and certified. In the long term, we want to
183 ensure that these ecological and social values are priced accordingly and thus have a
184 direct
185 influence on the economic success of a company.

182 **2. Making the economy climate neutral¹**

183 We can change our economies, but not our dependence on an intact nature. From a
184 scientific
185 perspective, we are on the verge of crossing all the red lines in CO2 emissions that
186 almost
187 every researcher has warned us about. This would have serious repercussions for us,
188 our
189 children and grandchildren. We are already feeling the effects drastically today. They
190 already affect people in the southern hemisphere more, even though they have
191 contributed
192 least to man-made climate change. Politically, the climate and environmental impacts
193 of our
194 current economic system will challenge our societies beyond any previous measure.
195 After years of stagnation, the time has now come to invest quickly and intensively in
196 the
197 infrastructure that supports a climate-neutral economy and society. In order to achieve
198 a
199 climate-neutral economy, **railways, cars and buildings have to be electrified to
200 a large
201 extent.** Hydrogen will play a central role for trucks, aircraft and ships, as well as for
202 the
203 steel industry, the cement industry and parts of the chemical industry.

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

214 We can rely on the fact that technological and social developments are not linear, and
215 that
216 we can become more efficient or better in one **leap out of the ordinary.** And that
217 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
end products and applies equally to domestic products and imports. In this manner,
these

257 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 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 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 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**
346 **levy**,
346 that simultaneously promotes ecological packaging through a bonus. Take-back
347 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
opportunities for their workforces or for support. The education agencies are to
406 become the
407 heart of regional education networks in which employment agencies, job centres, adult
education centres, chambers of commerce, vocational colleges, universities and other
408 continuing education institutions network in order to be able to offer the best
409 continuing
education and advice on a nationwide and low-threshold basis. In the standard case,
410 the
education agency is organised by the Federal Employment Agency. However,
411 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
qualification" as an important measure in order to improve the chances of
422 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,
519 minimum
520 income and social security are taken into account when public authorities award
521 contracts to
522 self-employed persons.

521 Digitisation offers great potential to further **reduce working hours**, better reconcile
522 them
523 with other spheres of life and redistribute work, both gainful and care-related. It is
524 particularly important to us that there is also a fairer division of gainful and care-
525 related work between the sexes. Digitisation will also make it easier for employees to
526 work
527 from home or on the move in different places (coworking spaces, etc.). We will
528 introduce
529 rules for a right to home office and mobile work, taking into account that there are
530 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
530 being
531 impaired or to a disconnection from the rest of the workforce, or from operational
532 processes
533 or further training measures. Employees in the home office, on the road or at changing
534 places of work (coworking spaces, etc.) must be protected with regard to occupational
535 safety
536 just as much as when working at a permanent company site. There must be no
537 compulsion to
538 work at home or on the move. When work fits better into life, employees are more
539 productive,
540 less stressed and more committed. The growing demand for skilled workers can also
541 be better
542 managed in this way.

537 At the same time, automation and robotization relieves us of monotonous and
538 repetitive
539 tasks. We welcome this as an opportunity to reduce human labour. However, this may
540 not lead
541 to a further increase in inequality. We want to politically ensure that the gains in
542 prosperity attained by digitisation are distributed fairly.

541 We do not need more availability of workers around the clock. To protect health, even
542 in the
543 digital age we need a limit on the maximum daily working hours and sufficient rest
544 periods
545 without interruption, as provided for in the Working Time Act. We want to take
546 advantage of
547 the opportunities offered by digitisation and create more sovereignty over time for
548 employees, and we call for a **selected period of between 30 and 40** hours per
549 week, because
550 this would allow 30-hour jobs to be recognised as full-time jobs. This redefines full-time
551 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
576 skilled
576 workers and an unequal development of wealth. It is a way of improving the
577 participation of
577 the population in society's productive assets. So far, however, we have been at the
578 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
579 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
585 workplace
585 encompasses all facets: The diversity of the sexes, sexual orientation and gender
586 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
588 creative and
588 thus more successful economically as well.**

