

**„... to Respect
and to Protect ...“**
Change Creates Stability.

Manifesto Of Principles



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Foreword

The first digital federal delegates conference of BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN adopted the manifesto of principles “to respect and to protect - change creates stability” on November 22, 2020. This fourth manifesto of principles in the history of BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN marks the party’s entry into a new phase: It defines an alliance party that makes an offer to society in its entire breadth. BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN has long been the leading progressive force in this country, providing orientation in an increasingly confusing world. The present manifesto of principles underpins this claim to leadership.

“To respect and to protect - change creates stability” is closely linked to its predecessors: For example, the program quotes the first sentence of our 2002 program and refers to the 1993 Basic Consensus in its paragraph form. On this basis, it reassembles the building blocks of our world - with a focus on ecology, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. The Manifesto Of Principles thus reflects the fundamental changes of recent years and is guided by the principle of the democratic shaping of society as a whole, to which it lends new strength. The primary task of our time is to democratically shape a crisis-proof society. With this new statement of policy, we want to anchor the principle of “precaution” as the cornerstone of our future and see change as the foundation for stability. We are redefining prosperity on the basis of climate neutrality, precaution, justice and quality of life, and are aligning our policies accordingly. We must use the drastic changes brought about by the corona pandemic to implement long overdue reforms. When many things are out of kilter and need to be reordered, new opportunities arise for making our society fundamentally fairer.

After the federal delegates’ conference in Münster in November 2016 decided to develop a new manifesto of principles after the 2017 federal election, a three-year debate will come to a climax with the adoption of “to respect and to protect - change creates support” by the digital federal delegates’ conference in Berlin in November 2020. In order to develop the manifesto of principles, we as a party have taken completely new paths. We conducted the debate online and offline, involving both the entire party and the broad spectrum of society in impulse groups and discussion panels.

After intensive discussions at the Start Convention, the Policy Convention, our “Participation Green” platform and the Summer Academy of the federal working groups, our joint work was abruptly interrupted by the corona pandemic in the spring of 2020. Since the existing social problems continued to come to a head, especially during the crisis, we on

the Federal Executive Committee made a conscious decision to complete the program despite all adversity and were able to present a first draft in June 2020. After more than 1,300 amendments and over 50 votes at the national delegates conference, the program was adopted in November 2020 with an approval rate of over 90%.

I would therefore like to thank everyone who took part in our program discussion - both inside and outside our party: You have made the program what it is. I would also like to sincerely thank the members of the former and current Federal Executive Board who drafted the Policy Statement: Annalena Baerbock, Robert Habeck, Marc Urbatsch, Benedikt Mayer, Gesine Akena, Jamila Schäfer and Ricarda Lang. Special thanks are also due to the members of the motions committee as well as Melanie Haas and the policy department of the federal office, which managed the process from the beginning and supervised the work on the policy program. Our federal office, which organized a digital federal delegates conference under the most adverse circumstances, did a phenomenal job. A big thank you also goes to the members of the impulse groups, the federal working groups, associations and NGOs, who enriched the process with their ideas. Together, we have written a piece of party history.



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Preamble	9
Together in Diversity	9
The Values that Unite Us	10
Ecology	11
Justice	12
Self-determination	14
Democracy	15
Peace	17
Chapter 1: Protecting the Foundations of Life	19
Climate and Energy	19
Environment, Preservation of Nature and Agriculture	21
Animal Protection	24
Mobility	24
Housing	26
Welfare and Ecology	27
Chapter 2: Managing for the Future	29
Social-ecological Market Economy	29
Economic and Industrial Policy	32
Private Property and General Welfare	34
Financial Markets and Banks	35
Monetary and Fiscal Policy	36
Budget and Fiscal Policy	38

Chapter 3: Shaping Progress	40
Science and Research	40
Bioethics	42
Digitalization	43
Chapter 4: Living Together	47
Cohesion in Diversity	47
Feminism, Gender Equality and Queer Rights	50
Urban and Rural, Young and Old	52
Housing	54
Culture and the Arts	56
Health and Care	58
Chapter 5: Fortifying Democracy	64
Rights and Access	64
Representation and Participation	67
Federal Republic of Europe	69
Federal State	69
Freedom and Security	70
Chapter 6: Securing Solidarity	76
Promise of Security	76
Work	76
Gender Equality	79
Social Guarantees	80
Retirement	81

Chapter 7: Building on Education	83
Right to Education	83
Daycare and School	84
Lifelong Learning	87
Chapter 8: International Cooperation	89
Peace and International Order	89
European Union	90
Multilateral Relations	92
Global Security	94
Global Structural Policy	98
Trade	100
Financial Markets and Monetary Order	102
Migration and Flight	103
Index	106
Notes	120
Imprint	121

Preamble

Together in Diversity

Different paths to the future are not only possible, they are already being set today. Just as humanity has the power to destroy the world, they also have the power to make it a better place for all. We have it in our own hands.

Politics is about joining forces and standing up for a better future. As a party, we are united by the foundation of values in this manifesto of principles, a common fundamental attitude to the world as it is and as it could be. Our vision is to make possible a life in dignity and freedom, today as well as the day after tomorrow, everywhere on this planet we inhabit together. Change creates stability.

We have grown together from different roots. These roots lay in the ecological and anti-nuclear movement, the women's and civil rights movement, the lesbian, gay, one-world and peace movement as well as the freedom movement of peaceful revolution. We are embedded in the European Green Party family and have been constantly evolving for four decades - new people, new perspectives and new movements such as the climate movement or that of people with experience of racism are constantly joining and give strength to our values and goals. Our members and our voters are diverse, our grassroots party provides access, learns and breaks down more and more barriers. The diversity of our party is our strength.

As diverse as we are as an alliance party, our arms are open to join in and forge social alliances. We have joined together because we are confident that our policies will make the difference.

The Values that Unite Us

- (1) The focus of our policy is on human beings in their dignity and freedom. Every human being is born unique and free and equal in dignity and rights. The universal and inseparable human rights are the claim and standard of our policy.
- (2) The values upon which our policies are based are ecology, justice, self-determination, democracy and peace. For us, this foundation establishes the basis for a society committed to solidarity, in which the freedom of the individual also develops with respect for others as equals as well as in their dignity and freedom.
- (3) These values, which are founded on the principle of human dignity, not only complement each other, they are also sometimes in conflict with one another. Value-oriented politics require participation, i.e. discussion and dispute, shaping and renewal. Only a closed world view knows no contradictions. Scientific knowledge gives us orientation and is the guideline for good politics. A democratic society can only exist by constantly negotiating the relationship between values and perspectives and not in a vacuum without values and rules or within rigid dogmas. This is a fundamental prerequisite for the legitimacy of politics.
- (4) Policy shapes reality today for tomorrow and in awareness of yesterday. Without a past there is no future. We look to the future knowing both the successful experiences and the guilt and horror in our history. As Europeans we act, conscious of a responsibility for global justice on the basis of civil and human rights, as they are manifested in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as in the German Basic Law and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. The lessons learned from the crimes against humanity committed under National Socialism are an obligation for us.
- (5) Our policies are for all people. We see ourselves as a party of alliance that, on the basis of shared convictions, is open to different experiences, ideas and approaches. It is not oriented toward the sum of individual interests or individual groups, but rather combines different interests into a common vision for a better future. This can be strenuous, because it also means raising questions about power and distribution, changing structures that have grown organically, overcoming resistance and struggling to find alternatives, but it is the only way that something new can emerge from the many different experiences and ideas.

- (6) Every age has its task. The task of our time is to shape a crisis-proof society democratically and sustainably. To that end, prosperity in the sense of climate neutrality, and justice as well as global responsibility must be redefined, and policies must be geared toward this. In order to overcome crises, cohesion is needed - in a society that grants all citizens the same rights and opportunities, distributes wealth fairly, understands the diversity of people and regions as a strength and value, protects and promotes the rights and participation of minorities and balances tensions through respect. We strive for a solidarity, a common "we" in a diverse society.

Ecology

- (7) Protecting and preserving the environment is a prerequisite for living in dignity and freedom. Clean water and air, biodiversity and fertile soils are necessary conditions for our freedom of development and emancipation. A policy that protects the natural foundations of life preserves the possibility of self-determination for us and future generations. The 21st century is the age of anthropocentrism. Humans are the decisive factor influencing how our earth changes. Nature does not need us. We humans need nature to be a part of nature.
- (8) Knowledge of planetary limitations is the guiding principle of our policies. Through its actions, humankind is currently exceeding the ecological limits in areas such as biodiversity, climate warming or ocean acidification, thus endangering the stability of ecosystems and the basis of human life. It is our task to develop sustainably through social, economic and technological progress for the benefit of humankind in such a way that we preserve the foundations of our existence.
- (9) We have only this one earth, in its beauty and natural diversity. Humans are not the only living creatures that sense and feel. Therefore, it is the duty of us humans to protect the welfare of animals and all living nature for nature's own sake.
- (10) An intact environment is a prerequisite for health. The preservation of our natural foundations of life and the measures to contain the climate crisis avert massive damage to health and, as a precautionary measure, protect the health of future generations.
- (11) We have only borrowed the earth from our children. The goal of sustainable development is also ecological justice between the generations. It is our obligation to provide future generations with a fair scope of action and freedom of choice.

- (12) The climate crisis and the destruction of our foundations of life exacerbate existing inequalities and thus affect women in particular. Ecological measures must be co-designed by women and marginalized groups such as indigenous peoples. Sustainability needs gender equality and inclusive participation.
- (13) Those who suffer from the destruction of nature early on and most severely are those who contribute least to it and can least escape it. Where rich people can still adapt to some extent, the impoverished feel the consequences with brutal harshness. Environmental and climate policies are a prerequisite for social justice. However, ecological measures can conflict with social interests. Therefore, ecological policies must always take social interests into account.
- (14) We think ecology globally. A life in dignity and freedom means a right for all people to self-determination and participation. Global environmental justice takes into account the historical responsibility of industrialized countries for the destruction of the environment. Therefore, we have a duty to reduce the ecological and social costs of our economic activity instead of shifting them to other regions of the world, as well as to support those who are already strongly affected by environmental destruction and will be even more so in the future.
- (15) A sustainable economy not only protects foundations of life, but also increases prosperity and quality of life. This requires a fundamental decarbonization of our economy and our way of life, for which substantial investments will be required in the decades to come.
- (16) The path to an ecological future secures democracy and self-determination for today and for future generations. Otherwise, we will lose what we protect with the climate: Freedom and dignity. Democratic processes promote the creativity and social cohesion needed to overcome the ecological crises.

Justice

- (17) Human dignity and freedom are realized in a just society based on solidarity. Solidarity creates social cohesion. For us, justice means equal, and the greatest possible, freedom for all. It is the basis for a good life.
- (18) Everyone must be protected from poverty, because poverty cannot be an acceptable part of a just society. But social justice means more than a life without poverty:

Everyone has the right to material security and social, political and cultural participation as well as a life without existential angst. This requires a strong welfare state that creates the conditions for a self-determined, happy life, actively enables participation and ensures that no one falls through the cracks.

- (19) A just society enables people to participate in social life on an equal footing. This requires strong public forums and institutions - good daycare centers, kindergartens and schools, universities, swimming pools and sports fields, libraries and theaters, well-developed public transportation, broadband connections for all, affordable housing, good healthcare and equivalent living conditions in both urban and rural settings. In these times of individualization, when many people feel lonely, such places are of particular importance.

- (20) Financing strong public services is a public responsibility.

- (21) Good, inclusive and non-discriminatory education is a prerequisite for justice. We need a holistic and people-oriented educational system that holds in regard the fact that people do not have the same prerequisites. Confidence in our capacity to shape a future for ourselves and the generations to follow is a driving force for social progress.

- (22) A society is social when wealth, resources and power are distributed equitably. Unregulated capitalism produces inequality and a concentration of power. Too much inequality threatens the cohesion of society and thus one pillar of democracy. The task of politics is to avoid such inequality and, through regulation, investment and taxation, reduce inequality and create a balance. Large fortunes and high incomes are accompanied by social responsibilities.

- (23) All people should be able to participate in society regardless of gender. Justice means that paid and unpaid work, income, access to education, property and time are distributed fairly between the sexes.

- (24) Justice cannot be achieved without the state's guarantee of non-discriminatory and equal rights, access and participation for all. This also means that combating racism and all forms of group-based hostility towards people, also in their interconnect- edness, is a fundamental task of the state and society. A society is just when people with any form of disability can also participate in all areas of social life.

- (25) Social and ecological economic activity creates innovation and progress and thus contributes to a just society. This requires common rules enabling fair competition, preventing the concentration of power and protecting consumer rights. A social-ecological market economy oriented toward the common good relies on social partnership and creates good, sustainable work. It helps ensure that people can realize their potential, information is used effectively, prosperity is created for the benefit of all and not at the expense of future generations, and that the supply of basic goods is guaranteed.
- (26) To enable global justice and defend the universality of human rights, the world economic system must become a social-ecological one, organized according to democratic rules and based on equal cooperation and solidarity rather than domination.

Self-determination

- (27) People meet as equals - in their rights and their dignity. Being able to determine one's own life is what constitutes a person's dignity and freedom. Politics has the task of protecting freedom and the right to self-determination. It recognizes differences and prevents undemocratic and thus unjustified rule. The prerequisite for self-determination, freedom and free development is a society in which neither social status, gender or origin, nor religion or ideology nor external characteristics, racial attributions, age or disability, nor sexual orientation or sexual identity have any influence on who belongs and who does not. Freedom must be actively supported by society.
- (28) Self-determined living depends on social, legal, democratic and ecological conditions, for which politics must set the framework. Otherwise, it will remain the privilege of a few. Free development and active participation require a good and barrier-free infrastructure, financial security, safety and protection against violence and crime. Information self-determination and IT security must be guaranteed in the digital age.
- (29) The equal participation of all people is a prerequisite for social cohesion and individual self-determination. An inclusive society creates structures that enable all people to participate in their diversity.
- (30) A self-determined life requires economic freedom. The freedom to choose a profession, to conclude contracts, to make self-determined decisions as consumers and to start a trade or business is part of this. Every person has the right to fight for good working conditions and wages in a trade union. Economic freedom guarantees

freedom of ownership, which is a social obligation, and this includes effective protection against discrimination.

- (31) A society based on solidarity is needed so that everyone can develop in a self-determined way with their individual strengths and weaknesses. In a world in which the demands on each individual are increasing, in which everyone is expected to be ever faster, ever more adaptable and ever better, must also allow for slowness and weakness and everyone should be protected from harmful coercion. Every person deserves appreciation and recognition for their individual life decisions, as long as they are not at the expense of the rights of others and do not violate the constitutional order.
- (32) Freedom means responsibility for oneself and for others. It is an individual as well as a social good. Freedom challenges us to respect one another and demands something of all of us. Freedom and self-determination find their limits where they deprive other people and future generations of freedom and self-determination. Only democratic and constitutional procedures can legitimize the restriction of them. New technologies must protect freedom and not endanger it.
- (33) Self-determination includes the recognition and protection of cultural diversity, including religious diversity, and the freedom to have no religion.
- (34) An equal society is one in which all people can make self-determined decisions about their lives and their bodies. This right must also apply to women and girls and requires emancipation from conditions of oppression and a joint unambiguous stance against gender-based violence. We stand at the side of girls and women as well as transsexual and intersexual people who are fighting globally for their right to self-determination.
- (35) Children are not small adults. They have their own rights to promote their development, to protection, participation, to be heard and to education. Self-determination is only possible if all children and young people are given equal opportunities.

Democracy

- (36) Democracy means equal political freedom for all. Democracy lives on prerequisites that it cannot guarantee itself. That is why it needs democrats. Democracy never stands still. It is always evolving. Democracy is the form of government that is capable of self-correction.

