BESCHLUSS

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

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Antragstext

Our economic system and our understanding of prosperity are facing dramatic changes. This is much more than an economic downturn that follows boom years. Many of today's structural incentives for production, trade and consumption present us with ecological problems of dramatic proportions and fuel socio-economic distribution crises. This is a matter of very fundamental challenges.

An unbridled consumption of nature and resources, dependence on export surpluses, insufficiently regulated globalisation, the care crisis, lack of investment in the future: The crises illustrate that our traditional economic model no longer able to function in this manner. The liberal economist Nicolas Stern has rightly stated: "Climate change is the biggest case of market failure the world has ever seen."

The enormous gains in prosperity are not reaching too many and inequality is on the rise. Global corporations that elude national legislation and financial markets rather than democratic policies decide under what conditions we humans live. All this not only undermines the foundations of community and increasingly threatens our confidence, as well as that of many other countries, in democratic politics. It also destroys the economic foundations of our society. At the same time, global trade conflicts shake the world economy and the multilateral world economic order. The threat of Brexit is also creating uncertainty in the EU. This all has consequences. After years of boom, there are signs of a serious economic downturn in Germany.

Every generation has its task. To redefine prosperity as a question of sustainability and justice and to align politics accordingly is ours... We must now have the courage to take far-reaching decisions, to campaign passionately for them across the entire spectrum of society and not to think despondently, taking only tiny steps. The over-arching goal is an ecologically sustainable, just and emancipatory world. These three dimensions are the guiding principles for assessing the sustainability of our economic and financial system. They are interdependent and must not be played off against each other. We are not blind to conflicting goals that have to be resolved in processes of democratic negotiation.

Concepts such as "growth", "efficiency", "competition" and "innovation" are currently seen as an end unto themselves rather than as what they should be: A means to achieve prosperity and quality of life within planetary limits. But we want to conduct the fundamentally more important debate about society’s goals to which these means are subordinate. That is how we want to revitalize individual and social freedom.

Properly designed, we will establish the basis for the necessary innovations to be developed and made marketable in Europe, thus creating sustainable new jobs in the skilled trades, in start-ups, in the service sector and also in traditional industrial companies. This also includes massive public and private investments to counter the immense investment backlog in our country and to tackle the immense challenges of climate protection quickly and decisively with productivity and new ideas.

We strive for an economic and financial system that respects planetary limitations and at the same time guarantees human development - worldwide, across borders and for future generations. A primary medium for this is the **social-ecological reset of the market economy**.
This is the counter-model to unregulated capitalism and authoritarian state capitalism. The common good orientation of property has already been established as the basis for this sustainable model of a market economy. Article 20a of the Basic Law obligates the guarding of the natural foundations of life. The social obligation of property in Article 14 (2) of the Basic Law therefore also includes the necessity of complying with ecological guardrails. We strive for an economic and financial system that respects planetary limits and at the same time guarantees human development - worldwide, across borders and for future generations.

The way to this is directed by a **Green New Deal**. This establishes the new regulatory framework for fair, ecological and sustainable management. The Green New Deal invests courageously in the future. It releases new forces for creativity and innovation. It ensures social balance and should contribute to gender equality. It creates the basis for sustainable prosperity that is not based on the exploitation of nature or a fossil economy but focuses on people.

We are convinced that free and creative action by people and the dynamics of fair competition and social cooperation can create sustainable prosperity and innovative solutions to problems. If the basic conditions are right, the market economy offers the best conditions for social-ecological economic activity. The forces of markets and capital can be impressive - they have fundamentally changed our societies and our planet in recent generations. Markets can bring needs and capabilities together in complex societies and many people have thus been able to free themselves from absolute poverty. Market mechanisms can also contribute to the solution of some of society’s problems. On the other hand, they can also be the source of great destructive forces: Incentives for the exploitation of non-renewable resources, for the overexploitation of renewable resources and for the exploitation of human labour come at the cost of ecosystems and the global community. Tendencies toward concentration on markets counteract their positive aspects.

Markets only function with clear guardrails. But these require the entire range of instruments from taxes, levies and regulations as well as intelligent public research and funding policy. We want to set the guardrails in the market in such a way that the market produces sustainable results. Those who do not counteract overriding social goals but rather promote them through a decentralised search for the most efficient offers for needs should succeed in competition. We want to shift taxation from the "labour" factor to the "resources" and "capital" factors and internalise externalised environmental and social costs, thereby incorporating ecological and social values into corporate accounting.

However, the market cannot be the sole organisational principle for economic activity in a society. A large part of human economic relations occurs outside of markets - through the state, in households or in commonly organised sectors. Innovation and the assertion of best ideas also exist in cooperative systems outside capitalist markets. Production and ownership can also be organized in other forms outside the market and the state, such as cooperatives. This requires active promotion of such alternatives and an improvement of the legal framework for their expansion and safeguarding.

Technological development is an essential building block for achieving these goals. Instead of blindly striving for technical innovations, we want to design and promote them in a value- and target-oriented manner. We GREENS want progress that is not based on a mere number of technical innovations, but on a concrete improvement in people's living conditions and the protection of natural resources.

A Green New Deal that respects the limitations of the planet earth requires a radical change of course and a willingness to embrace a cultural change that does not equate development with consumption, but rather enhances leisure, education, family, community and health.

The task is to align all these allocation and cooperation processes of the future in such a way that they serve people and nature. Property obliges. The focus of our economic policy is not the profits of individuals, but the well-being of all citizens and the protection of the environment. To achieve this, we need a policy that moves forward courageously. If we do it well, we can use the major challenges now to turn our economies in Germany and Europe towards the future, the common good and sustainable prosperity. Germany can take on a pioneering role here and show that human development is possible while respecting planetary limits.

It will succeed

Our aim is that people can develop in freedom and dignity along the paths of their ideas. This requires an economic system that promotes entrepreneurship as well as protects the rights of employees, creates sustainable prosperity, aims at global justice, overcomes gender inequalities and at the same time guarantees justice and security through strong social institutions. A strong and sustainable economy, strong state institutions and ecological guardrails as well as a strong social network are therefore basic conditions for a social-ecological market economy. Economic education for sustainable development is also needed so as to realize this transformation and to enable people to participate in the implementation of the goals for sustainable development locally, nationally and globally. What companies, employees and consumers do not need is a fickle policy that lapses (too) late into hectic activity to correct its failings. What they need is a sure path into a fundamentally new world.