589 We are committed to strengthening and better coordinating the efforts of private and
589 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
591 Economic
592 Affairs and Energy and the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. We are
592 campaigning
593 for even more companies and public bodies to adopt to the **Charter of Diversity**. In
593 the 21st
594 century, we expect modern and innovative companies to assume a modern and
594 professional
595 approach to diversity: Through **diversity and equality strategies**, through diversity-
595 based
596 training programmes, especially for managers, and through clear complaint and
596 intervention
597 structures in the event of discrimination and sexualised violence. Public service and
597 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
599 anonymous
600 application procedures are generally used in the public sector and in state-owned
600 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
602 by
603 religious communities. Conduct outside the workplace by employees of a church,
603 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 GovTech programme** 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
808 Regulation,
809 which others must adhere to, we also want to establish ethical, social and security
810 policy
811 **principles for intelligent machines and algorithmic decision-making systems**
812 at the EU level.
813 These include rules regarding liability, transparency, non-discrimination and
814 verifiability
815 of algorithmic decisions as well as essential IT security standards.

816 Using IT for green goals

817 We want to use digitisation to further combine economy and ecology. Digitisation
818 creates
819 enormous opportunities for eco-efficiency and recycling. To that end, we want an EU
820 funding
821 programme that is exclusively dedicated to the **ecological potential of digitisation**
822 and
823 promotes eco-efficiency in companies. Digitisation can contribute to the ecological
824 transformation of our society. If we do not act, however, there is a risk that digitisation
825 will become a driver of the climate crisis and environmental destruction. At present,
826 valuable raw materials are increasingly being used for digitisation, and the energy
827 requirements for digital processes are growing massively every year. According to
828 experts,
829 digital energy demand will exceed global energy production by 2040 unless we change
830 course.

831 As part of the energy system transformation, we want to promote **low-energy IT**
832 **technology** and
833 launch a European "Green IT" strategy. We are also committed to green IT criteria for
834 public
835 procurement and a label for energy-efficient, sustainable data centres. Digitisation in
836 particular also offers considerable potential for climate protection and for saving
837 greenhouse gases and resources.

838 By 2030 digitisation alone could reduce global CO2 emissions by 20 percent compared
839 with
840 current forecasts. Studies estimate energy savings of 15 to 20 percent from building
841 climate
842 management systems. IT-controlled process optimisation could reduce industrial
843 energy
844 consumption by 25 to 30 percent by intelligently networking machines. We want to
845 make
846 consistent use of this potential.

847 For large companies, it has long been taken for granted that video conferencing often
848 replaces travel by train or plane. This saves time and money, takes the strain off
849 employees
850 and protects the environment at the same time. Home office regulations ensure that
851 commuting
852 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, Wroclaw or Warsaw. Fast Internet
and the
970 digital office would make it possible to live in the Mecklenburg Lake District with a
971 workplace in Berlin. Good rail connections would allow the occasional, fast trip to the
972 company. We want to **strengthen the regional centres** and make them anchor
points in regions
973 with a wide range of public and cultural services. In border regions, we also want to
make
974 this cross-border and European. We also want to establish or expand universities and
975 universities of applied sciences, because they can organise the transfer of knowledge
to the
976 local economy. At the same time, well-educated students bring their own business
ideas with
977 them or are future specialists for the local economy. This can also motivate young
978 immigrants to move to the Uckermark or East Saxony, for example.

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

981 The core of a good industrial policy lies in strengthening one's own innovative
strength,
982 not in defending against competition. Nevertheless, it is important that Germany and
Europe
983 develop fair rules and then enforce them internally and externally.

984 The **European single market** is the largest common economic area in the world. No
large global
985 company can afford not to be present in this huge market. We must use the European
internal
986 market to reinforce democracy, the rule of law and fair rules of the game, rather than
987 allowing ourselves to be divided by national interests.

988 Anyone who wants to play in the European market must follow the European rules. We
989 have
989 shown how this works with the General Data Protection Regulation. Either companies
990 abide by
990 it or they are denied access to the market. The GDPR is now making an international
991 career.