- (37) Democracy is more than the rule of the majority, because it guarantees the protection of human rights, freedom and minority rights on the basis of a liberal constitutional state. Even a defensible democracy needs citizens who actively defend it and repeatedly provide it new strength. That is the best protection against destruction from within.
- (38) In a democracy, people collectively negotiate their future and decide together on the issues that affect their lives. Democracy is strenuous. It needs respectful disputes as well as compromise. Democracy needs freedom, it has to guarantee civil and human rights and is at the same time bound to social conditions and solidarity.
- (39) Separation of powers and the rule of law are the foundation of a democratic society. The state, as the holder of the monopoly on the use of force, must ensure that people have access to an independent judiciary in order to enforce their rights against others, but also against the state itself, without violence.
- (40) The protection, promotion and guarantee of human rights are essential prerequisites for democracy.
- (41) We stand for an inclusive, diverse democracy. In a diverse society, where multiple perspectives come together and make themselves heard, we understand our task to be recognizing differences, compensating for disadvantages, overcoming structural disadvantages and thus creating equality. This is the basis for mutual recognition as equals in a diverse society. Democracy enables a social “we” that does not disintegrate into particular interests. It is enriched by respect for different experiences.
- (42) In democracy, all genders have the same power to shape and make decisions. The participation of all genders, including intersexual, transsexual and non-binary persons, requires gender equality and permeable structures. In order for women to participate equally in all democratic processes, parity is needed.
- (43) Democracy is a public matter. The democratic debate needs a strong and vibrant civil society, commitment and citizen participation, strong and free media, culture, arts and science, good educational institutions and strong public meeting forums, as well as co-determination on a level playing field. For open debate according to clear rules, democracy always needs innovations and parties in which people come together to bundle opinions and face public debate and decision-making with programs and stature.

- (44) Democracy depends on people from all parts of society becoming involved and feeling represented. Democracy needs access and also direct participation in order to be able to bring different perspectives and positions into the democratic process.
- (45) Democracy is based on comprehensible decision-making processes and on transparency with regard to the exertion of influence - for example by companies, lobbying or other states. Too much influence by certain groups and economic interests undermines the primacy of politics and must be restricted. Politics decides on general economic conditions in the interest of the common good, it finds ways to balance and hear all voices, and thus ensures the independence and credibility of political action.
- (46) Federalism in Germany is a lesson from the darkest chapter of our history and prevents centralized encroachments on citizens' rights. It demands cooperation. The interplay between the federal, state and local governments ensures democratic and social stability. It strengthens diverse regions and ensures a close, responsive policy. In the pursuit of equal living conditions, the federal and state governments bear joint responsibility.
- (47) European integration is constitutive for our country - developing it further into a Federal Republic of Europe is prerequisite for being able to help shape global issues ecologically, socially and democratically.
- (48) Democracy is the condition for people worldwide to be able to lead self-determined lives. International solidarity of democrats against authoritarian rule and any form of total oppression strengthens democracy globally.

Peace

- (49) Living freedom and guaranteed dignity require peace. Human coexistence is based on the ability to resolve conflicts non-violently and peacefully and to uphold the human rights of all. Where violence negates peaceful politics, human rights and non-violence can come into conflict. We depend on the medium of politics that relies on the spirit of cooperation in global responsibility.
- (50) Dignity, freedom and equality are derived from the universality and indivisibility of human rights. Human rights are not negotiable - neither in the face of power politics and economic interests nor in the face of cultural relativism. The dignity of

every human being is inviolable. It is the duty of national and international policy to guarantee this. We have a responsibility as an international community to take action against the most serious human rights violations and genocide within the framework of the United Nations.

- (51) Nonviolence is more than the failure to apply physical force, peace is more than the absence of war. As an important obligation across the board, the commitment to a culture of nonviolence encompasses far more than the field of foreign policy. Cooperation, dialogue, democratic balancing of interests, disarmament and the strength of law, as well as multilateralism, international partnership and European unification are the way to overcome global challenges facing humanity as a whole. The goal remains to overcome the political institution of war in the mid-to-long term through a policy of nonviolence.
- (52) Women's rights are human rights. The realization of women's and minority rights, such as the rights of inter- and transgender people, protection against gender-based, racist and other anti-human violence, persecution and discrimination, and active support and empowerment of girls, women and other marginalized groups in all areas should guide international policy.
- (53) The united Europe, born as a unique peace project, has a responsibility for peace worldwide. Against authoritarian nationalism, Europe's promise of peace, freedom, democracy, solidarity, justice, stability, ecological responsibility and human dignity is an important anchor of multilateral and human rights-based policies in the world. This also applies to the EU's foreign and regional policy.
- (54) International solidarity as well as responsibility for our historical and current actions determine our policy. Our goal is a global order with international institutions. This should secure peace, justice and freedom, reduce global inequality and poverty, enable equal access to global resources, strengthen international exchange and sustainable connectivity, promote democracy, guarantee the equal participation of women and minority groups, protect the human rights of all migrants and the climate, and enable respect for planetary limitations, as agreed in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

CHAPTER 1

Protecting the Foundations of Life

Climate and Energy

- (55) Following upon the fossil age, the ecological age has begun. Whereas the progress of the modern age has so far been driven by coal, oil and gas and shifted much of its social and ecological costs to other regions of the world and into the future, progress today is about preserving the natural foundations of life and enabling present and future generations worldwide to live in freedom, dignity and prosperity. The more resolutely we act, the more freedom and alternatives we will have in the decades to come.
- (56) The principle of sustainability guides the ecological age. According to this principle, natural resources may only be used to the extent that they can be renewed. This applies to technologies, economic practices, personal needs and consumption. In concrete terms, this means that political decisions must be measured by whether their consequences are compatible with compliance to planetary limitations.
- (57) We live in times of climate crisis. Rising sea levels threaten life on the coasts. Drought and desertification are destroying human and animal habitats. Heatwaves and extreme weather are causing extraordinary damage and assuming life-threatening proportions, especially in the global South. More and more people have to leave their homes. It is humanity's task to prevent the catastrophe as far as possible.
- (58) The primary basis of our policy is the Paris Agreement and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's report on the 1.5-degree limit, which makes it clear that every tenth of a degree counts in preventing relevant tipping points in the climate system from being exceeded. It is therefore necessary to get on the 1.5-degree path. For this, immediate and substantial action is crucial in the coming years. Using more renewable energy is not only cheaper and more sustainable, but also leads more quickly to European climate neutrality - which must be achieved well before the middle of the century.

- (59) The yardstick for successful climate policy is the global budget approach. It shows how many greenhouse gas emissions may still be emitted worldwide in order to comply with the Paris Agreement. Industrialized countries like Germany, historically the largest emitters of greenhouse gases, have a special responsibility and must therefore take a leading role in decarbonization. Every additional ton of CO₂ they emit is a loan taken out with countries in the global South and with future generations. Hence the need for concrete action every day.
- (60) The transition to 100 percent renewable energies and the phase-out of fossil fuels are the key tasks of climate protection. Rapid and consistent decarbonization simultaneously modernizes the economy and industry, thus securing social prosperity and jobs. To decarbonize all economic processes, renewable energies must be massively expanded and efficiently and economically coupled between the electrical, heating, transport, industrial and agricultural sectors via grids, storage facilities and renewable energy sources.
- (61) The use of modern technologies makes climate neutrality possible. The task of politics is therefore to activate people's ingenuity in order to develop suitable technologies and use them cleverly. Technological solutions must always adhere to the precautionary principle and be subject to retrievability requirements, because large-scale interventions in the climate system entail incalculable risks. Thus, when weighing costs and benefits, the possible reversibility as well as the depth of intervention must be taken into account. Technologies will not be able to replace fundamental changes and rapid action, but only complement them. Likewise, negative emissions are not a substitute for emission reductions.
- (62) Digitalization can make a contribution to climate protection. Via modern technology and price signals, it makes it possible to closely dovetail fluctuating renewable production with consumption. The potential of digitalization for resource efficiency and economical energy consumption should be promoted as best as possible. Digitalization itself must be flanked by measures that limit resource consumption, avoid rebound effects and support sufficiency. The yardstick is the planetary limitations.
- (63) A decentralized supply of renewable energies with a diverse ownership structure is more crisis-proof than an energy system based on centralized large-scale power plants. At the same time, local and regional supply through renewable energies can be optimized by means of Europe-wide networking. The European Energy Union should combine the strengths of the diverse renewable energies. Solar energy and

onshore wind power can be used throughout Europe, geothermal and hydropower in Scandinavia and the Alps, for example, and offshore wind power in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. This can be achieved if key players such as citizens, municipalities, but also regional companies and craftsmen actively contribute to the energy transition - at the same time, they can benefit directly.

- (64) In the case of infrastructures such as electricity and gas pipelines, which represent natural monopolies, the public sector has a special responsibility. Its share in future investments should be correspondingly increased.
- (65) A forward-looking external energy policy is also needed beyond Europe. It helps decarbonization worldwide, plans and organizes the transition to new energies and the flow of trade, and secures energy imports that are still needed. In addition, an external energy policy of mutual respect with partner countries helps build the appropriate structures for their own energy transition and subsequently for exportation. It also ensures that the imported energy has been produced sustainably and under socially just conditions.
- (66) To tackle the climate crisis, it is neither necessary nor justifiable to return to nuclear power. This high-risk technology is much more a global existential threat to nature, humans and animals. Therefore, all plants that serve the continued use of nuclear power at home and abroad or produce material for the possible construction of nuclear bombs must be shut down. Instead of providing privileges for nuclear power in the Euratom Treaty, renewable energies should be promoted. Possible energy production from nuclear fusion will come too late to make a significant contribution to solving the climate crisis in the coming decades.
- (67) The challenge now is to find a site for the permanent storage of the highly radioactive nuclear waste with the highest possible safety standards and under the best possible geological conditions. In the search based on scientific criteria and with the greatest possible transparency and participation of the population, the responsibility of society as a whole must be placed before self-interest. Likewise, interim storage facilities must meet the highest achievable safety standards.

Environment, Preservation of Nature and Agriculture

- (68) The loss of biodiversity is as dramatic as the climate crisis. Worse still, the two crises are mutually dependent and can therefore only be solved together. The Red

Lists and the planetary limitations must become the “barometer of life” for political guidelines, because biodiversity secures life on the planet. Organic farming, the greening of conventional agriculture, land-preserving planning and construction, the preservation of valuable habitats, more protected areas and biotopes, and more wilderness and free nature on land, in rivers, lakes and oceans must be pursued and promoted as effective protection for biodiversity and the environment. The world’s oceans in particular are under massive threat from acidification, overheating and overfishing. As the largest producers of oxygen, they must be protected by effective marine preservations and environmentally sound land and fisheries management.

- (69) Human encroachment into the last natural areas that have not yet been destroyed and the unrestricted appropriation of the environment and wildlife for consumption endanger not only nature but also human health. So-called zoonotic diseases can have fatal social consequences. Protecting ecosystems also helps prevent epidemics and pandemics. When intervening in nature, irresponsible risks, such as the eradication of entire populations or species through genetic engineering, must be avoided.
- (70) In order for forests, swamplands and floodplains to make their indispensable contribution to safeguarding biodiversity, recharging groundwater and reducing CO₂ emissions, reforestation and forest conversion - away from monocultures and toward near-natural, climate-resilient mixed forests - must be accelerated in accordance with ecological criteria. At the same time, it is urgently necessary to stop the draining of swamplands and to promote their rewetting and the restoration of floodplains. After all, the conservation of nature is climate protection.
- (71) The conservation of species requires the protection of habitats and more knowledge. The goal is to establish and expand a network of protected areas and to promote nature-friendly agriculture and forestry. The deficit in the enforcement of nature, environmental and climate protection must be ended. Research on the various species, their population sightings and their interaction in the ecosystem should be promoted and digitally supported, as it is estimated that less than a quarter of all species are known today. Intensified education and public relations work raise awareness of the importance of the protection of species and respectful treatment of nature. Protecting species also involves effectively stopping the commercial wildlife trade and trophy hunting.
- (72) An end to the pollution of the earth with air and water contaminants, plastics, waste, toxic chemicals and pesticides is essential for environmental, health and climate

protection. Guiding principles for regulating pollution are the principles of preservation and that the polluter pays. Waste may not be outsourced to other countries without strict and enforceable environmental protection requirements. Pollutants should not be part of products and production processes, since their environmental impact can usually be limited only partially and at high cost after the fact. Priority is therefore to be given to replacing environmentally harmful products and production processes with environmentally compatible ones by means of appropriate bids, strong incentives and legal regulations.

- (73) To end the overexploitation of nature, the absolute consumption of natural resources must be substantially and rapidly reduced. This also applies for resources that are imported. Respecting planetary limitations means decoupling prosperity and quality of life as far as possible from resource consumption and transferring resources to a completely circular economy.
- (74) Sustainable agriculture works with nature. The growing dependence on world markets with narrow, debt-driven production constraints and a few large corporations, on pesticides and seed patents, must be ended. There must be no patents on plants and animals or their genetic makeup. The future belongs to a climate-friendly, cycle-oriented and regionally rooted agriculture that combines old empirical knowledge with modern agro-ecological cultivation methods, digital applications and sustainable water management. This diverse agriculture does not produce for markets, but for people who have a right to safe, healthy and sustainable food. It works in a way that conserves resources, is compatible with nature, and is guided by the model of organic agriculture with its principles of animal justice, freedom from genetic engineering, and freedom from synthetic pesticides. Such agriculture stands for the preservation of a diverse cultural landscape and the diversity of farming systems, livestock breeds and plant varieties. Grazing animal husbandry deserves special support, as it preserves and makes good use of ecologically valuable grassland. The necessary change towards sustainable agriculture can only be achieved together with farmers.
- (75) Everyone has the right to affordable, healthy and sufficient food. Care must be taken to ensure that the climate and environment are protected in food production, that healthy food is produced and that children in particular are thus protected from diet-related diseases. At the same time, fair working and transparent production conditions must prevail in the supply chain.

- (76) The security and supply of food is a valuable commodity. Agriculture deserves recognition for ensuring this. In the interests of global food sovereignty, it is important to strengthen farming structures, prevent land grabbing and land speculation by large investors - in countries of the global South as well as in our own - and promote regional value chains and solidarity-based systems. The export orientation of agriculture at the expense of other regions must be reduced. The goal is to give farmers a way out of the “grow or fail” system. This also includes that they are specifically remunerated for their diverse activities to the benefit of the common good.

Animal Protection

- (77) Animals are sentient beings; they have rights and must not be degraded to raw material suppliers or entertainment objects. Wherever their welfare is at risk due to human activity, it must be protected. All animal husbandry must be geared to their comprehensive needs, because animals are also entitled to a good and healthy life. The appropriate political and legal framework must be established for this. Recognized animal protection organizations need more competencies and more support as advocates of animal rights.
- (78) As long as we humans keep animals to kill and eat them, we must give them a dignified life free from pain, fear and stress - without cruel methods for breeding, husbandry, transport or slaughter. Sustainable agriculture has these goals firmly anchored in it. This also means that fewer and fewer animals will be kept in the future and correspondingly less meat will be consumed and exported. This is also essential for the protection of the climate, environment and biodiversity, and for fair trade with the countries of the global South. A new nutrition policy and the targeted promotion of plant-based alternatives will also reduce the consumption of animal products. Animal testing is to be consistently reduced according to a phase-out plan and replaced by innovative research methods without animals.

Mobility

- (79) Everyone has the right to mobility. It enables freedom and participation and is part of public services. It must be oriented toward human needs, be designed to be completely barrier-free, and at the same time respect planetary limitations. A social-ecological policy creates the mobility transition and guarantees sustainable mobility for all people. It ensures better air, less noise and improves safety. The goal is road traffic in which no more people die. This requires strict speed limits, including on highways.