For Germany, overcoming era of coal and oil is a decisive, even crucial, moment. The automotive, chemical and mechanical engineering industries have been the pillars of the success for the German economy in recent decades, but they must reinvent themselves in order to meet the challenges of the 21st century. German industry can build on what has made it strong - and above all on the strength of small and medium-sized enterprises: Its engineering skills, its creativity, its medium-sized tinkering companies, its social partnership with the trade unions and its European and global orientation.

The Green New Deal for a new social-ecological foundation of the market economy will be successful if it is based on a new alliance of work and environment. Without the participation of employees, works councils and trade unions, without their perspectives, their immense wealth of knowledge and their impact in companies, it will not be possible to build an economic order oriented towards the common good. We want to fight for change side by side with employees.

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

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

1. A new understanding of prosperity

In order to fulfil people's universal aspirations for dignity, freedom and happiness within planetary limitations, we need a different method of determining wealth. Today's economic and social system depends on the steady growth of the economy. If it does not grow, the current system is threatened by economic crises and unemployment, the national budget and social security system become unbalanced and social distribution conflicts intensify. One thing is clear: ecologically blind economic growth and the ecological limitations of our planet are in conflict with each other. **To that end, we will decouple prosperity from growth**
and, as far as possible, growth from the consumption of resources. Economic growth is not
the problem per se - the associated consumption of natural resources, the overloading of natural sinks - such as oceans and forests - and the exploitation of cheap labour are.

It is therefore crucial, in accordance with criteria for the global load-bearing capacity and ecological regeneration and load limits, to establish economic process targets for the maximum consumption of renewable resources and the marketing of fossil resources. We must therefore prepare our systems to remain stable independent of growth.

Gross domestic product (GDP) is already a poor indicator of prosperity and quality of life; it is blind to the social consequences and environmental damage of our economy. For example, the extraction of resources and the destruction of natural and social capital are not taken into account at all by GDP. While companies, for example, contrast the decline in own natural resources with profits and calculate depreciation, the government does not yet do so. Repair measures for environmental damage also appear as an increase in GDP, although at best the status quo has been restored and the bottom line is that nothing has been gained. In the same manner, unpaid care work, which is mainly performed by women and forms an indispensable basis for our prosperity, is not currently taken into account in the

measurement of prosperity. We therefore propose **a new measure of prosperity** and **a new form of economic reporting** in order to measure not only economic but also ecological, social and societal developments and to define indicators for them.

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

2. Making the economy climate neutral[1]

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

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

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

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

Markets are a powerful instrument; they create and destroy at a rapid pace. They can ignite devastating crises – just think of Lehman Brothers - and at the same time they can ensure that within a few years the smartphone connects people even in the remotest corners of the earth. If the incentives are right, markets can spark a **green revolution** that will test our imagination. For this to happen, the state must set the framework through **regulatory, pricing, promotion and investment policies** in such a way that the path to climate-neutral behaviour in a socially and ecologically framed market is legally binding and economically worthwhile.

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

Regulatory law means planning security for companies. In other words, the steadfast stipulation that cars, aircraft, machines and power plants may no longer emit greenhouse gases after a certain date. **Pricing policy creates fair competition** because the climate balance of products becomes part of the price. Climate-damaging economic activity becomes more expensive, climate-friendly behaviour cheaper. **Promotion and investment policy** provides start-up aid for new products and production methods and helps them cross the threshold to profitability. And by expanding the public infrastructure, it creates the basis for an ecological economy and way of life.

A climate protection law sets the standard

The **climate protection law** is the core of regulatory policy. Such a law defines binding CO2 reduction targets and CO2 reduction paths as well as the necessary measures for every economic sector. It guarantees close monitoring of whether the measures are effective and provides for severe sanctions in the event of failure to meet the targets. Such a climate protection law is supplemented by further regulatory requirements. For example, we want **only zero-emission cars** to be registered **from 2030** and the way to achieve this to be paved by binding quotas for e-cars. The restructuring of energy-intensive companies could not only be made more reliable by increasing quotas, for example for climate-neutral steel in cars or wind turbines and buildings, but - especially in view of the global overcapacities - companies would also have a competitive advantage on the European market.

CO2 must have a price

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

No further tax euros for climate-damaging behaviour

We want to **systematically reduce environmentally and climate-damaging subsidies** so that economic incentives can develop their full potential and additional financial opportunities for future investments is created. In total, these amount to over 57 billion euros in Germany. We want to finally put an end to government subsidies such as the tax exemption of crude oil for the production of plastics, the procurement subsidy still granted for new oil heating systems or the non-taxation of kerosene.

Investments in CO2-neutral industrial processes, especially in the areas of metal production (e.g. steel, aluminium, lithium), chemicals and cement, usually only pay off at very high CO2 prices, which are not yet reflected in the European emissions trading system. To ensure that such investments pay off for companies already today, we want to reimburse companies for the difference between the current CO2 price and the actual CO2 avoidance costs they incur as a result of investments in new processes and technologies (Carbon Contract for 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 investments pay off immediately and short-term competitive disadvantages compared to regions without corresponding CO2 pricing are avoided.

Subsidy policy kick starts transformation

We do not leave the companies to fend for the ecological transformation by themselves and want to support them. For investments in transformative, CO2-neutral industrial processes in the areas of steel, chemicals or cement, we therefore want to **create better depreciation opportunities and specifically promote lighthouse projects for CO2-neutral processes and procedures**. The basis for the development of such processes is the corresponding research. In addition, we consistently align public procurement with climate responsibility and thus create lead markets that give innovative companies the necessary certainty that their products will also find a market in which they can start.

In order to promote ecological restructuring and at the same time combat the impending economic downturn, we will reintroduce degressive write-offs for a limited period of time.

Making plural education and research possible

For an understanding of the challenges of the future, such as the climate crisis, and the 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, this means that so-called heterodox approaches - such as feminist and ecological approaches - are taught and researched much more intensively. We are committed to ensuring that this is taken into account in the conception and awarding of research and funding programmes. More research and education on post-growth economies is also an important key to a climate-neutral economy.

Investing in the ecological infrastructure

Above all, investing in climate protection means developing and expanding power generation from renewable energies and the storage and power grids necessary for this; expanding rail infrastructure, local public transport, bicycle and pedestrian traffic infrastructure, but

also developing charging infrastructure for e-mobility and infrastructure for renewable hydrogen. Heating networks, energy-efficient building refurbishment and the replacement of oil and gas heating systems need support. We also need to save our forests, raise dikes and create more flood plains for rivers, and convert our agriculture to be climate and animal-friendly.