991 The European Union, as a strong and united player, must develop common standards
992 for a
992 sustainable economy - instead of being the recipient of the strategic choices of others.
993 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
997 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
999 transformation of

999 the economy. In this way, the European single market can become the lead market for
1000 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
1003 Germany and

1003 Europe, for example through regulatory guardrails and public contracts that stimulate
1004 demand

1004 for new technologies. In particular, it should support the ecological transformation of
1005 the

1005 economy through measures such as a long-term climate protection strategy, a Europe-
1006 wide

1006 minimum price for CO₂, or the promotion of industrial lighthouse projects with the aim
1007 of

1007 reducing greenhouse gas emissions in energy-intensive sectors. Financial markets
1008 must be

1008 regulated in such a way that sustainable investments pay off and are not
1009 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
1012 goods, such

1012 as transport, telecommunications and energy infrastructure. We reject unlawful tax
1013 evasion

1013 and tax fraud, because companies must also participate appropriately in the financing
1014 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
1156 abuses
1157 to be detected and remedied at an early stage, we also need clear and secure
1158 reporting
1159 channels for whistle-blowers. We want to set up such secure and anonymous reporting
1160 channels
1161 for digital and analogue data at public supervisory and law enforcement agencies and
1162 make
1163 them known.

1164 So far there has been no financial compensation in Germany and Europe for those
1165 affected by
1166 the diesel scandal. It is often far too difficult for individuals to enforce the applicable
1167 law. Airlines, for example, refuse to comply with compensation claims. Even under our
1168 pressure, we have succeeded in making it possible for the first time in Germany to
1169 bring
1170 model declaratory litigation. They are, however, inadequate, because each party still
1171 has to
1172 sue individually. That is why we finally want to make class actions possible in order to
1173 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
1170 the
1171 destruction of our livelihoods. The gains in wealth from international trade are
1172 unequally
1173 distributed. Right-wing extremists and nationalists use the justified criticism of
1174 undesirable developments in globalisation to propagate a relapse into nationalism.
1175 That is
1176 the wrong response. We oppose this with a liberal and cosmopolitan response.
1177 Properly used,
1178 a good trade policy can strike a balance between environmental protection, climate
1179 protection, human rights, workers' rights and economic interests. And in that manner
1180 maintain the competitiveness of companies, create justice in the global South and
1181 combat
1182 disenchantment with democracy. But we also need a Global Green New Deal. After all,
1183 our
1184 economies and our ecosystems are interdependent. In a globalised world, not only are
1185 crises
1186 global, solutions must also be global. That doesn't mean waiting until others take the
1187 lead.
1188 The prosperous and technologically highly developed countries in particular must pave
1189 the
1190 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
1183 want to
1184 combine that offer with a clear call for progressive policy. Access to our markets is only
1185 granted if minimum social and environmental standards are met. This will have a
1186 positive

1185 impact on workers worldwide. If governments want to take economic policy measures
1186 to comply
1187 with the Paris Climate Convention, the UN Human Rights Conventions or the objectives
1188 of
1189 Agenda 2030, these must not be made more difficult or even counteracted by trade
1190 agreements
1191 or investment protection suits. Part of contracts should be that all trading partners
1192 undertake to impose a human rights due diligence obligation on the companies
1193 operating or
1194 headquartered in them in accordance with the UN Guiding Principles for Business and
1195 Human
1196 Rights.

1197 But for that we need a **reorientation of EU trade policy**. The Mercosur Agreement,
1198 which the
1199 EU wants to conclude with Brazil, among others, is the last fatal example of an agenda
1200 that
1201 focuses on liberalisation and deregulation. We criticise the highly problematic
1202 corporate
1203 arbitration tribunals in agreements such as TTIP, CETA or JEFTA, which, on the other
1204 hand,
1205 do not contain effective mechanisms for protecting the climate, the environment,
1206 human
1207 rights and workers or consumers. The burning Amazon shows us this fatal logic more
1208 than
1209 clearly, because the trade facilitation for beef agreed between the EU and the
1210 Mercosur
1211 states acts like a fire accelerant for the rainforest. We want an **import ban on
1212 agricultural
1213 products from cleared areas of the Amazon and on palm oil from the
1214 Indonesian rainforest**.
1215 Meanwhile, more and more European governments are realising that the sustainability
1216 clauses
1217 in the agreement are toothless and do not offer sufficient protection for the climate,
1218 the
1219 rainforest or the indigenous peoples living there, as there is no effective sanction
1220 mechanism through which trade facilitation could be revoked.