- (80) In the future, public funding for the individual modes of transport must be geared to the ecological footprint. At the same time, the individual modes of transport must pay for their respective environmental costs. Instead of ever more new roads and highways, the country needs a modern and comprehensive infrastructure for rail and local public transport. This also means that existing road infrastructure can be used in new and networked ways. Attractive offers lead to a modal shift. The following principle applies: Strengthen rail, cycling and walking, decarbonize road and air transport.
- (81) Mobility in the ecological age is networked and digital. The modes of transport combine their offers and connection; this is made possible by all providers and based on transparent programming and information. Public transport is increasingly publicly financed so that its use is guaranteed for all with low flat rates or free of charge. At the same time, the service must be improved. Different forms of mobility are seamlessly intertwined, enabling individual mobility, including for people with disabilities or mobility-impaired people. Home offices, videoconferencing and flexible working also contribute to the avoidance of traffic.
- (82) The mobility transition is most challenging in rural areas, where many people are dependent on their cars. That is why reliable public transportation connections are needed here in particular. Where a car is still needed, it will be emission-free and digitally connected in the future. Strengthening the regional economy and offering people affordable housing close to their jobs avoids unnecessary journeys, freight transports and commutes.
- (83) Space in cities is being reallocated piece by piece. Safe and barrier-free infrastructure for pedestrians, cyclists and people with disabilities, as well as attractive, affordable and reliable public transportation for all, form the backbone of social-ecological mobility. Overall, there will be significantly fewer cars and less unnecessary traffic; transportation policy, urban planning and society focused on the automobile will become a thing of the past. Bicycles and e-bikes can replace the automobile and make our cities and villages more livable, safer and more mobile - provided there are bike lanes and charging stations. Clear and verifiable steps for the implementation of the overarching climate goals continue driving the mobility transition even further. In cities, the future belongs to the automobile-free inner city.
- (84) The transportation transition in urban and rural areas will only succeed with a strong and reliable railroad. This requires the expansion and restructuring of local

and long-distance transportation, separate management of infrastructure and operations, and a significant expansion of services. This includes connections to regional centers, even across administrative and national borders, as well as the expansion and electrification of the rail network so that all major cities are connected. Disused rail lines are to be reactivated. The major European cities are to be linked by fast transnational rail connections, a comfortable night rail service and a uniform European booking system. These are essential prerequisites for making short-haul flights and many regional airports superfluous and for significantly reducing air traffic - as is necessary for climate policy.

- (85) Freight transportation must also become climate-neutral and pollution-free. Every option must be used for this task, in particular the shift from road and air to rail and zero-emission ships, as well as the switch to alternative drive systems, the construction and expansion of overhead lines on road and rail, and the promotion of combined road-rail freight transport. The aim is to make cities as free as possible from trucks through decentralized distribution concepts.

Housing

- (86) Everyone has the right to housing. Only those who have a secure home can experience freedom and participation. Enabling everyone to enjoy this right is part of public service. A social-ecological housing policy guarantees everyone a proper home within planetary limitations.
- (87) In urban areas, the challenges for an ecological society appear as if under a magnifying glass. The outdated model of the automobile-oriented city is sapping quality of life and making people ill. More living space and more room for greenery and urban nature, urban life, leisure, encounters and recreation create livable cities with short distances, where people enjoy living and working. The urban climate improves, soil sealing is minimized and the right to clean air is ensured.
- (88) The livable city of the future is a zero-emissions city. This can be achieved by combining renewable energies, clean mobility and climate-neutral heating. This includes plus-energy houses, buildings that harvest solar energy, green facades and roofs, and buildings that are constructed, modernized, and insulated with recyclable, ecological building materials and share multiple renewable heat sources. In this way, the neighborhoods of the future will actively contribute to a climate-friendly city.

- (89) Every building is to be heated, cooled, ventilated and lit in a CO₂-neutral manner. Climate-compatible energy standards for new and old buildings that take into account the entire life cycle of the buildings and building materials, as well as heating and cooling systems based on renewable energies, point the way to this goal. At the same time, cities must be made resilient to heat, drought, storms and heavy rainfall through climate-smart planning, more green space and sophisticated water management. Climate justice also means making energy-efficient housing affordable for all and with accessibility for all.
- (90) A transition in construction is needed so that the construction industry can move away from the high consumption of raw materials and energy and use land sparingly. Renewable and recycled building materials are the basis of a circular economy. In the future, buildings will be constructed, repaired and modernized using healthy and climate-neutral building materials. The conversion of existing buildings and sustainable urban development and building planning focus on people and their needs, thus ensuring that the sustainability and climate targets are achieved.

Welfare and Ecology

- (91) The transition to the ecological age must be accompanied by strengthened social cohesion and a greater orientation toward the common good. In all transition measures, attention must be paid to social balance, for example in the form of financial compensation. The quicker and more reliably the necessary transition away from fossil fuels is handled, the better abrupt disruptions can be avoided.
- (92) It must be ensured that all people have access to essential goods and services such as housing, water, electricity, healthy food, mobility and broadband access. That is why state welfare guarantees must always be adjusted with an eye on the development of prices. And we need public services that enable people to live in a climate-neutral way. Investments in such public services contribute to social justice and climate protection.
- (93) The socio-ecological transformation ahead of us offers many opportunities for new jobs. At the same time, the transition means massive changes for those who have to date worked in industries dominated by fossil fuels. This requires a forward-looking industrial policy to preserve as many jobs as possible through the transition to green technologies and products and to create new ones. At the same time, it is society's task to enable the people affected to participate in the transformation

processes and to offer them the prospect of good employment as well as comprehensive opportunities for ongoing training and further education.

- (94) Subsidies for environmentally and climate-damaging production methods and products undermine the ecological transformation of business and industry. It is therefore essential to put an end to these and to use these funds in a sustainable manner instead.
- (95) A policy that reflects the ecological costs of production in prices is economically efficient, but it can also lead to social imbalances. Therefore, pricing policies - including a transnational CO₂ price - should always be combined with measures that result in a more just distribution. By returning the revenues from ecological steering instruments to the citizens, environmental protection, climate protection and social justice are combined.
- (96) The costs of the transition should be borne fairly and in a spirit of solidarity. The state has a relevant role to play here. The costs of not pursuing the path to a climate-friendly society would be much greater.
- (97) Capital flows must be redirected to sustainable activities. In the context of divestment, investments on the financial markets will no longer be made in coal, oil and gas, but in renewable energy, emission-free mobility, health and green IT. The state and the public sector must lead the way here by ensuring transparency and aligning their investment strategies with the Paris climate targets and social-ethical criteria.
- (98) The social transformation towards climate and social justice needs pioneers. People who want to do things differently, who set new standards in their public welfare-oriented, entrepreneurial or personal actions. We need to support them instead of putting obstacles in their way.
- (99) It is the task of politics to create better rules, not better people. Sensible environmental policy is not content with appeals but sets clear rules and enforces them. It promotes new technologies and invests in new infrastructures.

Managing for the Future

Social-ecological Market Economy

- (100) The economy serves people and the general welfare, not the other way around. Sustainable prosperity in the sense of climate neutrality, provisions and justice are the core of a sustainable economic system. The goal is an economic and financial system that respects planetary limitations and attains a better quality of life for all people, globally and for future generations. This requires a fundamentally different way of doing business: One that provides equal opportunities, access to resources and for gender. This means a shift toward a social-ecological market economy with clear guardrails and with an orientation toward the common good that views concepts such as growth, efficiency, competition and innovation as a means to an end and avoids concentrations of economic power among the few.
- (101) Many of the structural incentives to produce, trade and consume confront us with ecological problems of dramatic proportions and fuel socio-economic distribution crises that need to be addressed. To improve the living conditions of humanity globally, growth in certain areas will also be important in the socio-ecological transformation, while other areas will shrink. Economic growth is not the problem per se, but the overexploitation of natural resources and exploitation of human labor that accompany the compulsion to grow is. As a precaution, our systems must therefore be scientifically designed to remain stable even when operating within planetary limitations - especially in view of recurring economic and financial crises.
- (102) Prosperity is not defined by material wealth alone, but also means quality of life. It is also about security, freedom, the ability to decide about one's time, healthy living conditions, equal rights, cultural and political participation and peaceful coexistence. This requires a new concept of prosperity and a different way of doing business. With a comprehensive prosperity indicator, it will be possible to measure ecological, social and qualitative attributes. Water, air, soil and biodiversity are global common goods that must be for the benefit all people, beyond the logic of pure exploitation.
- (103) A Green New Deal paves the way for a social-ecological market economy. It creates the new regulatory framework for fair, ecological and sustainable economic activity by building on an alliance between labor and the environment. It invests boldly in

the future. It unleashes new forces for creativity and innovation. It ensures social balance and promotes a gender-equal society.

- (104) Free and creative action by people, fair competition, social cooperation and a diversity of economic activity can create sustainable prosperity, progress and innovative solutions to problems.
- (105) Markets can be a powerful instrument for economic efficiency, innovation and technological progress. Their dynamism and creative power are of great importance in overcoming the major challenges of ecological crises. Unregulated markets, however, are future-blind, crisis-prone, unstable and can endanger democracy. Only clear rules ensure that markets and competition function and work in society's interest. It is the task of the state to provide information, transparency and freedom of choice and to ensure that consumers' rights are enforced.
- (106) Markets must be designed in such a way that consumers, as market participants, are effectively protected from abuse and can make self-determined decisions. This includes precautions and protection for weaker consumers as well as freedom of choice and transparency in now globalized and digitalized markets. The state must ensure these consumer rights, strengthen the enforcement of these rights and shape consumer policy by law. It must not offload responsibility for the development of the economy onto consumers. It is the task of the state to set a clear legal framework for the economy and competition.
- (107) The market is not the sole organizing principle for economic activity in a society. A large part of human economic relations takes place outside markets, through the state, in households or in collectively organized areas. We want to pave the way for social and ecological entrepreneurship, for an economy of sharing, and for freely accessible knowledge and common goods. Unpaid labor must be recognized and may not result in discrimination. In this way, the social-ecological economy is strengthened in the terms of the general welfare.
- (108) Today, we do not know which way of living together will prove to be ecologically and socially sustainable in the long term. In order to open up a broader scope for cooperative and solidarity-based forms of economic activity as well, initiatives that experiment with these forms of economic activity should be supported, from solidarity-based agriculture with a community-supported bakery to the printing collective and the collaboratively organized software development team.

- (109) The primacy of politics applies vis-à-vis business and capital as well. We want to re-establish and enforce this primacy. This requires a strong, efficient state that is capable of taking action and clear guardrails in the form of fiscal and regulatory law, as well as intelligent public research and funding policies. In competition, success should go to those who promote, rather than counteract, overriding social goals.
- (110) Only if prices reflect the ecological and social truth will market competition not be at the expense of people and the environment. Climate-friendly and social alternatives can only prevail if those who cause ecological and social damage bear the costs.
- (111) Sustainable economic policy will orient itself on a new measure of prosperity and a new form of economic reporting. Unlike gross domestic product, these take into account not only economic but also ecological, social and societal developments as well as caregiving, most of which is performed - unpaid - by women. Care and reproductive work are among the most important tasks of our society. That is why it requires a framework that ensures gender equality in the economy as well.
- (112) Sustainable economic activity requires planning certainty. Government economic, investment and infrastructure policy must be long-term and reliable. To do business successfully and sustainably, companies need a modern and intact infrastructure, well-trained skilled workers, good financing conditions, a functioning administration, as well as social stability and legal certainty. This also includes faster and better planning procedures through early and effective procedural participation, as well as authorities and courts with sufficient staff and fully electronic processing of applications.
- (113) Infrastructure is a public responsibility. Public goods and institutions as well as social infrastructures and affordable housing must be ensured and must be accessible to all. Basic infrastructures of security, justice, mobility and administration belong in public hands. Goods and general welfare services, municipal services and self-administration must remain in public hands and exempt from market mechanisms and competition. Access to public goods that promote social participation - such as communal recreational and cultural facilities - should therefore be made available free of charge, as needed. Public sector procurement must be based more on environmental and social factors, not just on price.

Economic and Industrial Policy

- (114) Competition on a level playing field is the prerequisite for markets to function efficiently and to generate prosperity and progress in a sustainable manner. It is the task of politics to prevent and break up predominance and monopolies and to define and shape those areas of society that should not be dominated by markets.
- (115) Dumping, protectionism and a lack of regulation lead to unfair competition. Many companies suffer from this, in Europe and worldwide. The acquisition of stakes in companies, direct investments, market access and also the awarding of public contracts by and to third parties should be based on standards and reciprocity. Non-European takeovers must then, if necessary, also be prohibited. Critical infrastructure and key industries must be protected.
- (116) Regulation is not an end unto itself. It must be aimed at achieving society's goals. It should leave individuals and companies as much freedom as possible with regard to the means chosen. There must be a continuous review of whether specific regulations are still needed and whether they continue to fulfill their protective purpose. It should be noted that both inappropriate political regulation as well as a lack of political regulation can restrict competition and cement market power. Regulations must be designed in such a way that they do not act as a barrier to start-ups and do not become a competitive disadvantage for small businesses and the skilled trades. They should rather have the effect of offsetting differences in power as much as possible.
- (117) Digital platforms are permeating more and more areas of social and economic life. They are the basis for added value and new business models and should therefore be the focus of economic and social policy. Platforms must be comprehensively regulated in order to protect fundamental rights, limit growing economic power, ensure fair competition and working conditions, and enable public welfare-oriented innovations. Europe needs public and non-profit alternatives to the current private monopolies. These can offer citizens the opportunity to organize themselves both locally and digitally and to exert political influence. Digital platforms are part of the infrastructure and must be barrier-free.
- (118) In terms of economic policy, the state must do more than just define a framework. Germany can only maintain its international position as a global industrial location with a sustainable economy, with new value chains, new products, good jobs and sustainable business models. This requires an active industrial policy that helps

new technologies achieve breakthroughs, especially where the market shies away from risk. It must ensure fair competition, invest in research, digitalization and the socio-ecological transformation, create and secure jobs and ensure gender equality and non-discriminatory access requirements.

- (119) Entrepreneurs must not be forced to choose between an economically successful path or a social and ecological orientation of the company. Economic activity must be aligned with long-term goals and the prosperity of society as a whole. Financial reporting should be supplemented with long-term goals and binding indicators that measure social, ecological and societal impacts in the context of a balance sheet oriented toward the common good.
- (120) The key project of a social-ecological industrial and innovation policy is the complete decarbonization of production processes along the entire supply chain. The automotive and chemical industries, as well as mechanical engineering, have been the pillars of the German economy's success for decades, but these sectors must reinvent themselves to meet the challenges of the 21st century. In doing so, German industry can build on what has made it strong, especially the SME sector: Its engineering skills, its creativity, its social partnership with the trade unions, and its European and global orientation.
- (121) The skilled trades are one of the most important economic factors in Germany. In its diversity, the skilled trades are a prerequisite for the "compact" city of short distances, for attractive regions and for the socio-ecological transformation. The skilled trades must be supported in transferring their expertise, quality and traditions into the future and in strengthening their important role in the labor market, especially in the training of skilled labor as well as in maintaining and promoting those skills in structurally weak regions.
- (122) Tourism has a future if it is responsible and sustainable in its many forms. This includes the equal participation of all stakeholders, the implementation of environmental, nature and climate protection, the strengthening of the local economy and a balance between public and individual mobility. Social, ecological and cultural impacts of travel should be in harmony with local conditions or compensated for.
- (123) A decisive factor in decarbonizing production and consumption is embedding them in a circular economy. Production and consumption take place as far as possible in a regional closed-loop system, so that fewer finite resources have to be used. Central

to this is a comprehensive imperative for resource-saving and circular product design. This minimizes the number of new goods produced, makes products more durable and allows them to be repaired or recycled.