Rail alone needs at least three billion euros per year in order to be able to shift traffic from air and road to rail. We need an investment programme of EUR 600 million to set up an electric charging post network. Our "Fair Heat" programme, with which we want to support the energy-efficient renovation of buildings, is for 7 billion euros a year. These are just three examples. In total, we advocate **additional public investment of 30 billion euros per year**.

Guaranteeing competitiveness, stopping climate dumping

In addition to the necessary incentives, when introducing regulatory climate measures, we must also protect European industry from possible disadvantages in international competition with countries without a comparable climate protection policy. This can be done by means of **border adjustment measures** such as European **climate tariffs**, which are also added to imports, or by means of **compensation for raw materials**, which rewards recycling and less energy-intensive materials. Financing the additional necessary investment costs for clean technologies could also be a way forward instead of continuing to issue free certificates in emissions trading.

Divestment: Steering capital from fossil to green business fields

With a broad-based **divestment strategy**, we want to ensure that in the future investment capital finances climate protection instead of climate destruction. Public banks and insurance companies should redirect **investments towards decarbonizing the economy** and immediately abandon climate-damaging economic productions such as coal and oil industries. We need an **EU label for sustainable financial products** with strong ecological and social standards so that small investors can also benefit from the transition to green financing and invest their money with a clear conscience. To ensure that all investors can understand whether companies are doing business ecologically, we will introduce appropriate disclosure requirements.

New investment guidelines for the public sector, funds such as for civil servant pensions or reserves of the Federal Labour Office should adhere sustainability and climate protection criteria. The federal government can provide important impetus to the market for sustainable investments. To do so, it must stop investing in coal, oil and gas companies that do business at the expense of the climate.

In order to make climate and social compatibility the basis for decisions on investments and lending in addition to returns, we need a binding **European standard for sustainability**, whose guardrails are the 17 UN Sustainability Goals (SDGs), which can be used to clearly identify economic sectors that are harmful to society, gender, climate and the environment. On this basis, all financial market players must disclose the impact of their investments.

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

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

The ecological transition can only succeed if we are not permanently dependent on more and more raw materials. In this manner, companies can make substantial savings in costs and hundreds of thousands of new jobs can be created. In the field of electromobility, for example, there is great potential to reduce the ecological footprint by recycling lithium-ion batteries on the one hand and to reduce the need for raw materials on the other. All that would have to be done is to reform the EU Battery Directive.

Our goal is the parallel **development of a functioning circular economy**. This is based on closed material cycles. The cycle begins with the product design. Products must be designed in such a way that the individual parts can be separated from each other and recycled in a meaningful way. To this end, we want to create binding specifications in the EU Eco-design Directive. We want to strengthen waste prevention and recycling through a mix of incentives and targets; we want to **introduce recycling quotas** that measure the recyclable materials that are actually recycled. Manufacturers are to be obligated to a fixed **use quota for recycled raw materials**.

The obligation to take back and recycle products such as packaging and waste electrical and electronic equipment must be extended and strengthened by financial incentives. One such incentive is the further development of licence fees for packaging into a **resource levy**, that simultaneously promotes ecological packaging through a bonus. Take-back premiums for individual product groups, such as mobile phones, can also be a possible way forward. Our goal is to cost-effectively recycle or reuse all plastic products by 2030. Finally, we want to intensify research into recycling processes and the substitution of raw materials.

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

Both the necessary ecological restructuring of the economy and digitisation will create many new jobs, but on the other hand many jobs will be lost. New qualifications will be needed, but there will also be uncertainties. The world of work is becoming more colourful and diverse as a result of digitisation. For social security, this change in work and the labour market means that it must become more universal. The more diverse the world of work becomes, the more we need social security that is not based on employment status, but protects all citizens, regardless of whether they are full-time or part-time, dependent or self-employed, or even not working at all, especially since there will be more and more changes between these different forms of employment and more and more interruptions in employment, both voluntary and involuntary.

We therefore want to develop pension, health and long-term care insurance into citizens' insurance schemes into which all citizens pay for all types of income. Unemployment insurance should be developed into employment insurance for all gainfully employed persons, employees and the self-employed, with the right to further training, which must also be socially secured, so that people with low incomes, in particular, can also afford further

training. And we want the minimum subsistence level to be guaranteed in all circumstances. That is why we want to introduce a basic child income, a guaranteed retirement income and a guarantee device with which we can overcome Hartz IV. This is not only about a social cushioning of the transformations, but we want to enable people to participate in society in a self-determined way and to be able to creatively and innovatively shape ecological-social change.

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

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

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

Education for the future is the key

The training regulations for existing occupations must be revised to meet the requirements of a sustainable society (sustainable occupations). Above all, this means that people must have the opportunity to further their education and acquire new qualifications. For this they need money, time and suitable offers. We want to establish a **legal right to further training**. Lifelong learning thus becomes part of the public educational mandate. The current unemployment insurance system will be converted into an **employment insurance** system. Just as
we have begun to insure ourselves against illness or unemployment in the past two centuries, we should also establish a guarantee for further training within the framework of employment insurance in the 21st century. Employment insurance should both finance further training counselling and secure livelihoods in further training phases. For this purpose, there will be a training allowance during training phases resulting from the labour market; the allowance will be higher than the unemployment benefit. For all those who are not entitled to benefits under the employment insurance scheme, we are creating a further training BAföG so that no wish for career development fails because of cashflow.

Wherever there is a local employment agency, we want additional **education agencies** to be created. The education agencies are central contact points for anybody who is interested in further education. Employers, especially small and medium-sized enterprises, can also obtain 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 become the heart of regional education networks in which employment agencies, job centres, adult

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

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

Combating skills shortages

The shortage of skilled workers is a problem for many companies. We want to respond to this by not only focusing on qualification and further training and by further strengthening the employment of women. In view of demographic change in particular, we also believe that an **ambitious immigration policy** is urgently needed. The grand coalition's law on the immigration of skilled workers does not fulfil this requirement. We want to revise it and make it less bureaucratic. Germany needs a **genuine immigration law** with a transparent points
system and the possibility of a “lane change”. At the same time, we are working for an improvement in working conditions and higher wages in professions that have hitherto been too poorly paid. These are still, in particular, those with a high proportion of women. We want to better integrate refugee women into the labour market, in particular, by offering tailor-made language-learning and training opportunities.