1221 **We GREENS reject this agreement as well as CETA and JEFTA in their present
1222 form**, because
1223 despite individual improvements, they do not fulfil the conditions of fair trade. That is
1224 why we want the German government to work in the council for a halt to the
1225 ratification of
1226 the current Mercosur Agreement and for renegotiations with a new mandate. In
1227 addition, it is
1228 time for an **alliance for fair trade** - building on the corrections that have already
1229 been
1230 made following extensive criticism, particularly by civil society, and which have also
1231 prompted some European governments to reconsider.

1232 The EU should focus first and foremost on reforms of multilateral trade rules and on a
1233 **common plurilateral treaty** that establishes global standards for fair, open, gender-
1234 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
1216 trading
1217 partners and designed in such a way that they can be integrated into a global world
1218 trade
1219 system. In future, the focus must be on trade liberalisation that has a positive impact
1220 on
1221 sustainable development.

1222 Strong rules for fair markets are at the core of trade agreements. This includes key
1223 international agreements such as the ILO core labour standards or the Paris Climate
1224 Protection Agreement. Trade facilitation could thus also be revoked if, for example, a
1225 trading partner were to terminate the Paris Climate Treaty or fail to comply with its
1226 objectives. The same applies to violations of human rights and non-compliance with
1227 minimum
1228 standards for the environment and labour.

1229 We want to apply the **supply principle** to the protection of the environment and
1230 consumers in
1231 all parts of trade agreements. Parliaments may not be circumvented or weakened by
1232 rules on
1233 regulatory cooperation in trade agreements. Fair trade policy gives states, regions and
1234 municipalities the freedom to organise and regulate services as they see fit.

1235 Instead of unilateral special litigation rights for private investors (ISDS/ICS), we
1236 advocate for a **permanent international commercial court**, before which those
1237 affected can
1238 also sue if companies violate investor obligations in the area of fundamental human
1239 rights,
1240 social or environmental standards. The underlying rules, which allow corporate
1241 lawsuits,
1242 must be narrowly limited in order to exclude for instance lawsuits against fracking
1243 bans or
1244 the nuclear phase-out.

1245 Introducing a supply-chain law

1246 To ensure that human rights and the environment are no longer neglected in
1247 international
1248 supply chains, we want to introduce statutory regulations on transparency and due
1249 diligence
1250 for companies. This means that the EU must enforce traceable deforestation-free
1251 supply
1252 chains on a binding basis. For example, if international treaties and obligations are
1253 breached, an import ban can be imposed on agricultural products such as soya and
1254 beef from
1255 cleared areas of the Amazon. In public procurement, Germany should set a good
1256 example by
1257 purchasing only products from supply chains that are demonstrably deforestation-free.

1258 We want to hold transnational companies **operating in Germany** liable if they are
1259 involved in
1260 human rights violations within their production and resource chains. **If companies
1261 have**