- (124) As one of the largest economic regions in the world, the European Union can set global standards with its common internal market. This must be used to advance the transformation, protect human rights, remain competitive, promote innovation and added value, make itself less dependent on other global players, and at the same time secure citizens' and consumers' rights in the digital world, which is still largely unregulated.
- (125) The raw materials industry will remain a central building block in the future. An interplay of ecological and technological innovation, digitalization, cross-industry cooperation and a reliable political framework will establish the foundations for steel, concrete, building materials, aluminum, glass, paper and chemicals to continue to be produced in Europe. The steps required for this transformation must be balanced under competition law.
- (126) Instead of Europe losing its independence in the field of technical developments and inventions, we need sufficient production and development capacities of our own for system-relevant products such as medical preparations or critical infrastructure technologies. Regionalization in critical areas and global cooperation belong together. The market alone cannot manage this.
- (127) Free enterprise, founders and start-ups are the drivers of innovation. Venture capital and public and private investments in research and development are the basis for start-ups and progress. Economic and research policy promotes new ideas for socio-ecological transformation. It promotes the networking of small companies, start-ups and spin-offs from universities throughout Europe. It supports funding, access to resources and the transfer of basic research into practice. This creates attractive basic conditions and diversity for the best researchers, founders and specialists.

Private Property and General Welfare

- (128) A free society and a social-ecological market economy are inconceivable without the right to private property. At the same time, it is a social obligation, because the concentration of too much property in the hands of the few threatens democracy and the market economy. What is needed is a more equal distribution of wealth and opportunities.

- (129) Land is subject to a unique social obligation due to the fact it is indispensable and cannot be increased in quantity. Therefore, returns in this area must be limited and land must increasingly be transferred to public or general welfare-oriented ownership. For the common good, as a last resort the German Basic Law allows socialization, as well as expropriation where markets get out of hand. Property value increases are curtailed and the public sector is involved in changes to planning law. Land claims are to be restricted. Our goal is to reduce land claims to zero, and the state must ensure diverse ownership structures and promote equitable distribution.
- (130) There is a need for new forms of community ownership or public ownership and a stronger commitment to the general welfare. Cooperatives and social enterprises make an important contribution to a general welfare economy. The goal is for individuals to offer their services and products without obstructions.
- (131) Knowledge grows when it is shared. Open access to knowledge for all people increases innovation, prosperity and justice. In doing so, we want fair treatment of knowledge and works, incentives for the generation of knowledge and the strengthening of open and free licenses. The automated assertion of exclusive proprietary rights may not restrict communication freedoms. As much knowledge as possible should become human knowledge and be usable by the general public. In the case of cultural works, appropriate remuneration must be ensured for creators. Publicly financed knowledge should be available to everyone free of charge.

Financial Markets and Banks

- (132) Financial markets and banks have the task of financing investments in the real economy and offering savers attractive investment opportunities. However, the deregulation of markets has made speculation with unproductive, complex financial products the main purpose of investments. Speculation must be curbed and we must return to so-called “boring banking,” where the focus is on long-term financing rather than short-term speculation. To achieve this, the deposit and lending business must be separated from risky investment banking (separation banking system). A financial market is needed that participates in the financing of the common good and promotes this instead of harming it.
- (133) Good financial institutions are cornerstones of modern economies. If they get too big, they become a hazard. That is why no bank or insurance company should be so big that it can drag an entire economy into the abyss. It must be possible to wind

them up at any time without recourse to tax revenues. In addition, banks and insurance companies need sufficient equity and effective liability rules.

- (134) Germany's existing three-pillar banking system with its many small, local banks has proven its worth. The financial market needs effective supervision and simple, crystal-clear rules without loopholes that apply to everyone, be they banks, hedge funds, FinTechs or other financial service providers. This supervision should guarantee a transparent financial market with clear responsibilities. Small banks that do not pose a threat to the financial system do not need to be regulated and supervised as thoroughly as do large banks.
- (135) Financial markets have an important function in shaping the economy. The transformation to climate protection and a socio-ecological economy will be accelerated if investment money no longer flows into the old fossil fuel-driven economy. The public sector and public financial institutions must lead the way and completely withdraw from investments in companies that rely on fossil energies, the destruction of ecosystems or the violation of human rights. Investors must be able to see at all times the environmental and social consequences of their investments. The climate, sustainability and human rights risks in the financial sector must be disclosed and priced in through accounting based on the general welfare. This makes financing investments in climate protection and sustainability more favorable than providing capital for other purposes

Monetary and Fiscal Policy

- (136) The task of central banks' monetary policy and fiscal policy is to counteract economic crises. In doing so, they safeguard jobs and livelihoods and thus promote the prosperity of society as a whole. Combating and preventing unemployment must be an important policy objective.
- (137) Central banks alone reach their limits when it comes to stabilizing the economy in times of crisis. In particular, budgetary policy must play a role in balancing the ups and downs of the economy and preventing deep economic crises. It is therefore important to always consider the impact of government spending on the economy as a whole. It makes sense to use and expand the scope for credit financing of public spending at both the national and European level in order to avoid economic crises as well as their social consequences and to enable investments for the socio-ecological transformation. Long-term debt sustainability must always be guaranteed

and enshrined in law, and especially in keeping an eye on the room for maneuver of future generations.

- (138) Our common European currency contributes to a strong, unified Europe. However, monetary union has remained an unfinished project. As a result, economic disparities and imbalances in competitiveness and trade are worsening, without European instruments to counter them. It is therefore essential to complete the European monetary union, to supplement it with a fiscal and social union and to get the necessary changes in treaties underway.
- (139) Central banks should create their own standards for digital currencies. This requires European regulation for their development, which establishes legal certainty for consumers. An undermining of the money and currency monopoly through private currencies in the euro area may not be allowed.
- (140) Digital payments, cryptocurrencies and the people behind the accounts must be traceable. A government infrastructure is needed to combat crimes such as money laundering, depictions of sexual violence against children, tax evasion and the financing of terrorist activities.
- (141) The EU needs its own competence for economic and fiscal policy. It needs a budget large enough to provide macroeconomic stabilization and, in severe crises, to provide subsidies to national budgets and respond with European investment. This budget must have its own tax revenues and own resources. In order to finance long-term investments and to ward off and combat severe economic downturns, this budget must also be able to finance itself through loans. To strengthen the euro, government bonds issued by the European Union and its member states must be an absolutely safe investment. A default must be ruled out in any case.
- (142) The independence of the European Central Bank is a valuable asset. It must be preserved. However, crises have shown that focusing solely on the goal of price level stability is too narrow a mandate for monetary policy. Therefore, the ECB, like other central banks, should equally pursue the goal of increasing prosperity and a high level of employment. High interest rate differentials between member states can prevent countries from emerging from a crisis. Especially in the absence of a common fiscal policy in the euro region, it may be necessary for the European Central Bank to guarantee the liquidity of the states and to limit interest rate differences.

(143) At the European level, a greater harmonization and communitization of competition-sensitive taxes is necessary, such as the taxation of corporate profits or CO₂ consumption. Wage and tariff policies should gradually be more closely coordinated. In the case of high and lasting trade imbalances within the monetary union, the recommendations of the European Commission must have a stronger binding force, for example, to impose symmetrical obligations on both deficit and surplus countries to reduce them. Public investment and good wages will strengthen domestic demand and reduce Germany's export surpluses.

Budget and Fiscal Policy

(144) Budget resources belong to all citizens. They must be used carefully at all times and audits must be performed to determine whether the desired social goals are being achieved in an efficient manner. This is an important contribution to being able to finance tasks such as services for general welfare and infrastructure investments. In a democracy, government budgets must be clear, transparent and comprehensible. Gender budgeting and consideration of climate neutrality are absolutely essential for a fair budget.

(145) We stand behind long-term sustainable public finances and laws for limiting borrowing. In this context, it is important not only to look at liabilities, but also to preserve and expand the assets of the public sector. Investments in infrastructure and sustainability secure the scope of action for future generations. With this in mind, the share of public investment in economic output must be expanded. For the expansion of public assets and the long-term safeguarding of our prosperity, credit financing may be recommendable, if it is reasonable and pragmatic, especially if it promises a good return.

(146) Infrastructure is a public task. There must be no further privatization of public companies in the area of mandatory public services. Public-private partnerships can only be considered if they result in added value or lower costs for taxpayers.

(147) Our tax system ensures the financing of public tasks. It needs a fair tax system that is understandable and efficient and leads to an equalization of incomes. This is the basis for acceptance and reduces social inequality.

(148) A tax system that aims to create economic dynamism favors new activities and investments and taxes assets as well as non-performing income. The tax revenue from

capital gains, from large fortunes and inheritances must be significantly increased again. The taxation of capital income must at least match the level of taxation on employment. The building of assets by low-income groups should be promoted.

- (149) Taxes guide. Tax systems should reflect social goals. Activities and products that are not oriented toward general welfare and are ecologically harmful should be taxed more heavily and thus become more expensive. Shifting the tax burden more strongly from labor to resource consumption and income from capital and land ownership favors ecological transformation and social commitment.
- (150) Tax dumping harms national economies. Corporate profits and digital sales must be taxed more at the point of consumption and a common European tax base must be introduced.
- (151) Everyone should participate in the general welfare according to their financial situation, because services of general interest and the social system can only be financed on the basis of solidarity. Taxation should be made more progressive; a reversal of the current trend must be introduced. This requires transparency about economic circumstances and an administration that is capable of enforcing the law. Tax evasion and avoidance, moonlighting, money laundering and social fraud must be combated by all means.

Shaping Progress

Science and Research

- (152) At the center of all progress are human beings in their dignity and freedom. Scientific, technological and social changes must be shaped in such a way that they benefit people and the environment.
- (153) Free science and free research create the future by making an indispensable contribution to humanity's rational understanding of common challenges. Diversity of knowledge and approaches enables future-oriented solutions to crises. Free thinking and experimentation, even without an immediate purpose for exploitation, are the basis for new ideas and creativity. The spirit of research and invention helps to shape transformations. These can only flourish in freedom and rightly enjoy special protection, not least of all from state intervention. Research is open to the participation of society in the sense of citizen science.
- (154) Research results, based on free thinking and experimentation, are first and foremost opportunities - with advantages and disadvantages. They offer social opportunities, but also carry the risk of being abused. Democratic politics protects the independence and freedom of science and research. This includes the freedom not to continue working on certain developments if they violate fundamental ethical principles. Politics provides guardrails for use and application according to the principle of precaution and oriented toward the general welfare. The civil orientation of science is central.
- (155) With the help of science, our society can tackle the challenges ahead, such as water scarcity or the climate crisis. Scientific and technological progress has fundamentally improved human life. But it has also contributed to many global crises and is, at the same time, a way to solve them.
- (156) Research is required in order to be able to deliberate and decide in a qualified manner. Research into technologies also requires the study of their risks and effects. Ethical questions must be discussed in the scientific community and in civil society and handled democratically. Good policy is based on verifiable facts and scientific findings. However, science cannot replace politics.

- (157) It is precisely free basic research, directed by curiosity and the pursuit of knowledge, that must be adequately safeguarded alongside applied research to meet major challenges faced by society. We need a variety of alternatives and, in view of the many crises in the world, cannot from the outset rule out any possibility for solving them. Accordingly, we need more and structurally well-funded basic research within a strong, open and globally networked European research and higher education that ensures freedom and independence.
- (158) The basis for society's trust in science is high standards of scientific work and a basic knowledge of scientific methods. The establishment of methodological standards and the verification of scientific results are the responsibility of the scientific community. Research must always reflect upon itself critically, question the relations of power in all disciplines and be diverse in its choice of methods, theories and working methods. Furthermore, the free exchange of information between science and society, the examination of conflicts of interest, and public access to research results and data are basic principles of a democratic science. Democratic processes legitimize government regulation, for example of the approval of novel technologies or preparations.
- (159) Free, adequately publicly funded research must also be open to society. That is why transparency is needed about how research is financed and which projects and topics are being pursued. The aim of research funding is to gain knowledge. Government-funded research results must be made accessible to society in the spirit of open science.
- (160) As independent public institutions, universities and research institutes are also indispensable for the development of social and technological innovations. This only works with adequate basic funding for science, which enables independence from third-party funding and thus free education and research out of curiosity. The dovetailing of teaching, research and society secures its educational mission, which is oriented toward the general welfare.
- (161) Universities have been and are a place of critical self-reflection in our society. Science analyzes social changes, recognizes political upheavals at an early stage and discusses them. In an increasingly complex world, humanities and social sciences as well as their interdisciplinary intertwining with engineering and natural sciences are gaining in importance, as are pluralistic methods within the disciplines.

- (162) Researchers and students need time and content-related freedom to gain more from their studies than just employment-based knowledge. Education serves first and foremost human development. Studying should be open, participatory and, in principle, free of charge for all. It must be possible to study regardless of age, gender, disability, circumstances and social and geographical origin. Studies must be non-discriminatory, family- and gender-friendly. Sustainably financed student services ensure that studying remains free of hurdles. Research needs a diversity of talents.
- (163) Groups of people and perspectives that have so far been underrepresented in the sciences should be targeted specifically for involvement and promoted. A democratic university culture requires strong self-governance and the equal participation and co-determination of all groups regardless of status. This requires constituted student bodies and a balanced composition of all university committees. Socially acceptable working conditions and reliable employment are the basis for (up and coming) scientists to be able to research and teach freely and without being subjected to self-exploitation.
- (164) Through space exploration, mankind gains knowledge about the fundamental questions of the universe and our planet, better understanding of global problems as well as technological innovations. Therefore, Europe should strengthen the future industry of space exploration, promote international scientific cooperation, maintain its independent access to space and continue the astronaut program. Space may only be explored and used peacefully and for the general welfare of mankind. This requires a new international legal framework, which must also regulate private stakeholders more clearly.

Bioethics

- (165) Ethical questions about the limits of action arise in particular in the field of medicine. Especially where the lives of future generations are affected by changes in genetic material. Interventions in the human germline must be banned and the strict protection of embryos, which already bans the selection of embryos, must be upheld.
- (166) In medicine, there is a need for forward-looking ethics with clear criteria: Human dignity, freedom and self-determination, and responsibility towards future generations. For example, moratoria can be forward-looking in order to assess ethical borderline issues more precisely and to be able to assess risks, dangers and effects on future

generations more accurately, or exclude research altogether. Human cloning must be banned. Animal experiments must be continuously reduced and made superfluous.

- (167) People should be able to make self-determined decisions about their bodies and their lives. Prerequisite for this is comprehensive information so that pros and cons can be considered.
- (168) Reproductive medicine can expand the possibilities for self-determined parenthood, especially for childless, queer, intersexual and transsexual people who wish to have children. New possibilities require consideration of which methods are medically and ethically justifiable. Reproductive medicine has limits where it harms the health of those affected or third parties. Access must be non-discriminatory. Women, but also intersexual and transsexual persons, must be free from patriarchal and economic pressure to decide whether and which options to use. All children need a clear legal status. The personal right to know one's own parentage must be preserved for all children.
- (169) In medicine and biotechnological applications, important progress has been achieved through genetic engineering, while in agriculture its application has resulted in new problems. As with any technology, the political compass for dealing with both old and new genetic engineering methods must be, on the one hand, to guarantee the freedom of research and, on the other hand, to exclude dangers to humans and the environment when applying them. The focus is not on the technology, but on its opportunities, risks and consequences. It is therefore essential to adhere to a strict approval procedure and the precautionary principle anchored in European law. This requires risk assessments on a comprehensive scientific basis and regulation that excludes uncontrollable spread and protects GMO-free production and consumers' freedom of choice through binding labeling. Accordingly, risk and detection research must be strengthened. In the agricultural sector in particular, research into alternative approaches that rely on traditional and organic breeding methods should be strengthened.

Digitalization

- (170) The transformative power of digitalization holds great promise for society. It enables key technologies that advance science, save resources, support the healthcare system, and direct traffic more efficiently. It is the task of policymakers to shape the digital future through value-driven regulation, incentives, and targeted support in a

way that is consistent with our society's values and rights. The aim here is to defend fundamental rights, drive forward the socio-ecological transformation, and ensure social cohesion and the democratic, cultural, material and barrier-free participation of as many people as possible, especially in the interests of future generations. Digitalization must be consistently aligned with sustainability and designed in such a way that it strengthens freedom and self-determination rather than restricting them. Prerequisite for this is the preservation of the open and democratic culture of discussion - online as well - to prevent the increasing militarization of civil infrastructures and to oppose an Internet dominated only by economic interests. A self-determined digital future is only possible by establishing the necessary expertise and securing it in close European and international cooperation between science, business, public agencies and civil society.