For a fair distribution of care and gainful work

Care work in our society is still often regarded as a "private matter" and is not reflected in the usual measures of prosperity. This work is essential for living together in our society and for a functioning economy. The majority of these tasks are still performed by women, whether in nursing or childcare. A lack of compatibility between family, care and work often leads to a lack of independent security for women in particular. This is reflected in the high proportion of women in precarious employment and leads to a much higher risk of old-age poverty.

Profound investment in good and reliable childcare and educational facilities with sufficient staff is therefore essential. With KinderZeit Plus, we also want to support parents over time and help them to increase their work volumes in gainful employment. In

addition, we want to develop a law for more sovereignty over time for working carers and introduce a three-month PflegeZeit Plus per person to be cared for.

New jobs

We have major bottlenecks where people care for people: in care, education, childcare and care for the elderly. These **jobs in care work** must be expanded and need the recognition, including financial recognition, to which they are entitled in terms of their social relevance. Those who take care of other people must not end up at the minimum wage or have problems to afford housing.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development estimates that by 2030 up to 170 million new jobs could be created worldwide with steady investment in sustainability. The Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (BMU) expects the number of **jobs in the renewable energy sector** in Germany to double to at least 500,000 in the next ten years alone. Today, 1.5 million people are already employed in the **field of environmental technology and resource efficiency** in Germany. An annual increase of 6.7 percent is expected. For this industry of the future, we need qualified mechanical engineers, electrical engineers, engineers, sales staff and office staff - from young professionals to experienced specialists.

Good working conditions

Negotiating good working conditions and a fair distribution of wealth between labour and capital is primarily a task of the social partners. We want to strengthen collective **self-organisation and co-determination** and overcome precarious employment. In accordance with European law, public contracts should be awarded to companies that belong to a collective agreement or pay collectively agreed wages. We also want to make it easier to make collective agreements generally binding. We will facilitate the formation of works councils by giving special protection to initiators and by considering and prosecuting the prevention of employee representation of interests as a clear criminal offence.

We want to make the economy more democratic. This applies both to decisions on what and how to produce and to the rights of employees in the company. That is why we will expand co-determination within the companies. On the way there, we want the works councils to be more closely involved in personnel planning and to have a genuine right of proposal and initiative for further training and job security. Parity co-determination in supervisory boards should take full effect for companies with more than 1,000 employees and the co-determination rights of employee representatives should be extended into the supervisory board for strategic company decisions.

The statutory minimum wage was an important milestone for fair working conditions. We want to **abolish exceptions to the minimum wage**, improve control and also ensure that it is really poverty-proof in future. That is why we want an immediate measure to **increase the minimum wage to 12 euros**, so that full-time workers can live off their work. We want to reform the Minimum Wage Commission and increase its scope for decision-making. In future, the

adjustment of the minimum wage must no longer be based solely on the development of collective bargaining agreements. Instead, we want to enshrine in law that the minimum wage must protect people from poverty and can therefore rise significantly above the development of collective bargaining. At the same time, representatives of the scientific community should be given the right to vote in the Minimum Wage Commission.

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

We want to adapt the regulation of labour to the **challenge of digitisation**. To this end, we want to regulate the demarcation criteria between dependent and self-employed employment in

a clearer and more practical way and redefine the concept of "employee". The aim is, on the one hand, to create greater planning security for the self-employed and, on the other hand, to prevent bogus self-employment. At the same time, it is necessary to protect self-employed persons who are not otherwise covered against poverty in old age. In order for this to succeed, we want them to participate in the solidarity system of pension insurance by introducing a citizens' insurance scheme. In order not to overburden them financially, we are in favour of flexibility in the payment of contributions. We will also sound out in which sectors and areas of self-employment legal protection mechanisms such as minimum fees,
fee regulations and pay-as-you-go procedures are necessary and practically possible. At the same time, we are committed to ensuring that the principles of planning security, minimum income and social security are taken into account when public authorities award contracts to self-employed persons.

Digitisation offers great potential to further **reduce working hours**, better reconcile them with other spheres of life and redistribute work, both gainful and care-related. It is particularly important to us that there is also a fairer division of gainful and care-related work between the sexes. Digitisation will also make it easier for employees to work from home or on the move in different places (coworking spaces, etc.). We will introduce rules for a right to home office and mobile work, taking into account that there are professions where this is not feasible.

Home office and the possibility of working on the move can contribute to a better reconciliation of family and career. However, neither may lead to career opportunities being impaired or to a disconnection from the rest of the workforce, or from operational processes or further training measures. Employees in the home office, on the road or at changing places of work (coworking spaces, etc.) must be protected with regard to occupational safety

just as much as when working at a permanent company site. There must be no compulsion to work at home or on the move. When work fits better into life, employees are more productive, less stressed and more committed. The growing demand for skilled workers can also be better managed in this way.

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

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

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

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

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

Including employees in prosperity

Improved **employee participation in companies** can counteract both a shortage of skilled workers and an unequal development of wealth. It is a way of improving the participation of the population in society's productive assets. So far, however, we have been at the bottom of the European league when it comes to employee participation. We therefore want to significantly increase the tax allowance for the transfer of employee shareholdings. We also want to create a platform to make examples of successful participation models more accessible and to provide interested companies with more information.

Diversity as a competitive advantage

Appreciation of **diversity in the workplace** improves individual participation in the workplace and promotes equal opportunities and performance. Diversity in the workplace encompasses all facets: The diversity of the sexes, sexual orientation and gender identity, the inclusion of people with disabilities, the diversity of cultures, religions and social origins. Companies with a diverse workforce are generally more **productive, more creative and thus more successful economically as well**.

We are committed to strengthening and better coordinating the efforts of private and public employers. For the private sector, we want to strengthen this through the exchange of experience and information, moderated and promoted by the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy and the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. We are campaigning for even more companies and public bodies to adopt to the **Charter of Diversity**. In the 21st century, we expect modern and innovative companies to assume a modern and professional approach to diversity: Through **diversity and equality strategies**, through diversity-based training programmes, especially for managers, and through clear complaint and intervention structures in the event of discrimination and sexualised violence. Public service and public enterprises must set a good example. This requires inclusive, fair and **discrimination-sensitive application and selection procedures**. We want to work to ensure that anonymous application procedures are generally used in the public sector and in state-owned companies. They lead to more equal opportunities and lower bureaucratic costs.