1245 **demonstrably acted negligently or deliberately ignored their duty of care,**
1246 **those affected**
1247 **should be able to sue them under civil law in Germany.** The example of France
1248 shows that this
1249 is possible. Companies must comply with minimum social and ecological standards
1250 along their
1251 supply chains and, above all, these must be transparent so that it is clear under what
1252 conditions products were produced. Wars, human rights violations and exploitation
1253 may not be
1254 financed by products sold in the EU. We do not want to see products that do not meet
1255 minimum
1256 social and environmental standards on our supermarket shelves. We want a consistent
1257 implementation of the UN's guiding principles for business and human rights.
1258 And we expect the German government to finally participate actively in the UN
1259 Binding Treaty
1260 process, which aims to hold transnational corporations and other business enterprises
1261 accountable for human rights abuses.
1262 We demand that social and ecological standards for companies that import products
1263 into the
1264 EU be enshrined in legally binding form in all EU trade agreements. For example, we
1265 ensure
1266 that smartphones whose raw materials were dug up with child labour in the Congo,
1267 jeans whose
1268 production poisoned rivers in Bangladesh or beef from cleared areas of the Amazon no
1269 longer
1270 reach the European market. The resulting import restrictions ensure that the market
1271 power of
1272 the world's largest single market ensures that environmental and social improvements
1273 are
1274 implemented internationally along the supply chain.
1275 Not trading at the expense of the most impoverished
1276 Development opportunities for economically weaker countries must be increased
1277 rather than
1278 reduced through trade agreements. These include effective clauses to protect
1279 sensitive
1280 economic sectors, permission for export taxes on raw materials, promotion of regional
1281 integration, technology transfer and appropriate taxation of economic activity. Human
1282 rights
1283 and development opportunities must take precedence over pure trade interests. That
1284 is why a
1285 certain asymmetry in the form of treaties is in the interests of economically weaker
1286 countries, but also in our own interest.
1287 The industrialised countries in particular will benefit economically, peace policy and
1288 climate policy from a stable development in the global South that will give people
1289 opportunities, prospects and education. The economic partnership agreements are
1290 counterproductive in this respect. At the same time, we demand that the EU lower or
1291 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
1362 banks are
1363 particularly committed to the common good and should play a pioneering role in non-
1364 financial
1365 reporting on social, ecological and economic factors. Savings banks should draw up
1366 public
1367 service reports and become more transparent with regard to the disclosure of salaries.
1368 Small banks would be relieved of a burden by a regulatory system consisting of clear,
1369 hard
1370 but much fewer complex rules. Our European **debt brake for banks** - an unweighted
1371 equity ratio
1372 of ten percent - ensures that sufficient safety margins are in place. Systemically
1373 important
1374 banks subject to ECB banking supervision must also build up additional capital that is
1375 geared to the risk of the business model. In addition, all banks are required to make a
1376 higher percentage contribution to the deposit protection fund, taking into account the
1377 size
1378 and risk of the bank's balance sheet. Big banks must become smaller. They will no
1379 longer be
1380 able to endanger the financial system through an effective segregation banking
1381 system, high
1382 capital requirements and a complete banking union. Rescuing banks with taxpayers'
1383 money will
1384 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
1377 and offer
1378 new investment opportunities. We want to create clear competition rules in which
1379 neither
1380 banks nor large tech companies can use their dominant position to hinder unwelcome
1381 competitors or innovations. The introduction of an **e-euro** offers opportunities for
1382 payment
1383 transactions and new, innovative services. This electronic currency, introduced by the
1384 central banks of the Eurosystem, will also serve as a simple, secure and convenient
1385 means of
1386 payment for many people in their everyday lives. **Private money** such as the Libra
1387 planned by
1388 Facebook, on the other hand, would not solve a problem, but would potentially create
1389 many
1390 new ones. We reject the suppression of small companies by the currency of a
1391 corporate group,
1392 the accumulation of payment transaction data in a company that already has
1393 problematic data
1394 power and we reject the erosion of the state money and currency monopoly and will
1395 not allow
1396 Libra.

1388 **Insurance companies and pension funds** are currently experiencing financial
1389 problems because
1390 their interest rate expectations have not been fulfilled. The grand coalition has
1391 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
1421 certain
1422 portion of their income into the citizens' funds. In this way, we ensure a high
1423 investment
1424 sum for the fund and thus reduce administrative costs. But those who prefer other
1425 forms of
1426 investment can simply opt out of paying into the citizens' funds. In order to avoid
1427 Riester's mistakes, the fund will not grant interest guarantees because they reduce
1428 the
1429 return. Instead, we will ensure security through a broadly diversified, sustainable and
1430 long-term investment strategy. The citizens' funds therefore offers people who have
1431 small
1432 savings a low-risk and, above all, extremely inexpensive form of investment. The
1433 economy
1434 will also benefit from this fund. Because there is a desired side effect: The capital is
1435 not
1436 driven by an expectation of short-term returns but is committed to sustainable
1437 investment
1438 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
1435 the
1436 field of public services, and we want to limit the spread of commercial institutions. We
1437 also need to strengthen the public interest orientation of companies.