- (171) A person without privacy is never free. Transparency, traceability and non-discrimination in the processing of data must be ensured, both by the state and by private stakeholders. Data and human rights protection, informational self-determination, information integrity and security must be resolutely defended and expanded. The responsibility for this must not be shifted to the individual alone. Accordingly, collective rights of protection and defense as well as digital sovereignty must be strengthened. The ability to use digital services anonymously fulfills an important protective function and is at the same time an expression of digital freedom and self-determination, especially for vulnerable groups.
- (172) Openness must be a guiding principle for the digital transformation. The availability of data must be allowed and promoted through European, privacy-compliant, decentralized and cooperative data ecosystems. They are, for example, the basis for smart medicine, connected mobility and a diverse digital economy. Excessive data power and self-reinforcing data monopolies must be prevented and broken up. Open data, open software, open standards and open interfaces must be promoted politically and be standard when government funding is used.
- (173) Everyone has a right to inform themselves and communicate freely as well as to open and fast access to the Internet. Instead of digital barriers along national borders, online-based cross-border exchange must be guaranteed. The digital transformation can empower all individuals. Large parts of social decision-making and the necessary debates required for such are now taking place digitally, along with far greater opportunities for participation. This potential must be better harnessed for democratic processes and protected against manipulation and disinformation.

Because of the low threshold of opportunities for companies and government agencies to intervene, digital forums require special protection.

- (174) Excessive data power and data monopolies must be prevented and broken up. Companies and public authorities that collect vast quantities of data must make their data available to the general public in anonymized form outside B2B or industry platforms. Open source, open data and the highest data and consumer protection standards are the European response to counteract the uncontrolled data power of governments and corporations.
- (175) Data-processing and self-learning systems have the potential to generate new knowledge and thus enable more sustainable action. However, they also intervene directly in people's lives and make their own decisions. For this reason, clear, graduated rules on traceability, data protection and data quality are needed for these systems to enable control and liability.
- (176) Ethical-normative principles may only be established by humans. Automated decisions must be the responsibility of persons or legal entities. Decisions about life and death may only be made by humans, not by machines and algorithms. Algorithms can be of assistance in making unbiased decisions. Legal regulations and framework conditions are needed that do not reinforce existing prejudices but actively help to reduce them.
- (177) Digitalization is changing processes in companies. It is impacting on jobs in companies, on the content of work, qualification requirements and the organization of employees. The potential for good jobs must be exploited by strengthening co-determination. The aim is to shape digitalization in a socially responsible way so that the economy and employees benefit from it.
- (178) Women should have an equal say in shaping the digital world. Diversity is crucial for innovation and fairness. Gender-specific stereotypes and power structures as well as forms of work dominated by male employment models must be deconstructed in digital companies so that women can establish themselves much more strongly in the digital economy and act as role models. The education system also plays a decisive role in this.
- (179) Children, adolescents, disadvantaged and vulnerable people need special protection in the digital world. Their self-determined participation in the digital world must be promoted and their access to basic digital goods and services guaranteed.

- (180) In a globally interconnected world, technological openness and cooperation enable advancement for the general welfare. In order for Europe's citizens to be able to move in this world in a mature, enlightened and thus self-determined manner, the European Union needs greater technological sovereignty, based on high standards of security, resilience and data protection. This stands in opposition to both untamed data capitalism and authoritarian-directed state surveillance. In a contest of value systems between a regulated capitalist and an authoritarian-led advancement, this is especially true for critical infrastructure. Core technologies should be shaped by Europe and its values. Therefore, a strong European network of top researchers is needed so that Europe is not left behind in the field of essential future technologies. Digital weaponization and the militarization of civilian infrastructures must be prevented by resolute international action.
- (181) Europe as a location for innovation in the global context is to be strengthened and adequately financed. This includes the stronger promotion of open hardware and software as well as open standards. The idea of democracy is contradicted by the accumulation of markets from which globally operating corporations emerge that are more powerful than governments.

Living Together

Cohesion in Diversity

- (182) An open society holds all people equal before the law, enables equal participation, defends the diversity of people and regions as a strength, seeks to reduce social inequality, ensures the protection of minorities and actively combats discrimination. Individual freedom and personal identity are protected. The open society is a non-violent one. It finds its limits in the rights and freedoms of fellow human beings. The open society questions itself, learns and is self-critical. It is based on conditions that it cannot protect itself. Therefore, protecting and working for it is a permanent political obligation.
- (183) People are different, but their rights and dignity are equal. A diverse, non-discriminatory, equal and inclusive society means democratic advancement for all. It is constantly evolving and permanently renegotiating the rules of its coexistence. In a pluralistic society, equal individuals from diverse perspectives form an alliance for a common “we” to protect and promote freedom and dignity. The common “we” means cohesion in a diverse and inclusive society.
- (184) The common “we” includes all who live in our country. We are different, but we are united by respect and acceptance for all people, regardless of how they live, love, believe and look. This is what makes the richness of our “we”.
- (185) A diverse and inclusive society is an equal one - with equal rights, access and participation. In a diverse society, belonging is not based on where someone was born, what part of town someone lives in, where their parents come from or how much they earn, who someone loves, what someone looks like, what someone believes or what their name sounds like. This diversity should also be fairly represented in our party.
- (186) Discrimination does not affect everyone equally, but we are all equally involved. A diverse society is critical of discrimination and protects all people from discrimination and violence - in everyday life, whether subtly or through social structures and public institutions.

- (187) In Germany, people live together whose families have been residing here for generations, as well as people who have immigrated more recently. Christians, Jews, Muslims, members of other religions and non-religious people live here, as do the descendants of migrant workers and refugees. Many call themselves Germans, some New-Germans, Black-Germans, people of color, people with Romani background, Polish-Germans or Turkish-Germans and many more. In an open Germany, everyone is recognized by all as belonging and can feel that they belong. New arrivals receive support for their coming.
- (188) Migration is part of our everyday lives, shaping and changing our society at all levels. In the future, the immigration society will be even more pluralistic than it already is today. In it, no one is treated as a matter of course as a “person with a migration background” or reduced to a possible migration history, and participation, rights, belonging and social positions will be continuously renegotiated. A diverse immigration society requires the equal political, social and cultural participation of migrants. It must be anchored in the Basic Law as an objective of the state.
- (189) People who have their center of life in Germany and have become part of this society should have a facilitated legal claim to naturalization. Citizenship should ensure a lasting bond of legal equality, participation and belonging. This includes enabling dual citizenship and extending citizenship as a birthright. It should be possible to acquire German citizenship by birth in Germany if one parent has a legal habitual residence in Germany. Multiple nationality reflects the reality of life for many people. As a lesson learned from National Socialist injustice, citizenship may not simply be withdrawn. Even those who do not have German citizenship, but have their center of life here, have the right to political participation.
- (190) German society is pluralistic religiously and ideologically. A plural society needs a peace-oriented dialogue between religions and world views that offer different approaches to the one world. It is a matter of preserving and asserting the freedom to shape one’s personal life according to one’s own life plans and values. This includes the freedom of religious and ideological belief as well as the right to live according to other ideas. This freedom also includes criticism of religion and ideology. The prerequisite for cooperation with public authorities is complete recognition of the constitutional order of the Basic Law and independence from autocratic regimes. The preservation of fundamental legal norms and values cannot be relativized by any religion, not even when it comes to issues of gender justice and LGBTQ*. The fact that

non-denominational people, who make up more than a third of society, are usually not organized along ideological lines may not lead to their being disadvantaged.

- (191) The Christian churches are an important part of our society and provide it with diverse stimuli. The secular state must be guided by the principle of neutrality and be organizationally separate from the churches in principle. However, this does not mean a ban on cooperation between the state and religious or ideological communities. The cooperative model of state church law is to be developed further into a pluralistic religious constitutional law. Freedom of association, the right to strike, co-determination, collective bargaining and a comprehensive examination of the rights of employees by labor courts are to be guaranteed as basic social rights in church-owned enterprises as well.
- (192) Active Jewish life in Germany and Europe after the terrible experiences of the Shoah means an everlasting responsibility for the German state and its citizens. Supporting Jewish life in Germany and ensuring the safety of Jews and Jewish institutions is an important task for our society. Opposing anti-Semitism in any form is a continuing obligation for our constitutional state and all people in Germany and Europe. Anti-Semitism is not only a form of discrimination, but also a pattern of explaining the world, in which Jews are typically imagined as inferior and calculating or even superior at the same time. Thus, it is often the basis for conspiracy ideologies that must be consistently opposed. The existence and security of Israel as the national home of the Jewish people with equal rights for all its citizens are non-negotiable. Peace and security require a two-state settlement with the creation of a sovereign, viable and democratic state of Palestine.
- (193) Muslims in their diversity are the largest religious group in this country after the members of the major Christian denominations. Islam is therefore a natural part of Germany. Mosques and Muslim communities must be protected from threats and attacks, and the safety of Muslims must be guaranteed. It is the task of society as a whole to combat hostility towards Muslims. The concern of many Muslims to be able to form recognized religious communities with equal rights in the sense of and according to the rules of the Basic Law deserves support. The goal is state treaties with Islamic religious communities that are not structurally dependent on a state, a party or a political movement or their respective government policies and that determine themselves religiously.

- (194) People with Romani background are the largest minority in Europe. They have been part of European history and present for more than 600 years and are recognized as a national minority in Germany. Culture and language are to be protected and promoted by the state. Antiziganism, however, is widespread and entrenched in society. It takes place, for example, in the search for housing and employment, in education and health. Opposing it is our obligation. Remembering the long ignored and unrecognized Holocaust of people with a Romani background during the Nazi era is a responsibility for all of us.
- (195) Inclusion is a human right. In an inclusive society, all people can be different in their characteristics and ways of life. The rights of people with disabilities and their participation in society are comprehensively and effectively realized and protected. In order to eliminate exclusionary and segregating structures, the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities must be implemented in all points. People with disabilities contribute to this society with their abilities and resources. Living with a disability means special requirements for self-determination. The support necessary for this must be provided. The crimes against people with disabilities in German history must continue to be dealt with and the victims must be compensated.

Feminism, Gender Equality and Queer Rights

- (196) Our goal is a gender-equal society, and feminism is the way to achieve it. It promises to deliver true equality in all areas of life - legal, cultural and economic. Feminism is a responsibility shared by all genders. It requires an image of masculinity for an equal society in which we share power, opportunity and responsibility.
- (197) A society in which equal participation is a reality for all genders protects and strengthens the rights of all women, transsexual, intersexual and non-binary people in their difference and regardless of origin, age, disability, sexuality or class, religion or belief. We therefore pursue a feminism that recognizes different forms of discrimination, even where they are interwoven, and works on their elimination.
- (198) Socially imposed role constraints lead to unequal opportunities and often to individual suffering. Patriarchal structures, which find their expression in sexism and violence, hinder women in their jobs, at school, at university, in court, in family life, in the media, on the Internet. People of all genders benefit from overcoming fixed gender roles. People need diverse role models from an early age to be able to develop freely. Together, we are creating a society in which all people can live free of restrictive role models.

- (199) The right to self-determination over one's own body and life must apply without restriction to every person, in particular to women, girls, transsexual, intersexual and non-binary people with and without disabilities. Realizing this right is part of good public healthcare. It also includes self-determined abortions, which have no place in the penal code and whose costs must be covered as a matter of principle. All people have the exclusive right to define their own gender. Intersexual, transsexual and non-binary people have the right to have their self-defined gender officially recognized without bureaucratic or medical hurdles. Self-determination requires comprehensive protection from violence. In the spirit of the Istanbul Convention, all forms of gender-specific, physical, psychological and sexual violence must be consistently combated and comprehensive data on gender-specific and domestic violence must be collected as a basis for this.
- (200) Women should have a say and be able to assume responsibility in all areas of society. Equality means not only, but also more women in leadership positions - in politics, in civil society, in science, in culture and in business. Where voluntary self-commitment does not help, quotas are an important instrument for more parity. In doing so, their goal is a world in which they become superfluous.
- (201) Solidarity queer politics brings together the diverse perspectives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersexual, non-binary and queer people. Building on past successes, it works to overcome existing discrimination, creating a diverse and discrimination-free society. This also means a gender diverse society where all people can be different without fear. This gender diversity must also be reflected in the laws of our state.
- (202) Freedom and dignity mean, for example, assigning oneself to a gender or not. And it means being able to find and live one's own sexual orientation and gender identity in a self-determined way. Freedom and dignity also mean being able to choose one's own lifestyle, partnership and family model according to one's own sexual orientation and gender identity, and to receive the same rights and protection from the state in return. State discrimination against intersexual, transsexual and non-binary people must be ended. Anti-queer, homo-, bi- and trans-hostile resentment and discrimination as well as attacks on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersexual, non-binary and queer people are human rights violations and must be clearly rejected by society as a whole. The persecution and discrimination of LGBTIQ* in the German past must be fully addressed.

Urban and Rural, Young and Old

- (203) Germany is characterized by regional diversity, different historical experiences and different lifestyles. The historical division into East and West caused by the Cold War and the upheavals following reunification have also shaped Germany. Recognizing and protecting differences while strengthening social cohesion is our obligation. It is the responsibility of the state to equal out living conditions in economically and structurally differently developing regions throughout Germany and at all levels - for example, in the relationship between rural areas and cities, from north to south, from east to west, from shrinking to growing regions.
- (204) Our society is characterized by demographic change. Population losses and gains are very unevenly distributed, especially between urban and rural areas, and they shape different identities and cultural experiences. Creating equal living conditions is a constitutional principle and a core task of our policy. But what is equivalent is difficult to define and always depends on personal preferences. While there is often good infrastructure and state institutions in metropolitan regions, affordable housing is in short supply there. In rural regions, on the other hand, housing, especially owner-occupied housing, is usually less expensive and the surroundings are greener and less polluted than in the cities. Ensuring equal living conditions will not be achieved by offering the same to large cities and rural areas. Equal is not equivalent to same. However, it is important to ensure that there is an adequate supply of goods and services of general welfare everywhere and that a digital infrastructure is properly provided everywhere, especially in rural areas. It is about a policy of balance, participation and involvement at any location, as well as the freedom of all people to choose their place of residence. "Regional provision of public services" addresses this new joint task.
- (205) Livable and safe public spaces and institutions are prerequisites for the cohesion of society. To enable security and togetherness, the state guarantees good services, connections to rural regions and meeting places. Public services for the general welfare include technical, social and cultural infrastructure as well as universal access to culture, the arts and cultural education, such as nationwide broadband connections and mobile phone coverage, well-developed public transportation, women's shelters, meeting places for the elderly, doctors, hospitals, daycare centers, youth centers, music schools and libraries, sports fields and swimming pools in cities and rural areas. With good building culture that allows people to participate in the design of the architecture of their environmental and cultural landscape, we create

identification with our cities and regions. In this way, public spaces and institutions help to enable freedom and self-determination, to create equal opportunities and chances for advancement. They represent more than just the provision of public services; they are an interplay of democratic statehood and civic coexistence.

- (206) Better regional circular economies are needed. They are not only more ecological but can also help regions with structural problems. Regional economic development must be oriented in such a way that regional recycling is supported, a good infrastructure is available locally and rural regions are also reliably networked and connected to the centers. This requires strong regional centers as anchor points in the regions that offer a wide range of public and cultural services. Special consideration should be given to sparsely populated regions when educational institutions, state and federal agencies are relocated.
- (207) The healthy coexistence of all generations and justice between them will become more central in an aging society. It needs new forms of coexistence and an age-appropriate and inclusive infrastructure. This counteracts loneliness and strengthens social cohesion. The focus should not simply be on the care of the elderly, but also on their participation in social and political life.
- (208) For many people, the family is the foundation of their coexistence and happiness. That is why families are rightly granted special protection by the Basic Law. Family is where people take responsibility for each other with the aim of permanence, take care of each other and are there for each other. Families deserve support. Regardless of whether they are married or not, separated or single parents, with a partner, same-sex or multi-sex, patchwork or multi-parent constellations - all forms should be legally and socially protected.
- (209) Many parents want to equally share caregiving and work. This is made possible by a legal framework, a universal, flexible and high-quality range of care, education and counseling services, a change in the working environment and a reduction in working hours.
- (210) Children need the freedom to move, to play and to learn, to laugh and to cry, in order to be able to develop freely in the best possible way. They have their own rights. These belong at the core of politics and society and are guaranteed independently in the Basic Law. Children are experts in their own affairs and should be involved in

matters that affect them. Their interests must be the guiding principle in the provision of public spaces and institutions.