The prohibition of discrimination must also apply to employees of companies owned by religious communities. Conduct outside the workplace by employees of a church, religious or philosophical community, e.g. remarried and LGBTQ people, whose work does not include the area of proclamation, may not suffer any consequences according to labour law, such as dismissal. We therefore want to narrow down the exceptions for religious and philosophical communities and thus make individual rights much more applicable.

6. Enabling a new founding age

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

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

Promoting female founders

We need a new wave of founders. No good idea should fail due to a lack of equity. We therefore call for a rapid introduction of unbureaucratic start-up capital, which guarantees founders a one-off amount of up to a maximum of 25,000 euros, subject to a performance audit. The start-up capital is to be disbursed as interest-free government loan. The repayment takes place flexibly and orients itself on the profits of the respective enterprise. We want to update the criteria for the Exist Start-up Scholarship and take better account of the diversity of the start-up teams as well as ecological and social innovations.

Women are successful founders, but underrepresented in company start-ups. According to the Female Founder Monitor, only 15 percent of start-ups in Germany are founded by women. At such a low rate, Germany misses out on a huge potential of innovative companies. As a rule, public funds tend to reach male rather than female founders, which is why we want to make the diversity of the founding team an evaluation criterion for the allocation of public funds. **We therefore propose to create a government-funded venture capital fund aimed only at female entrepreneurs**. Ireland has had good experience with this model. After a period of five years, it should be checked whether the fund had a lasting effect. In addition, tailor-made training and coaching measures for women seeking to set up, develop or take over small businesses should be financially supported, as should networking organisations. Such platforms can be used to learn from each other, to jointly develop and implement new business ideas or interests.

Every fifth founder, both male and female, has an immigration history. The migrant economy has become an important economic factor. Throughout Germany, companies run by people with a migration history now account for around 20 percent of all companies. In some regions of the country, the figure is significantly higher. They thus make a decisive contribution to economic development. We want to remove the hurdles in all instruments of business and start-up promotion for people with a migration background. Funding may not depend on a passport or personal background; information must be offered in different languages and we want to create a tailor-made advisory service for the migrant economy.

Through the public procurement of products and services, the state is an important driving force for the economy. By awarding contracts, the public sector can serve as an active role model and steering function, strengthen a sustainable economy and promote innovation. We want procurement procedures to be designed in such a way **that the federal government takes greater account of start-ups and younger companies, new technologies and**

innovative business
models in its public procurement and tendering procedures. To this end, procurement procedures must be streamlined and speeded up, including the prompt settlement of public-sector obligations and speedy decision-making procedures, so that start-ups, with comparatively short planning horizons, can also assert themselves over established companies. Requests for tender should also be published in an SME-friendly manner.

We demand **start-up centres** similar to the French Station F, which provides founders with the necessary working space. We call for two years' exemption from reporting obligations that are not absolutely necessary, and we want to enable start-up advice and support from a single source in "one-stop shops" so that start-ups have time to start up. Spin-offs from universities and cooperations between founders are to be promoted through better advice and support. Today's start-up support is strongly tailored to technology-oriented start-ups. We want to make the existing funding instruments more neutral and thus promote, for example, socially oriented companies or the creative industries more strongly than in the past.

We want to **open up** voluntary **unemployment insuranceto self-employed persons** to a large
extent and ensure that self-employed persons who are not otherwise covered are included in the statutory pension insurance. And we also need a culture of failure in Germany. Insolvency law must be designed in such a way that it enables new beginnings to be made more

quickly.

We want to introduce a **European Start-up Pass** for the most promising start-ups. This should give them the opportunity to participate in all European start-up funding programmes and to receive support from incubators. They will also receive broad support in the form of information and advice on the legal situation and patents, as well as simplified visas for foreign start-up staff. In addition to a European start-up visa, foreign start-ups are to be offered advice and financial support so that they can settle in Europe.

Making administration more efficient and cooperative

At the same time, public administration can become more innovative and cooperative. We therefore call for a **German GovTechprogramme** based on the Danish model. Our goal is complete
electronic processing in the administration. This saves companies, citizens and the administration a lot of time and money.

We want to align regulations consistently with the protection of ecological and social protection goals. In particular, we want to relieve smaller companies and SMEs of unnecessary regulation. We want to completely suspend certain regulations for the start-up phase of a company. We want to **speed up approval procedures**. The decisive factor here is to
provide for participation procedures at an early planning stage and to provide the authorities with sufficient resources (e.g. personnel) for rapid planning.

Embracing risk

We can not only be technologically excellent, but also be able to transform breakthrough technologies into new business models, markets, services and products. Funding opportunities

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

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

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

Crowdfunding can also - especially if reward-based - open up new sources of financing for young companies. We want to ensure that public funding for start-ups and research can be combined with crowdfunding.

Good conditions for good ideas are also created by the European internal market with over 500 million people participating. The EU venture capital market is currently fragmented into many small national markets. We want to coordinate and harmonise national support instruments. In particular, we want to set up European venture capital funds that focus on financing innovations in strategic areas such as resource efficiency, IT security or administrative modernisation (Govtech). The structures should be set up in such a way that not all member states have to participate immediately, but individual member states can also join forces for such venture capital funds.

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

7. Becoming digital no. 1

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

At the same time, digitisation is presenting us with enormous challenges due to the expected high consumption of energy and rare resources. Without fundamental intervention in the current production pattern, digitisation will intensify the overexploitation of nature and society – super activism on speed.!

The digital transformation must therefore be shaped socio-ecologically. To this end, the influence of multinational oligopolies must be limited in favour of self-determination and local entrepreneurship. We want to support countries that are not yet industrialized to use the possibilities of digitisation to skip over the early phase of industrialisation as far as possible.

We advocate a policy of **European technological sovereignty** and call for a strong European digital infrastructure. Instead of having to choose between Amazon or Alibaba for cloud services, for example, we want to build our own European cloud infrastructure. This should provide our companies with an efficient and secure alternative to American and Chinese providers.

Our priority here is to **strengthen the European semiconductor industry** - a key technological
sector. We are intensifying cooperation in the area of research and development at the European level and strengthening the clusters on a sustainable basis. Particular attention must also be paid to the reuse of resources. In Eastern Germany, we have one of the largest semiconductor production sites in Europe. We want to build on this strength by promoting the research and development of ultra-efficient chips and strengthening the microelectronics cluster in Dresden.