1437 Many companies are already committed to ecological and social goals. More and more
1438 companies
1439 are binding these social goals parallel to their economic success. We will
1440 systematically
1441 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
1441 time, we also

1441 want to make a legal form of company possible that allows a complete asset-lock, so
1442 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
1444 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
1446 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,

1448 **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
1479 eighth of its
1480 40,000 bridges is dilapidated, which invests less money in education than almost all
1481 its
1482 neighbours, which is notorious for its dead spots instead of famous for its
1483 smartphones,
1484 such a country lives from fading substance. It will take time to turn the political
1485 indications to reason. It is therefore all the more important to start now. Investments
1486 create public goods. They cost money, but if they invest in the right things for the
1487 future,
1488 they create prosperity. Every expenditure that the state makes in this way leads to
1489 income
1490 in the economy and jobs are created. For every euro, which we invest wisely, our
1491 economic
1492 performance can increase by much more than a euro. A stronger investment policy will
1493 also be
1494 geared towards intergenerational justice, because future generations will not benefit
1495 if, in
1496 a few decades' time, they are left with a black zero, but also with a poor infrastructure
1497 with a massive investment backlog.

1498 We want to finance these investments by eliminating misguided incentives,
1499 reallocating funds
1500 and making targeted investments possible through loans. We distinguish between one-
1501 off
1502 investments and permanent expenditures. These permanent expenditures, for
1503 example for
1504 education and justice, are essential for social balance and cohesion in society. We
1505 want to
1506 finance these permanent expenditures through current tax revenues, fairer taxation of
1507 wealth
1508 and to combat tax fraud and avoidance.

1509 So far, investment programmes have also failed due to a lack of capacity in the
1510 construction
1511 industry or in the planning departments of public services. Our investment policy is
1512 therefore reliable and long-term, so that both the private construction industry and the
1513 public sector can build up more capacity again. We invest sustainably and on a long-
1514 term
1515 basis.

1516 Establishing investment companies

1517 Many investments create valuable assets with which revenues can be generated. A
1518 power line
1519 generates revenue from the electricity that passes through it. The same applies
1520 analogously
1521 to charging infrastructure for electric cars, broadband for the Internet and much more.
1522 In
1523 order to carry out these investments efficiently, we will bundle them in public
1524 investment
1525 companies, use these companies to finance and stringently manage the investments.

In this way we will create sustainable value for the next generation that also pays off economically, especially in times of zero interest rates and sometimes even negative interest rates.

The constitutional regulations on the debt constraints provide that the indebtedness of **government-owned companies** such as the railways, housing associations or public hospitals are not included in the debt constraints. The same applies to the new investment companies to be founded. We will therefore provide them with sufficient equity from the investment fund to enable them, like any private company, to raise additional capital on the financial market themselves. The federal government provides a state guarantee for this borrowing. For example, the federal government could set up a new charging pillar company, allow the Federal Agency for Real Estate Tasks for New Housing Construction and Building Renovation to take out a loan and raise the debt limit for Deutsche Bahn. **Good governance** and democratic participation should ensure transparency and control. The government must be able to control, and the decisions and the use of funds must be transparent for parliament and the public. We want to exclude the privatisation of these companies permanently so that public assets remain public.

Combining sovereign debt limitation with infrastructure investments

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

But debt is not only budget debt. If we do not invest now in education, innovation and research and in climate protection measures, we will lose our future prosperity. Moreover, the financial markets, which always need secure investment opportunities such as government bonds, would no longer function stably if the debt level were to fall because they lack secure investment opportunities. **We therefore want to further develop the debt constraints within the framework of the European stability criteria and link it to a binding investment rule.** If the federal government invests more than its assets lose in value - i.e. if it creates new value - it should be able to finance this by offering new bonds. **Public 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.