(211) Children and young people have a right to special protection and non-discriminatory support, which must be guaranteed by national quality criteria for daycare centers, schools, youth welfare offices and independent organizations. Children's rights belong in all curricula for law, medicine, education and police. Children must be heard when decisions are made, their rights and their will must be the focus. Wherever children are dealt with, basic knowledge about children's rights, especially about participation, about protection against threats to children's well-being and against sexualized violence against children and adolescents, must become a prerequisite. In child protection procedures, the necessary qualifications must be legally prescribed and actually guaranteed for all those involved. Regional networks against all forms of violence, especially sexualized violence against children, must be established and secured throughout the region. They enable a coherent cooperation of youth welfare offices, independent specialized counseling centers and other areas of social work, education and upbringing. This includes standards for prevention, staffing, training, counseling and therapy, which of course require good funding.

Housing

(212) Housing is not only existential, but also a prerequisite for freedom, dignity and self-determination, and is therefore part of public services of general welfare. The right to housing should be enshrined in the Basic Law. No person should be without shelter and permanent dignified accommodation. There may be no discrimination in the search for housing based on criteria such as name, origin, sexual identity, disability, marital or educational status or despite sufficient income. Self-employed people or small business owners as well as small social and cultural facilities and their locations also need a social commercial tenancy law so that they are not forced out of their neighborhoods by increasing rents. We need a strong and social tenancy law that does justice to the different housing markets and better instruments for a statutory limit on rents and a legally anchored tenant co-determination. We need measures against speculation with housing and a concerted effort to combat money laundering with real estate and the increasing concentration of wealth through the real estate market.

(213) Housing is also a social issue. In order to establish the right to housing, a high stock of public or non-profit, long-term socially dedicated housing is necessary; housing

which should remain dedicated as permanently as possible. Housing and land may not be objects of speculation. The goal is a housing industry oriented toward the general welfare, a “new community housing”. Projects, initiatives and societies for communal, cooperative, alternative or intergenerational living should be supported. Where many people move in, there must also be construction. Sustainable and space-saving construction, a good building culture and careful redensification and urban development are needed, while preserving both urban and rural green and open spaces.

- (214) Vibrant, mixed, open and barrier-free cities and neighborhoods of short distances are the guiding principle: Young and old as well as people of different origins like to live in their neighborhoods and are not far from either work or the nearest sports field. Demographic change is bringing new forms of coexistence. A sufficient stock of barrier-free and wheelchair-accessible apartments and opportunities for older people to lead active lives is crucial.
- (215) The rural area of the future is characterized by a natural environment, ecological farming and a high-performance economic structure with small and medium-sized companies. This requires good public transportation, a demand-oriented range of childcare, schools, medical and nursing care, and a good digital infrastructure that enables home offices and co-working spaces. The country needs villages with an active social life, lively village centers and automobile-free playgrounds.
- (216) Sport connects all people regardless of their origin, their gender, their social or financial possibilities, their sexual identity and sexual orientation, whether with a disability or not. In sports, all people are equal. In Germany, many millions of people play sports in clubs or in independent groups. In sports, social values of an open and cohesive society are conveyed. Sport makes it possible to actively experience nature, it serves to maintain health and aids in prevention of illness as well as the social well-being of people. The sports club is one of the most important sponsors of extracurricular youth work and conveys sporting values such as fairness, team spirit and responsibility. Strengthening these diverse structures in recreational, health, inclusive and competitive sports means maintaining peaceful coexistence. On an international level, sport makes an important contribution to cultural exchange and mutual encounters. Sport does not occur in a political vacuum. It means taking responsibility for cohesion in our society, for the protection of human rights and nature, but also serves as an economic factor and in the fight against doping. At the same time, it is important to enable all gender identities to participate in sports at all levels. Restrictive gender images regarding access to sports must also be dismantled.

- (217) Privately, many people assume responsibility for others on a voluntary basis, whether in their families and neighborhoods or in associations, religious and ideological communities and initiatives. Volunteering has a constitutive role in our democracy and in our coexistence. It needs time, recognition, training and support, which we as a society must provide. Social engagement may not remain the privilege of the economically secure.
- (218) Many people are motivated to do voluntary work for society. The existing voluntary services can become a new social generation project if they are expanded and opened up to retired people who want to continue contributing their experience and skills. Such a “civilian social service” should be open to retired people as well as to all young people in Europe who are willing, regardless of their personal financial means, and should also be possible internationally.

Culture and the Arts

- (219) Art is free. Art is a servant to nobody. Art cannot be reduced to its material value. Art is diverse, open to interpretation and never homogeneous; it is dynamic, hybrid and never static. Culture and the arts allow new things to emerge from the interplay of the most diverse influences and contexts, and are thus the engine of social change. We protect the freedom of the arts and oppose the attempt to standardize culture and the arts or to claim sole interpretive authority over them.
- (220) Free culture and art are a foundation for democracy and peaceful coexistence. They are part of the provision of public services and are an expression of and cause for personal and social reflection, personal and collective pursuit of knowledge as well as personal and collective development. Promoting and protecting cultural diversity and trans-culturalism, i.e. the interpenetration of cultures, is an important task in an open society. Access to and participation in culture and the arts must be guaranteed equally for all. This applies equally to cultural education, cultural institutions and open spaces. It applies to the experience as well as to the creation of art. Culture is a relevant economic factor, but culture is also characterized by the fact that it often eludes profitability and can provide room for opposing social views. Cultural sites are indispensable for society. The culture and language of national minorities and autochthonous ethnic groups as well as recognized regional languages must be protected and encouraged. Culture is all the more sustainable if it, in turn, makes careful use of resources.

- (221) Cultural policy must be thought of from a networked perspective, because cultural spaces do not run along state borders; they are equally local, regional, national and international. Only a prosperous, diverse and open cultural landscape creates cohesion and allows new things to emerge. Free spaces for cultural activities must be preserved or created so that culture and the arts can make their decisive contribution to a high quality of life as well as to exchange and coexistence.
- (222) Culture and the arts need public funding based on transparent criteria, and creative artists need reliable and appropriate social security. The independent scene needs professional framework conditions, independent of private and corporate support. This also includes transparent structures, fair working conditions and fair pay, as well as gender equality in publicly funded cultural institutions and adequate remuneration for artists and solo self-employed artists.
- (223) Keeping alive the awareness of the singularity of the crimes committed by the German state during the National Socialist dictatorship as a universal reminder and accepting the resulting historical responsibility is a compelling task of German remembrance culture. The commemoration of the Holocaust is fundamental to democracy in Germany. The public and governmental institutions entrusted with this task must be adequately equipped and must align their educational mission in a contemporary, effective and coherent manner. There can be no end to this. This includes continuing to come to terms with the Nazi crimes, returning looted art to the owners and their heirs, and fulfilling further obligations to countries that suffered under the German occupation.
- (224) The legacy of the GDR civil rights movement obligates us to keep alive the memory of the SED dictatorship and to continue to address it. Injustices suffered and committed may not be forgotten. The same applies to the history of the GDR, the division of Germany and Europe, and the peaceful revolution of 1989. Memorial sites and victim counseling centers therefore require adequate funding. Access to the Stasi files must continue to be guaranteed for those affected, for journalists and researchers.
- (225) The culture of remembrance of a diverse immigration society shows itself open to the polyphonic stories and narratives as well as the different historical experiences of the people who live here. Critical reappraisal of the colonial past and the crimes associated with it must also be a natural part of our culture of education and remembrance. This is a prerequisite for a society in which all people can live free of racism.

- (226) Germany's colonial past has been dealt with far too little in the cultural sphere as well. Extensive research is needed on the origin of objects collected and intangible cultural assets from colonial contexts, their return to the societies of origin, and the decolonization of cultural institutions and the public domain. This can only be done in close cooperation with the descendants of the formerly colonized, domestically as well as internationally.
- (227) European and international exchange in the field of art, theater, music, literature, film and other arts strengthens the bond between people around the globe. The intensification of European and international cultural relations is a contribution to openness, peace and the protection of human rights. Foreign cultural and educational policy plays an important role in this.

Health and Care

- (228) The ultimate task of any healthcare policy is to preserve the dignity and freedom of the individual, even in the event of illness and nursing care, while at the same time promoting health and preventing risks to health. In this context, health is not merely the absence of illness, but encompasses psychological, social and physical well-being. Healthcare and nursing care are central pillars of services of general welfare. It is the public's responsibility to ensure that everyone, regardless of age, income, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, origin, social situation or disability or place of residence and residency status, has access to high-quality care that is geared to their needs. Nursing care must be in line with the latest scientific findings, take account of medical progress and also meet the needs of particularly vulnerable groups of people.
- (229) Good healthcare policy starts with the prevention of illness and the need for care and shapes healthy living environments. It also focuses on psychological and social well-being. In many cases, precarious living conditions make people ill. People living in poverty are more likely to fall ill and often have poorer access to the healthcare system. Opportunities for exercise, adequate housing, a healthy diet and clean air must be available to all in order to stay healthy. This also means that climate protection is health protection. Prevention, the promotion of health and healthcare are wide-ranging objectives that must be pursued in all areas of policy. A good welfare policy in particular is part of a comprehensive healthcare system.

- (230) Solidarity-based cooperation - international and European - in healthcare research and the development of good healthcare systems is a task for the entire global community. Global healthcare policy and research must be geared to the healthcare needs of all people worldwide and not to high profit expectations, and it must be adequately financed. The World Health Organization should be strengthened. There is a need for global security of supply of core medicines and materials. They must be produced and stockpiled more regionally in Europe as well; additional production capacities must be able to be activated quickly in the event of a crisis.
- (231) Healthcare is a public task. Whether it is provided by a freelance rural doctor, a medical technology company or a state-run university hospital, it must benefit people and their health. The planning and financing of the healthcare system must be geared to the needs of the patients. The decisive factor is what is medically and humanly necessary - and not the cheapest, fastest or most profitable treatment possible. In the hospital sector in particular, the focus on the general welfare should be strengthened, the disadvantage of public insurance providers compared to private insurance providers should be ended, and the trend toward privatization should be reversed. Clear political guidelines for staffing, the quality of treatment and nursing care should ensure that all insurance providers act equally for the benefit of patients. This will limit profit distributions from hospitals so that public and contribution-financed money remains in the system.
- (232) Only a well-financed healthcare system can protect the dignity of patients and the rights of employees in equal measure. Poor political decisions and the resulting economic pressure have led to misguided incentives at the expense of patient well-being, cost savings at the expense of staff and an incorrect distribution of funds. Hospital financing must be reassessed and geared to the security and quality of care regardless of where people live, to good pay for employees, to preventive care and to resilience in crises. Hospitals should be financed not only according to the services they provide, but also according to their social mission. This requires a new financing system for hospitals that includes relevant structural financing. This also includes a joint improvement in investment financing by the federal and state governments. Care planning in the healthcare system should be strengthened. Inpatient and outpatient care should be considered, planned, financed and realized jointly.
- (233) Equivalent living conditions mean good healthcare in the city and in rural areas. Everyone must have access to medical and psychotherapeutic help without long waiting times, regardless of where he or she lives. To achieve this, the boundaries

between outpatient and inpatient care must be overcome. A tiered model ranging from basic healthcare to specialized services can strengthen healthcare in rural and urban areas while ensuring a good quality of care. Various healthcare services are linked with each other in the best possible way. Outpatient and inpatient care are planned together with low-threshold health counseling services. Prevention and the promotion of health will be firmly anchored in all communal activities.

- (234) Better networking, coordination and cooperation across all professional groups is necessary to better meet the needs of patients in an aging society. Well-coordinated care must become the rule. This means that physicians, psychotherapists, nurses and other healthcare professions, as well as an expanded and well-equipped public healthcare service, work together hand in hand and as partners, for example in public welfare-oriented healthcare centers. Comprehensive care planning, health reporting, a strengthening of healthcare research and the upgrading and expansion of competencies in healthcare and nursing professions will help. In the process, nursing staff should be able to assume more management responsibility for the organization of care. Healthcare providers and healthcare-related professions are an essential part of our healthcare system and must be better secured financially. Strengthening professional nursing and primary care is a prerequisite for a good healthcare network in a region.
- (235) Good care by midwives - whether on an outpatient basis or in birth centers and delivery rooms - must be ensured in rural regions as well as in cities. We need a cultural change in obstetrics, away from staff shortages and cost pressures, to focus on the needs of mother and child. Reproductive self-determination must be guaranteed. In addition to free access to contraceptives and the prevention of violence during childbirth, this also includes ensuring that abortions are performed by doctors and that professional counseling is provided on this, based on women's needs. These are important parts of women's healthcare and self-determination. Research on gender-specific medicine and care as well as women's health must be strengthened and implemented in medical and nursing practice.
- (236) Good health and caregiving are only possible under good working conditions in all healthcare professions and with a caregiving and health infrastructure that is geared to people's needs. Whether caregivers in geriatric care or elsewhere, midwives or physiotherapists, healthcare professionals are the backbone of our society. In this field of work, there is a constant threat of overwork and overload. Taking care of others must not make people ill. More staff, more wages and more time are

needed - for patients instead of for bureaucracy. In order to attract more staff, the health and caregiving professions must offer prospects, make it possible to combine work and family life, and they must offer training, career opportunities and security. The state has a special responsibility in this regard, enshrined in the welfare state requirement of the German Basic Law.

- (237) Digitalization and automation can help simplify workflows in healthcare and improve working conditions. Robotics and digital applications should be used where they improve patient care and make work easier. They cannot and should not replace human attention.
- (238) The opportunities offered by digitalization must be exploited both in the organization of healthcare and in the area of caregiving, as well as in the management of healthcare data and personal prevention. This will help to maintain a sustainable healthcare system even in times of demographic change. Due to the sensitivity of health data, data protection plays a key role. For this very reason, the infrastructure should be publicly accountable and regulated. Health data, including patient data, can only be digitally recorded and made available to research in anonymized form if the highest data protection standards are maintained. The data cannot be passed on against the patient's will. Patients' own health data must be accessible to them in as barrier-free and secure a manner as possible. Physicians' confidentiality and patient secrecy must also be maintained at all times for digitized health data.
- (239) Solidarity-based financing is the best way to meet the challenges of an aging society and the costs of medical advancement. By including all population groups in the financing via a citizens' insurance scheme, depending on their income and including all types of income, the burdens can be designed to be fair and sustainable for all. Health and caregiving must be available to all people equally. There may be no distinction in access based on income or insurance status. In the event of a need for nursing care, a reform of long-term care insurance must ensure that everyone receives the benefits they need and that the need for nursing care is no longer a risk of poverty.
- (240) Services that are medically reasonable and justified and whose effectiveness has been scientifically proven must be covered by the community. In the case of medicines and vaccines that serve to combat pandemics, for example, and are protected by patents, cost-effective licenses are necessary in order to be able to supply people worldwide. In case of doubt, these licenses must be compulsory.