Diversity and openness rather than digital monopolies

Digitisation has produced data-based platform business models with a tendency towards monopoly. Competition and modern consumer protection require that the **principles of interoperability** - as we know them from mobile telephony - also apply to online services. What is now taken for granted for telephone, SMS and e-mail, for example, must also be guaranteed for messenger services or social networks, namely being able to communicate and switch easily between providers and platforms.

Large digital corporations must also comply with European regulatory law. That is why we advocate **fair taxation of large digital corporations**, which has so far been prevented by the
federal government.

Infrastructures are a public task. This principle, which is taken for granted in electricity networks or roads, must be renegotiated in the digital domain. If, for example, Google exploits its dominant position in mobile phone operating systems or Amazon its dominant position in sales via the marketplace, we must put a stop to this. We will **protectlocal retailers** from unfair dumping competition from Amazon and Co. The goal is to **make privatized
marketplaces accessible to the public again**. We will also regulate the fees for platforms with far-reaching market power so that the profits of small companies cannot be siphoned off by the platform operators.

Google and Facebook now dominate the online advertising market. Hardly any company can afford not to advertise its own products online via them. Such an oligopoly must be regulated. We want to create a **legal basis for online advertising** in Europe.

Standardizing the data-driven economy

We want to create a uniform European legal framework for data-driven business models. Data is a key resource in the digital world, especially for technologies such as artificial intelligence. We want to leverage these resources and advocate the anonymous provision of public data in order to create new innovations and business models. **Open data is the primary prerequisite** for start-ups, companies and research institutions, but also civil society, to be able to use this wealth of data for the development of innovative technologies and the provision of public services. The federal government has a leading role to play here that it has not yet assumed. It must set an example and lead the way in innovations and new technological solutions in the public sector.

However, we must also ensure that anonymous data cannot subsequently be assigned to individual persons by linking to other information. As long as this cannot be guaranteed, there must be no further obligations for the exchange of data. Under no circumstances should deanonymised data become the basis of business models or government forecasts, because this would deeply interfere with people's fundamental rights. To that end, we want more research and standard setting on the anonymisation of data and on the use of synthetic data, as well as clear regulations against deanonymisation, which also include prohibitions under criminal law.

Particularly in the industrial sector, new approaches are needed to ensure the legally secure cooperative use of non-personal or non-personal data, for example from development and manufacturing processes, especially in the interests of small and medium-sized enterprises. This can be achieved by creating clear legal requirements for cooperative and decentralised data pools and data trust models, which are organised on a fiduciary basis in accordance with clear legal requirements and enable a joint use of this data that can be verified by the antitrust authorities. We want to develop appropriate options for fiduciary models or approaches for data donations, for example from individuals, as soon as possible together with the relevant players and initiate the first model projects.

We want to counter the reality of global data monopolies of a few corporations and the escalating digital monitoring and evaluation of data by government agencies with tight data protection controls and international regulation. Just as we were able to strengthen our European legal framework in the digital world with the General Data Protection Regulation, which others must adhere to, we also want to establish ethical, social and security policy **principles for intelligent machines and algorithmic decision-making systems** at the EU level.
These include rules regarding liability, transparency, non-discrimination and verifiability of algorithmic decisions as well as essential IT security standards.

Using IT for green goals

We want to use digitisation to further combine economy and ecology. Digitisation creates enormous opportunities for eco-efficiency and recycling. To that end, we want an EU funding programme that is exclusively dedicated to the **ecological potential of digitisation** and promotes eco-efficiency in companies. Digitisation can contribute to the ecological transformation of our society. If we do not act, however, there is a risk that digitisation will become a driver of the climate crisis and environmental destruction. At present, valuable raw materials are increasingly being used for digitisation, and the energy

requirements for digital processes are growing massively every year. According to experts, digital energy demand will exceed global energy production by 2040 unless we change course.

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

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

For large companies, it has long been taken for granted that video conferencing often replaces travel by train or plane. This saves time and money, takes the strain off employees and protects the environment at the same time. Home office regulations ensure that commuting and thus CO2 emissions can be reduced. With the self-propelled cars of tomorrow, networking, car sharing and additional flexible public transport services, especially in rural areas, offer the opportunity to replace many individual travels with cars. Digitisation can support the energy revolution in the form of intelligent networks or help to optimise transport chains and prevent empty transports, for example.

IT-security for industry

We urgently need a comprehensive package to strengthen the IT security of our industry. This includes the establishment of a **European research network for IT security**, in which the National Research Centre in Darmstadt will become an integral part in order to promote the development of technologies and industrial capabilities in the field of IT security. In addition, we want to introduce an EU-wide certification system for products and services recognized in all member states, as well as comprehensive consulting services.

8. Developing tomorrow’s technology

In order to lead Germany into the future as a business location, we must also set the right framework conditions for research, development and education. Innovations are created in ecosystems that are characterised by cooperation, trans- and interdisciplinarity and creativity. The aim is to promote cooperation, to break up work in isolated specialist communities, to share knowledge and to move seamlessly from invention to implementation.

We therefore call for **more** research platforms in which universities, independent research institutes, civil society organisations, individual interested parties and companies in particular can participate, cooperate with each other, exchange knowledge and develop creativity. In addition, real laboratories and experimental spaces in research are a suitable instrument for jointly developing ground-breaking new innovations and testing their implementation. “Horizon Europe" will be strengthened to promote inter- and transdisciplinary research. In addition, a separate funding line is to be set up for the development of new technologies and technology assessment.

Every technology in use today is based on publicly-funded basic research. In Europe and Germany, too, the public sector should invest massively, especially where markets fail: In high-risk research, public infrastructure, leapfrog innovations. For this task of the century, German and European funding programmes must become more ambitious, less risk-averse and agiler. For us this is a matter of a targeted, proactive and **entrepreneurial state** that takes entrepreneurial risks and, as a **lead investor**, creates an innovation-friendly environment, for private companies and their ideas as well.

We attach particular importance to the freedom of research and teaching. Universities and in particular basic research do not function according to entrepreneurial logic. Disruptive innovations in particular can profit from this. Basic research without a view to direct (economic) usability is just as important and necessary as research programmes on pressing social issues. This is why we are committed to solid basic funding and democratic self-organisation of universities as well as scientific freedom.

Investing in technologies of the future and the digital infrastructure

European cooperation is a prerequisite for meeting the challenges of the 21st century with regard to technology and societal change in the context of the climate crisis. We therefore want to again invest intensively in Europe as a location for knowledge and innovation and increase the funds of the **forthcoming European Research Framework Programme to 120 billion** euros. In doing so, we want to establish a powerful follow-up programme to “Horizon 2020” that promotes basic research and scientific freedom in an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary way, knowing full well that a society needs technical and orientation knowledge in order to successfully cope with the future.

It therefore remains a mistake that the federal government has not accepted and seriously pursued the proposals made by the French President to establish a **European agency for leapfrog innovations and a Franco-German AI centre**. Instead, the grand coalition has established a national agency for leapfrog innovations. We demand that this should now at least be closely interlinked with the European institutions and initiatives. In addition, the planned 500,000 euros in funding for a virtual Franco-German AI network are far too little to bring together the best researchers and actually establish synergies.

A **fast network** is the basis for everything - industry, mobility, agriculture, digital management, participation, economic success. For companies, broadband expansion is a strong factor in location. And it is often the rural regions in particular that are cut off from the fast Internet. We are a long way from the nationwide basic service promised by the federal government. There are considerable gaps in investment for the digital infrastructure for fibre optics and 5G mobile communications.

We are guided by the supplier principle in the establishment of the 5G networks. We therefore call for the publication of the results of studies already carried out on the effects of 5G financed in whole or in part by public funds and call on companies to publish their own studies in full. We support the review and, if necessary, development of suitable test and measurement procedures on the effects of high-frequency transmitters and receivers above 20 GHz and the establishment of binding limit values by the Federal Office for

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

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

New paths in research and development

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

SMEs are to be given a greater role in the research, development and innovation offensive, which we want to support through tax incentives for research and development. We also want to make basic innovations widely available and promote open source solutions for them, especially if they are developed by public research institutions. We find it important to take greater account of NGOs and other civil society players in research concerns. To that end, we need, for example, more real laboratories and a broader public dialogue in formulating research questions.

A fair design of the international legal system must prevent patents and other intellectual property rights (e.g. on HIV preparations, seeds or traded knowledge) from being used in a socially harmful way and hindering economic development. Investments from third countries must contribute to the development of local knowledge and higher-quality shares in global value creation. As many as possible of these technologies should be developed in forms of open knowledge (open design, open source, open data, creative commons) and made available to
everybody.

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

Together we can ensure that city and country, structurally weak and economically strong regions do not drift further apart. In German municipalities, there is a public investment gap of 138 billion euros in infrastructure. So much money is lacking in child-care facilities, roads, bridges and playgrounds just to preserve what exists. Many municipalities cannot finance this. This means that we do not fulfil our commitment to equal living conditions everywhere in the country, especially in structurally weak regions, particularly in eastern Germany.

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

We want to align the current funding from its project orientation to processes so that local projects are secured in the long term and the commitment of local residents is sustainably promoted. In addition, an **old debt fund** is to open up new opportunities for municipalities with high levels of old debt by allowing the federal government to assume part of the debt, but also by taking the responsibility of the federal states into account, as well as the fact that some state governments have already done this on their own. The federal government can finance itself at very low - at the moment even negative - interest rates, and thus give the municipalities air to breathe again. In addition, we will relieve the municipalities of the burden of social spending and examine how the states and municipalities can improve their debt management and benefit from the favourable interest conditions of the federal government. We want to realign **regional economic development** and focus more on regions that
have to cope with major structural changes. The decisive factor in attracting companies to the region is not the money from the state, but an excellent infrastructure and well-trained local specialists. If there is no data highway, no company will settle there today.

For the Lausitz, for example, this means that you can get to Cottbus quickly from the small towns, and from Cottbus quickly by train to Berlin, Wroclaw or Warsaw. Fast Internet and the digital office would make it possible to live in the Mecklenburg Lake District with a workplace in Berlin. Good rail connections would allow the occasional, fast trip to the company. We want to **strengthen the regional centres** and make them anchor points in regions
with a wide range of public and cultural services. In border regions, we also want to make this cross-border and European. We also want to establish or expand universities and universities of applied sciences, because they can organise the transfer of knowledge to the local economy. At the same time, well-educated students bring their own business ideas with them or are future specialists for the local economy. This can also motivate young immigrants to move to the Uckermark or East Saxony, for example.

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

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

The **European single market** is the largest common economic area in the world. No large global

company can afford not to be present in this huge market. We must use the European internal market to reinforce democracy, the rule of law and fair rules of the game, rather than allowing ourselves to be divided by national interests.

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

The European Union, as a strong and united player, must develop common standards for a sustainable economy - instead of being the recipient of the strategic choices of others. If the USA relies on financial market-driven capitalism and China on authoritarian state capitalism, then we do not have to decide, but give a European answer: with a **Green New Deal for the social-ecological market economy**.

Europe needs a **common industrial policy** whose core lies in strengthening its own innovative strength and enforcing fair rules for the economy - both internally and externally. Its goals and instruments should be geared to the need for a social-ecological transformation of the economy. In this way, the European single market can become the lead market for the world, not least because of its size.

An industrial strategy to reinforce innovation and sustainability

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

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

Combating biases in competition

A European industrial strategy must ensure fair competition on the European market vis-à-vis state-subsidised monopolists from China and unregulated digital corporations from the USA, for example by further developing anti-dumping and anti-subsidy instruments, reforming the WTO and sharpening the rules in antitrust law. The European Union must also be able to penalise biases in competition in public contracts more severely. One way could be to create possibilities in procurement law to add a surcharge to bids from countries that subsidise their companies and to take high labour and environmental standards into account even for non-EU bidders. In the medium term, the principle of reciprocity should apply to third

countries in order to achieve a level playing field. A European response is also needed to the question of how to deal with the situation where, for example, Chinese companies buy up European companies and then grant them de facto free loans, thereby distorting competition.

Control of critical infrastructure

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

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

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

Regulatory power for social-ecological goals

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

Making the Euro a key currency

Hardly any other country in the EU benefits as much from the common European currency. Instead of celebrating itself as an exporting nation, Germany should therefore invest particularly in strengthening the eurozone for the benefit and prosperity of all. Europe's economic strength will depend centrally on whether we **complete monetary union**. So far, we have relied almost entirely on the European Central Bank to handle the difficult tasks. This cannot continue. What is more, a monetary union cannot function well in the long term

without macroeconomic compensation mechanisms. That is why we want a **common fiscal policy** for the eurozone, which can take courageous countermeasures during a downturn, stabilise the economy and finance European common goods. Common budget investments should be used for European common goods such as climate protection, the expansion of renewable energies, communications and the Internet, or rail infrastructure. Such a eurozone budget, which stabilises and invests, should cover at least one percent of the economic output of the participating states in order to be macroeconomically effective. It could also be financed through Europe-wide taxes such as a digital corporate tax, a financial transaction tax or part of a harmonised European corporate income tax.