- (241) A paradigm shift is needed in drug policy. Instead of criminalizing addicts and drug users, we need prevention, self-determination, reduction of damage, decriminalization, and tailored counseling and support services. Cannabis should be legalized in the near future. Controlled distribution of psychoactive substances and regulation based on health risks are the right way to protect young people and health, to reduce the harmful use of addictive substances, to prevent drug-related deaths and to help eliminate the basis for criminal structures and drug wars. To ensure effective protection of young people, we rely on appropriate prevention measures, education and a fact-based approach to the issue. Drugs should not be advertised. Non-smoker protection must be strengthened.
- (242) Humans are always people, never “cases”, whether healthy, ill, in need of care or limited in abilities. Patients are stakeholders with strong rights. They should be supported in asserting their rights, and for this they must also have a say in relevant decisions in the healthcare system and be involved in the corresponding committees. Freedom of choice in the healthcare system means that insured persons have the possibility to choose between different quality-assured offers and therapies in case of illness. This requires a variety of therapies and the patient’s right to self-determination. Many people use complementary medicine, which thus plays a relevant role in today’s healthcare. Research into the effectiveness of natural therapies, for example, should be supported. The promotion of health literacy, the empowerment of patients and independent health advice should become an integral part of our healthcare system.
- (243) For queer people, healthcare must be accessible without discrimination. Healthcare for transsexual and intersex people must be secured and improved. The right to medical body reassignment measures should be enshrined in law and the costs should be covered by the healthcare system. Access to reproductive medicine must be non-discriminatory. Medically unnecessary genital-altering operations on intersex people before they are able to give consent and so-called “conversion therapies” should be effectively banned. In order to support HIV-positive people, access to medication must be improved, medical advancement must be applied, and stigmas must be reduced.
- (244) Even in old age or in need of nursing care, people have the right to a self-determined life. Ensuring care that enables self-determination and participation and protects the dignity of those in need of care is a core social task, particularly in view of demographic change. In an immigration society, care must also be designed to be sensitive to diversity.

- (245) Most people who need caregiving want to remain in their familiar surroundings. A decentralized caregiving structure that focuses on the wishes, self-determination and independence of those affected is the best way to achieve this. Therefore, local authorities should be given more opportunities to shape the range of care and support on offer locally, to create a needs-based caregiving infrastructure and, in particular, to pay attention to a comprehensive expansion of outpatient forms of housing and care instead of more large-scale facilities. Good inpatient care can only be provided if the needs and well-being of the residents are the focus of attention in nursing homes. That savings in the interest of high returns are made at the cost of quality or staff must be prevented.
- (246) The aim is to create livable neighborhoods for all generations, in which professional caregiving services and neighborhood initiatives are interlinked and support elderly people and those in need of care as well as family caregivers. Family caregivers deserve more recognition in general; they should be integrated and equally supported in the caregiving network as an important pillar of home care.
- (247) A life in dignity also includes dying in dignity. Needs-based palliative care is essential in both cities and rural areas. This also provides people the opportunity to die at home in the company of their relatives. In addition, there needs to be enough hospice places that are also geared to the needs of the dying. The right to a self-determined life includes - according to the requirements of the Federal Constitutional Court - self-determined dying, free from pressure.

Fortifying Democracy

Rights and Access

- (248) Democracy enables a life in dignity and freedom. Pluralistic democracy means that we as a society shape our living conditions together with equal opportunities for participation. The sovereigns of a democratic constitutional state are the citizens, the area of responsibility of democracy is the entire population. Democracy is not reducible to a formal process but is the guiding principle for coexistence in equal political freedom.
- (249) In a democratic constitutional state, civil liberties and the protection of minorities are guaranteed by an independent judiciary and the executive's commitment to law and order. Free and equal access to justice must therefore be guaranteed for all.
- (250) State services for the general welfare, the elimination of poverty and discrimination, access to education and public opinion-forming as well as sufficient time for political participation are all part of a liberal and pluralistic democracy.
- (251) The consequences of democratic decisions often extend beyond the region or nation. Therefore, the European and global effects must always be taken into account in decision-making processes. Globalization requires transnational democratic capacity for action. Only with a fair balance of interests and democratic global cooperation can we provide correct and effective answers to global challenges. In order to strengthen its ability to act democratically in a globalized world, the EU should develop further into a federal European republic that unites Europe internally while at the same time being an integrative member of the world community externally.
- (252) Democracy without freedom of opinion is unthinkable. In a democracy, everyone is free to express their own opinion, and everyone must be able to withstand opposition to their own opinion. But hatred and agitation destroy the free exchange of opinions. Everyone has the right to their own opinion, but not to their own facts. The deliberate spreading of false information is not a fundamental right.
- (253) Democracy depends on democrats. The free forums of a strong and vibrant civil society must be protected, and critical voices must also be given a political hearing.

Democracy begins on the ground. Without civic engagement and a wide range of volunteerism, our community and communities would not function. Democracy thrives on people who are committed to others and help shape our community - in citizens' initiatives and political parties, in clubs, fire departments and churches and other religious and ideological communities, in NGOs, trade unions and companies, at demonstrations, in sports clubs and movements and in other areas of civil society. Such commitment is the cement that holds our pluralistic society together. That's why nonprofits must be given comprehensive legal protection - also to ensure that they can be involved in politics. A public infrastructure for volunteering and engagement must ensure that bureaucratic requirements and a lack of resources do not discourage dedicated individuals from getting involved and that the list of nonprofit activities is expanded.

- (254) Peaceful civil protest is an important resource in a vibrant democracy, and non-violent civil disobedience can be a legitimate means to that end.
- (255) Good political education, outside schools as well, is the basis for a functioning democracy. The participation of children and young people, political education and participatory educational institutions to strengthen democratic skills are the basis and essential for the continued existence of democratic society. Children and young people can also learn democratic processes and basic rights here.
- (256) The best defense of parliamentary democracy is its continued development. The ossification of democratic institutions and procedures must be counteracted in order to keep democracy alive. A loss of trust and the dominance of unilateral interests in democratic processes can be counteracted by openness to new opportunities for participation.
- (257) In order to be able to engage democratically and make sovereign and self-determined decisions, people need to be able to obtain independent information. Transparency laws for access to public information prevent corruption and provide more opportunities for democratic control. Digital platforms that are not controlled by commercial interests, independent journalism in free media along the lines of the press code, independent public broadcasting, protection of personal rights against defamation and slander, and solid media education from an early age serve as an inoculation against anti-democratic campaigns and misinformation.

- (258) Prerequisites for democracy are non-violent discourse and the acceptance of human dignity as well as inviolable and inalienable basic and human rights. An attitude that denies the individual his or her individual needs and interests and that aims to define who belongs and who does not is undemocratic. Racism and exclusion contradict the idea of political equality. Civil courage and constitutional measures combatting hatred and dehumanization are key to defending a pluralistic democracy. Forums for discourse must be transparent, in conformity with fundamental rights and in accordance with the rule of law. This also applies to the functioning of digital platforms.
- (259) The interests of people who are socially marginalized, who have little access to good education or who live under the constant strain of unsteady employment are often underrepresented. Their greater participation in political decision-making processes is important for the cohesion and legitimacy of representative democracy. A guaranteed level of subsistence, sufficient time for political participation and the opportunity for social and cultural participation for all are conditions necessary for democracy.
- (260) Our economic system is governed by values and rules. Economic citizenship rights are a part of individual democratic rights. The social-ecological market economy is organized through co-determination, shareholder participation and trade union representation. All this requires strong trade unions. In the sense of an economy that serves the general welfare, it should go without saying that all stakeholders and those affected have a say in important decisions. We want to strengthen and expand co-determination in companies and enterprises. There must be European standards for co-determination. Adherence to collective bargaining agreements must be a prerequisite for the awarding of public contracts. Greater participation of the population in productive assets, for example in the form of employee shareholdings, can also bring about more co-determination in economic issues.
- (261) Hidden, unilateral influence by powerful economic interests endangers democracy. Transparency and control provide clear barriers. This can be achieved by disclosing, for example, the personal ties or additional income of political decision-makers, waiting periods for members of the administration, a mandatory register for lobbyists, an independent European control authority and the resolute prosecution of corruption. In this way, lobbying by financially strong stakeholders, which diminishes political power from other interests and makes for unfair negotiations, can be controlled and sanctioned.

(262) The establishment of a transnational and European public sphere is an important prerequisite for a functioning cooperation and the democratization of the EU.

Representation and Participation

(263) Opinions, interests and ideas can be appropriately and fairly bundled into decisions and majorities by means of representation and democratically regulated procedures. This is the basis for the democratic exercise of power. Parliamentary democracy thus creates a legitimate rule of the people over themselves.

(264) The basic principle of democracy is that those who make decisions for others must be legitimized, i.e. elected, by them. Deficits in representation make parliamentary democracy vulnerable. Democratic coexistence must constantly create the conditions for its continued existence and counteract exclusion and deficits in representation within its own structures. A pluralistic society must be reflected in its democratic institutions and facilities. Those who have their permanent center of life here must have the opportunity to participate equally in elections, referenda and all other democratic processes.

(265) Women's rights and the rights of marginalized groups are the measure of democracy. Women and marginalized groups should participate equally in all democratic processes. Prerequisite to that are equitable social structures and anti-discrimination measures. In order for women to be equally represented in parliaments and social leadership positions, clear legal regulations and living conditions are needed that make it possible to combine gainful employment with family, social and political work. No one should have to give up a political mandate for organizational reasons.

(266) Our democracy has a significant deficit in representation if millions of young people and children are left out. Young people are political. The same applies to the many people who are not allowed to vote, even though they live here and are part of our society. Accordingly, we want to gradually remove electoral hurdles, significantly lower the voting age and further expand opportunities for participation at all levels.

(267) Parliaments are central forums for political debate and the backbone of our pluralistic democracy. Members of parliament need independence and strong rights of control over the administration. Parliamentarianism requires sparring for the best solutions between government and opposition. At the same time, substantive cooperation away from rigid factional boundaries, as in the European Parliament and

other European parliaments, contributes to finding these solutions. To trust in democratic procedures, it is essential that rules, procedures and results are guaranteed to be understandable and clear - for example, with a legislative footprint.

- (268) The goal of a vibrant democracy is to give as many people as possible the opportunity to actively shape their own lives and futures. All political bodies that meet in public should use the Internet to ensure that meeting documents are made available for public inspection in a timely, complete and barrier-free manner. Democracy needs parties. They are an important forum where people can organize their political attitudes, interests and goals and carry them into public and parliamentary debate. Parties help shape public opinion, pool interests and values, and compete democratically for parliamentary and state offices.
- (269) Parties need adequate funding. Corporate donations to parties can always be an attempt to exert influence and lobby. Donations to parties should be subject to an annual cap to guarantee independence from economically powerful interests. For maximum transparency, significantly lower limits for publications are needed. In addition to increased transparency for donations to political parties, there needs to be even stricter rules for party sponsorship.
- (270) Opportunities for direct participation enrich representative democracy. Citizens' councils should be established to create the possibility of incorporating the everyday expertise of citizens even more directly into legislation on selected topics. Randomly selected citizens discuss a specific issue over a fixed period of time and develop recommendations for action and impetus for public debate and parliamentary decision-making. It is important to ensure that the participants can form their opinions freely, equally and fairly and that they are given sufficient space for intensive discussion of the issue. Citizens' councils have a purely advisory function for public debate and legislation. The government and parliament have to deal with the results but need not adhere to them. Citizens' councils can be set up on the initiative of the administration, the parliament or as a referendum on a specific issue. This should also be possible at the federal level.

Federal Republic of Europe

- (271) We can only master the challenges of our time together. That is why we need a stronger political European Union. In the course of further integration steps, the EU must be strengthened together with the European citizens and, in the long term, developed into a Federal Republic of Europe with a European constitution.
- (272) The Federal Republic of Europe establishes a framework in which the common good, rather than powerful individual interests or governments, prevails. In it, equal rights for all citizens are guaranteed in a binding manner through the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, regardless of which country of the republic a person lives in. The realization of these rights is bound to the principle of subsidiarity, according to which tasks and responsibilities are dealt with at the lowest level at which goals can be achieved - local, state, federal, EU. In this way, the sovereignty of the citizens is strengthened. Funds from the EU budget should also increasingly be made available directly to municipal and local civil society stakeholders.
- (273) The central place for all decisions of the European Union is the parliament. The members of parliament are to be elected according to European rules, also via European lists. In a bicameral system, the Parliament, together with the Council, is an equal part of the legislative power. The principle of majority decision-making is to be extended to all areas, so that the EU is able to act jointly and single states cannot block a common policy. The Council assumes its responsibility towards all EU citizens as the second chamber through significantly more transparency. The European Parliament will be empowered to initiate laws, to control all policies of the Union and the budget. The EU Commission is to be part of a parliamentary system of government in the Federal Republic of Europe and is to be proposed by the Commission President and elected by the Parliament. The budget also draws on its own resources and is approved by the European Parliament. It has its own tax revenues and is large enough to provide macroeconomic stabilization and to make grants to national budgets in severe crises.

Federal State

- (274) Democratic politics works from the bottom up. The villages and cities in which we live provide a foothold in a complex world, which is why communities must be strengthened. The regions need more influence and weight at the European Union level. Democratic decisions must be made as close as possible to the citizens and

always where they can best be realized - in the communities and cities, at the state level, in the nation states or at the level of the EU.

- (275) Cooperation between the states and between communities should be strengthened. They make the most sense where they lead to efficiency and ecological gains and the provision of equivalent services, for example in sustainable urban and village development, regional services of general welfare, climate protection and coping with the consequences of climate change, digitalization and mobility.
- (276) Cities and communities are the places where we live together and where democracy comes to life. Communities therefore need adequate funding for mandated obligations and so-called voluntary services. “He who orders, pays” - this principle of connectivity applies. When communities are assigned tasks, they also need additional funding for them. In addition, many communities need assistance with previous debts and an investment program for providing general welfare in order to maintain local viability.

Freedom and Security

- (277) Only when people feel safe do they live freely, self-determined and in dignity. Security must be guaranteed equally for everyone, regardless of where someone lives, what someone believes, whom someone loves, what someone looks like or where someone and their ancestors come from. Only our fundamental rights and their enforcement can provide security for all people. No one is safe in a society that is not free. Freedom and security are interdependent. In order for people’s subjective sense of security to correspond to objective security, we need information, participation, protection against poverty and calm debate.
- (278) The rule of law is the guarantor of civil and human rights as well as of pluralistic democracy. A functioning constitutional state means that all people are equal before the law and have the same rights and obligations. The rule of law protects the rights of the individual, especially against intervention by the state and other executive action. For this rule of law to function, there needs to be an independent and well-equipped judiciary capable of dispensing justice, effectively reviewing executive, regulatory or legislative actions and, if necessary, effectively correcting them. It needs a legal profession that is respected as an organ of the administration of justice, whose relationship of trust with its clients is preserved and whose free exercise is guaranteed. Trust in the rule of law requires effective law enforcement for all.

- (279) The state has a constitutional obligation to protect the natural foundations of life. The commitment to strong sustainability must be complemented by the state's direct commitment to internationally agreed climate protection and biodiversity targets and treaties. Since crimes against the environment do not stop at national borders, it is in the global interest for the international community to establish jurisdiction that can prosecute these crimes independently and across borders.
- (280) Equality before the law also requires that conditions of economic and social power are not perpetuated in the legal system. The rule of law enables collective legal protection, protects whistleblowers, consumers, producers and smaller companies effectively against greater economic power.
- (281) Democracy, the rule of law and human rights have a strong foundation in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Charter of Fundamental Rights. But even a foundation needs to be maintained and modernized. The protection of fundamental rights should be further expanded, including in the digital forum. The law must also be enforced effectively on the Internet. The constitution defines our polity as a defensible democracy. Democracy is our strength, and its consistent protection guides our actions.
- (282) To prevent the rule of law in European democracies from coming under further pressure, the scope of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights must be extended to national law. This will give all EU citizens the same enforceable fundamental rights. In member states where the independence of the judiciary and the freedom of the media are not sufficiently guaranteed, corresponding funds should be cut or allocated directly by the European Commission.
- (283) Ensuring public safety and protection against violence is one of the most important tasks of the state. Everyone has the right to a life free of violence. The monopoly on enforcement lies with the state. Taking this seriously means an end to private ownership of lethal firearms, with the exception of hunters. Illegal possession of weapons must be punished.
- (284) Racism is an undeniable reality in our society and is more or less present in all structures. Racism - and every other form of group-related hostility towards people - means that many people in Germany are not safe. It thus also threatens the fundamental values of democracy. This contempt for humanity must be countered everywhere, whether in parliaments, on the web, on the street or in everyday life,

including by means of criminal justice. Discriminatory structures must be dismantled, also in the relationship between the state and its citizens. There is a need for sustainable educational and preventive work that investigates and helps to eliminate the causes of hostility towards people and democracy. Discrimination hurts, regardless of whether it is intentional or not. Anti-racism needs the perspective and expertise of people who have experienced racism.