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

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

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

11. Fair competition instead of power economics

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

We want to **strictly regulate** dominant **digital platforms**. If they deny other companies access to the market or demand absurd conditions, the antitrust authorities must take tough action. If European competition policy is to meet the demands of the 21st century, we need an **independent European antitrust authority** with adequate resources and personnel. Under the umbrella of this cartel office, a European digital supervisory authority is to be established which functions as a political early warning system for critical concentrations of market power and consumer-damaging behaviour, in particular regulating large platform markets and natural, digital monopolies, and can impose cooperation and transparency obligations that have proven their worth by sanctions.

Today, the anti-trust authorities have to prove abuse of a dominant position in order to unbundle a company. As a rule, this is hardly possible. We therefore advocate that companies can also be split up independently of an abuse if their market power becomes too great and a problem for the economy and society. The Facebook monopoly, for example, is such a case. We want to **unbundle Instagram, Facebook and WhatsApp again**. By transferring the principles of interoperability, which are now taken for granted for telephone, SMS and mail, to messenger services, we want to make it easier for new providers to enter the market and spark competition for the best data protection regulations.

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

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

If you want fair competition, you have to take **effective legal action against infringements**. The exhaust scandal has once again shown how companies try to circumvent fair competition by fraud. We GREENS want to strictly punish such behaviour, which is harmful to the common

good. We want a legal regulation that makes it easier to prosecute and sanction crimes committed by companies. The state must consistently enforce its laws and regulations. Furthermore, loopholes identified in the law should be closed. The exhaust scandal is also an example of the fact that it does not always do this - because it was made possible only through years of cronyism between the car industry, supervisory authorities and politicians. And in order to reveal the influence of lobbyists and interest groups on the Bundestag, we want to establish a **mandatory public lobby register**. Those who, as whistle-blowers, uncover unethical or punishable behaviour in the economy act in the interest of the common good and need legal protection against sanctions and economic disadvantages. In order for such abuses to be detected and remedied at an early stage, we also need clear and secure reporting channels for whistle-blowers. We want to set up such secure and anonymous reporting channels for digital and analogue data at public supervisory and law enforcement agencies and make them known.

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

12. Creating a fair world trade and monetary order

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

Europe has something to offer with the largest single market in the world - and we want to combine that offer with a clear call for progressive policy. Access to our markets is only granted if minimum social and environmental standards are met. This will have a positive impact on workers worldwide. If governments want to take economic policy measures to comply with the Paris Climate Convention, the UN Human Rights Conventions or the objectives of Agenda 2030, these must not be made more difficult or even counteracted by trade agreements

or investment protection suits. Part of contracts should be that all trading partners undertake to impose a human rights due diligence obligation on the companies operating or headquartered in them in accordance with the UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introducing a supply-chain law

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

We want to hold transnational companies **operating in Germany** liable if they are involved in human rights violations within their production and resource chains. **If companies have demonstrably acted negligently or deliberately ignored their duty of care, those affected should be able to sue them under civil law in Germany**. The example of France shows that this is possible. Companies must comply with minimum social and ecological standards along their supply chains and, above all, these must be transparent so that it is clear under what conditions products were produced. Wars, human rights violations and exploitation may not be financed by products sold in the EU. We do not want to see products that do not meet minimum social and environmental standards on our supermarket shelves. We want a consistent implementation of the UN's guiding principles for business and human rights.

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

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

Not trading at the expense of the most impoverished

Development opportunities for economically weaker countries must be increased rather than reduced through trade agreements. These include effective clauses to protect sensitive economic sectors, permission for export taxes on raw materials, promotion of regional integration, technology transfer and appropriate taxation of economic activity. Human rights and development opportunities must take precedence over pure trade interests. That is why a

certain asymmetry in the form of treaties is in the interests of economically weaker countries, but also in our own interest.

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

Development opportunities for raw material-producing countries

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

Creating a secure and stable world monetary order

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

For the world's poorest countries, public development finance is of major importance. We are striving for a world monetary order that not only enables wealthy countries to finance long-term investments reliably in the long term. To that end, short-term, speculative financial flows must be regulated, made more expensive and, if necessary, banned. We must protect ourselves against speculative attacks on nations and their currencies. This requires global public institutions. But no short-term successes are to be expected here. Nevertheless, in

order to bring about change quickly, we want the European Central Bank to take into account the effects of its policies on developing countries and to support them. It should be able to come to the aid of developing countries that come under pressure from unjustified currency speculation, provided such assistance is compatible with monetary policy objectives. For example, currency swap agreements or Article 219 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) could be used to define exchange rate policies.

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

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

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

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

13. Stable and sustainable financial markets and safe investments

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

Banks and financial markets should serve to offer citizens attractive savings opportunities and finance investments. With appropriate regulations and a comprehensive financial transaction tax, we want to make purely speculative transactions and, above all, high-frequency trading unattractive. We want to use unused assets in so-called dormant accounts to create a fund that invests specifically in sustainable and social innovations, as long as

there are no inheritance claims. To that end, we need a data-protection-compliant procedure for determining these accounts, the credit of which would otherwise pass into the possession of the banks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A citizens’ fund for stable and profitable investment opportunities

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

14. Strengthening public welfare-oriented companies

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

Many companies are already committed to ecological and social goals. More and more companies are binding these social goals parallel to their economic success. We will systematically

strengthen this economic citizens' movement. **Our goal is to create a wave of new cooperatives and socially and ecologically inspired companies**. At the same time, we also want to make a legal form of company possible that allows a complete asset-lock, so that the company is no longer held by asset owners but rather by responsibility owners.

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

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

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

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

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

15. Financing investments soundly and fairly

We want to **significantly increase public investment**. A country in which every eighth of its 40,000 bridges is dilapidated, which invests less money in education than almost all its

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

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

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

Establishing investment companies

Many investments create valuable assets with which revenues can be generated. A power line generates revenue from the electricity that passes through it. The same applies analogously to charging infrastructure for electric cars, broadband for the Internet and much more. In order to carry out these investments efficiently, we will bundle them in public investment 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 line with economic output less wear and tear and loss in value.**

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

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

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

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

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

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