- (285) Right-wing extremism is the greatest danger to liberal democracy and security in Germany. It must be clearly opposed with an anti-racist and anti-fascist stance. Racism, which is fomented by right-wing extremist networks and enemies of the constitution in and outside parliaments, is the intellectual breeding ground for terrorist attacks. Combating right-wing extremist structures - also within the security authorities - must be a priority for all security agencies.
- (286) The series of murders committed by the right-wing terrorist NSU have not been solved, and the injuries suffered by their relatives have not healed. Therefore, there is a need for an independent, centralized securing and processing of all existing documents of racist, anti-Semitic and terrorist acts - from the RAF to the NSU, the Octoberfest attack to the attack at Berlin's Breitscheidplatz. This can make continuities and network structures visible and strengthen cohesion in our diverse society.
- (287) Islamism and every other form of religious extremism stand in opposition to democracy, human rights and freedom. The state must be able to ward off all forms of terrorism and fundamentalism. In addition to security policy measures, this also includes prevention and deradicalization programs in active cooperation with schools, youth institutions and religious communities.
- (288) Protecting our constitution and fundamental and human rights is a mission for all of us. Attacks on these fundamental values are attacks on our constitution and our democracy. Protecting them is a joint task of the state and civil society. This requires clearly defined and delimited competencies. In order to protect democracy effectively, we need a new institutional start for the constitutional protection authorities: On the one hand, intelligence resources, insofar as they are indispensable for identifying dangers and countering espionage, and on the other hand, the observation of anti-democratic and anti-human endeavors using scientific methods and exclusively on the basis of public sources. Strong control of security agencies and intelligence services by parliaments, courts and independent supervisory authorities is needed.

- (289) Safe public spaces enable freedom and encounters and are thus the basis for social cohesion. The police protect people's security and fundamental rights. Like any public institution, it depends on the trust of all parts of society. Law enforcement requires discrimination-sensitive education and training, good equipment and sufficient personnel - in the city and in the countryside - as well as independent police officers. As the visible arm of the state's monopoly on the use of force, the police are particularly committed to the principles of the rule of law and democracy. Cases of misconduct, mistakes, criminal behavior and structural deficiencies must be investigated and punished without misplaced considerations. Police action is no substitute for civil problem-solving.
- (290) A fact-based crime and security policy that goes beyond the police and the judiciary is needed; one that emphasizes prevention and provides assistance, incorporates social infrastructure as well as urban and spatial planning, and promotes mutual consideration. The necessary restructuring of the security architecture ensures better coordination and clear responsibilities. State interventions must be targeted and proportionate. Privacy by design, transparency and effective legal protection safeguard citizens' rights. Unprovoked mass data storage and unauthorized interference with the confidentiality and integrity of IT systems comprehensively undermine fundamental rights and are the wrong political approach.
- (291) The cross-border expansion of police and judicial cooperation through joint European police teams, a European Criminal Investigation Bureau, judicial cooperation by Eurojust and the European Public Prosecutor's Office mean that there is increasing European coordination and cooperation in security policy. Much can also be achieved in the fight against corruption through European cooperation. Uniform standards are being created in the reform of federal cooperation between security authorities so that joint investigations can be increased. Because of the increasing networking of European databases, high data protection standards and improved cross-border legal protection are essential. Joint cooperation requires an independent judiciary and fair court proceedings in all EU member states.
- (292) Criminal justice, as the state's most severe encroachment on civil liberties, must be the means of last resort, because it is not the panacea for solving any kinds of social problem. For the judiciary to function well, it must be able to focus on the essentials. That is why criminal law must be streamlined by decriminalizing petty offenses such as fare evasion.

- (293) Punishments have a preventive effect primarily if they are carried out swiftly. The judiciary must be equipped accordingly. Measures under asylum law are not an alternative to criminal convictions and their enforcement.
- (294) A humane penal system is a touchstone for a democratic community that respects the freedom and dignity of its citizens. Successful rehabilitation of offenders is the best protection for potential victims. This must be a guiding principle for further reforms of the penal system. In their current form, prison sentences often cause more problems than the advantages they provide. Inmates are alienated from society and often pushed deeper into crime. For this reason, the prison system and sanctions system should be further developed on the basis of scientific findings. After serving their sentences, the states and local authorities must provide comprehensive support for those released from prison in reintegrating them into society by helping them with housing, work and healthcare.
- (295) A defensible democracy must also protect itself online. Democratic decision-making processes must not be manipulated by non-transparent social media campaigns, the use of troll armies and automated computer programs (bots), or widespread IT attacks by governments, intelligence services or groups close to them. This requires digital literacy in the relevant authorities, legal transparency obligations, clear international agreements, and prosecution across national borders under the rule of law.
- (296) Hate on the Internet impacts on women and discriminated groups particularly hard. Effective and proportionate law enforcement must also be guaranteed in the case of crimes committed using digital technology, and this requires above all more specialized expertise and personnel. This must go hand in hand with prevention, comprehensive protection and counseling for those affected.
- (297) Every third woman is a victim of physical or sexual violence once in her life. LGBTIQ* persons are also often exposed to hate and violence. Education, information, a legal right to protection and a reliable infrastructure of counseling and protection facilities can prevent violence against women and girls. This also includes prevention and work with perpetrators that critically questions outdated images of masculinity. Men, especially boys, who are affected by (sexualized) violence need their own support, counseling and protection services.
- (298) The rule of law is demonstrated by a citizen-oriented, efficient public administration that is accessible to all and provides the possibility of effective legal recourse

against its decisions. Reliable, transparent public authorities require regular continued and advanced training and adequate financial, personnel and structural resources. A necessary building block is for the administration to become comprehensively qualified, digitized and automated, and to work across departments. Public administration must operate on an equal footing with financially powerful interests in corporations and banks.

(299) State institutions must stand for the diversity of society. Institutional discrimination, especially racism, is a reality for many citizens despite formal, legal equality. It remains an important task to ensure that state structures protect and treat all citizens equally through diversity and representation, as well as through awareness-raising programs and monitoring. This requires the expertise and support of organizations critical of racism and post-migrant organizations.

Securing Solidarity

Promise of Security

- (300) A new social security promise is needed. A strong social safety net is the basis for personal development and social cohesion. No one should have to live below the subsistence level. Social policy creates participation. This requires a social and inclusive infrastructure, forums for interaction, non-discriminatory access and equal living conditions. Good general welfare services are a prerequisite for cohesion.
- (301) Freedom rights remain a privilege of the few if the social prerequisites are not observed. The Basic Law should therefore be supplemented with basic social rights, such as the right to housing.
- (302) Further harmonization of living conditions in the European Union is a prerequisite for freedom of movement to be experienced positively by all. The EU therefore needs investment in social cohesion and climate protection, not destructive austerity policies. These have burdened the European Union in the past. Deregulation, privatization and cuts in spending on investment and general welfare services must not serve as conditions for financial support.

Work

- (303) For most people, gainful employment is more than just a means of subsistence. Work - whether full or part-time - creates meaning, makes a person feel part of the community, and helps people advance. Full-time gainful employment must always be worth enough to provide a decent living. However, work should also be more closely aligned with people's lives and not life with work. For example, work also includes housework, caregiving and voluntary work, which is essential for a functioning economy and society. These forms of work must receive just as much recognition as gainful employment. They should not mean a risk of poverty or loss of independence for anyone.
- (304) In addition, robust labor law is needed. This includes fair wages, a poverty-proof minimum wage, equal pay for equal work and work of equal value, clear requirements for occupational health and safety, and the regulation of working hours.

People with low qualifications must also have the opportunity to participate in our economic system on fair terms. Labor law must also apply in full and be strengthened in digital employment models and companies.

- (305) The representation of employee interests by trade unions, works councils and representatives of the severely disabled must be a matter of course in all companies and sectors. The social partnership must be preserved and expanded even in times of change. To plan their lives, people need reliability, including in their working lives. This includes effective protection against dismissal, flexible and equitable parental leave, fair collectively agreed wages and - as a basic principle - permanent employment contracts. Collective bargaining agreements must be strengthened and the public sector should take this into account when awarding contracts. This requires social partners with the ability to take action, strong trade unions and reliable employers' associations.
- (306) A diverse society produces increasingly diverse forms of employment and work, frequently outside the realm of permanent employment. The more diverse the world of work becomes, the more we need a social security system that protects all citizens. In order to support solo self-employed and at the same time integrate them into the social system and to prevent precarious living conditions, new social security models should be developed. It should be made easier for solo self-employed persons to join health and pension insurance schemes, and they should have the opportunity to insure themselves against unemployment. Unemployment insurance should be open to all self-employed persons and be designed to be affordable and flexible. The special conditions of the respective occupation and the graduated contributions are to have an impact on both the claims and the payment of benefits. Similarly, access to other employment promotion benefits brings greater social equality, especially for the solo self-employed.
- (307) The workplace should be a place where all people can be themselves, regardless of their origin, religion or sexual orientation or gender identity. Effective legal protection is needed to ensure that all people can work without discrimination.
- (308) People with disabilities who work in the general labor market or would like to work there should receive the support they need to do so. People with disabilities who have so far worked in workshops should be given better opportunities to switch to the general training and labor market. To this end, workshops are to be opened up further. Integration companies are to be expanded as genuine alternatives to workshops. The goal is an inclusive labor market.

- (309) Gainful employment not only provides income, but also a means social participation, social contacts, appreciation and recognition. That is why people who have been unemployed for a long time need opportunities and prospects. They need a social labor market that enables participation. At the same time, people who need individual support and assistance must also receive it.
- (310) The ecological transformation and the digital transformation are fundamentally changing the economy, and with it work and working conditions. The digitalization of the world of work offers opportunities as well as risks. Which trends prevail is a question of political design. Without clear control in the interests of employees, we will experience new forms of exploitation, excessive demands and alienation, of surveillance and permanent availability. But if the transformation is organized politically, it offers great opportunities for more freedom and self-determination. It is essential to use the opportunities offered by digitalization to make difficult tasks easier.
- (311) Along with income, being lord of one's time is an increasingly important value for many people. The availability of one's own time makes life satisfying. Increased productivity should be used in such a way that people can act more freely and confidently. The possibility of determining one's own working hours must be reinforced. At the same time, a general reduction in working hours should distribute work more fairly so that everyone has more time for themselves, their families, their hobbies and for social commitment. This may not remain a privilege of those who can afford it. There needs to be solidarity-based support in periods of education, care and further training. People with low incomes should also be able to afford time off.
- (312) Changes in the world of work demand a lot from people: Flexibility, adaptation, effort. There needs to be a legal right to further education and retraining, financed on the basis of solidarity. To this end, we want to expand unemployment insurance into employment insurance and make the transformation of the world of work fair and participatory. Society as a whole has a special responsibility to people who lose their jobs as a result of structural change. Unemployment may not result in exclusion from access to social participation.
- (313) Mobile working offers many opportunities for self-determined work arrangements and a better work-life balance, but also entails the risk of a double burden, especially for women. The right to mobile working must be strengthened and, at the same time, shaped through company regulations, co-determination and improved occupational health and safety in such a way that as many of the potential benefits

as possible can be realized. The right may not become an obligation and the entitlement to a company workplace must be maintained.

- (314) Digitalization offers the opportunity for more sovereignty and flexibility. To achieve this, employees need to have more say in the scope, type, time and location of their work. Gainful employment may not encroach on other areas. Overtime must be recorded and compensated in every sector.
- (315) People who care for others in social and caregiving professions are the backbone of our society. But they often lack social recognition and good working conditions. This affects women in particular, especially those with an actual or ascribed migration history. Their services for the community must be upgraded and better paid. This includes, above all, better funding for municipal institutions and investments in general welfare services.
- (316) The dual training system has proven its worth and is an important pillar of our working world. It ensures a high level of qualification and the comprehensive development of skills. Studies and vocational training, combined with professional experience, are fundamentally equivalent. The rights of apprentices must be strengthened and more co-determination is necessary in companies. Apprenticeships are labor and must be well remunerated. Training and continuing education must be inclusive. It must be possible on a part-time and modular basis.

Gender Equality

- (317) There are still major economic and social inequalities between the sexes. The principle of equal pay for work of equal value is key to achieving equality in the working world.
- (318) Single parents, disproportionately often mothers, frequently bear a high risk of poverty despite gainful employment. This is why special protection and relief from the state is necessary here.
- (319) Numerous regulations in tax and social law promote an unequal division of gainful employment between the sexes. Instead of promoting the marriage certificate, individual taxation should apply to future marriages. Spousal splitting should be replaced by targeted support for children and families in their various forms. Tax, labor and social legislation must be based on equal rights and be gender neutral.

They should be more strongly oriented toward economic independence. Gainful employment should be equally rewarding for all.

(320) Our social coexistence and our economic prosperity depend on caregiving, work generally performed by women and unpaid or underpaid. It is necessary to create conditions so this work can be distributed fairly between the sexes. Childcare and the care of relatives and friends in particular are not a private matter, but a task for society as a whole.

Social Guarantees

(321) Everyone has the right to social participation, to a dignified life without existential fear. That is why we are overturning Hartz IV and replacing it with a guaranteed income. It protects against poverty and guarantees the socio-cultural minimum subsistence level without sanctions. In this way, it makes people strong in times of change and provides opportunities and prospects for a self-determined life.

(322) The guarantee of social security is an individual right and should be based on the principles of participation and needs-based justice and apply without further conditions to every person whose own financial means are insufficient. It should provide security and take into account the specific living situation and place of residence. Claims may not be prevented by bureaucratic hurdles in the application process. Self-employment must always be worthwhile and rewarded.

(323) Living wage benefits are to be merged step by step and, in the long term, payment is to be integrated into the tax system. In this way, we will create a transparent and simple social equalization system. Hidden poverty will be overcome. In doing so, we are guided by the idea of a universal basic income.

(324) The Federal Republic of Europe is a community of solidarity in which all citizens enjoy the same social rights. To this end, the monetary union must first be expanded to include a social union with strong common minimum standards, so that the imbalance between far-reaching economic freedoms and poorly developed labor and social standards in the EU can be corrected. This requires common social standards, such as on minimum wages, basic security, and Europe-wide unemployment reinsurance. Building on this, we want to create common social policy instruments.

- (325) A society with high equality is almost always better off than a society with high inequality. Yet social inequality has increased. Unequal wealth leads to unequal incomes and unequal opportunities in life, and these are passed down through generations. This means financial hardship for many people, a loss of satisfaction, it drives people apart and damages peaceful coexistence and economic stability. The tax system is an effective lever to reduce inequality. We need a more equal distribution of income, wealth, inheritance and opportunity, and the improvement of public infrastructures that create social cohesion and participation.
- (326) For children and young people in particular, unequal distribution of income and assets and unequal conditions depending on where they live or their access to the education system lead to unequal opportunities. All children need functioning and accessible public places such as daycare centers and schools or sports clubs, swimming pools and libraries. No child should be impoverished or represent a risk of poverty for parents in our rich societies. Every child is worth the same. This should be guaranteed by a basic child benefit system. In addition, we need an overall strategy to combat child poverty that consists not only of financial protection but proper infrastructure as well.
- (327) It is essential to jointly expand the social infrastructure and public services of general welfare throughout the European Union and to strengthen them in the sense of shared common goods.

Retirement

- (328) Solidarity depends on everyone participating in it. Social insurance systems should therefore be developed into citizens' insurance systems, so that all people benefit from the protection of social insurance and participate in solidarity according to their income, whether from self-employment, wages or capital gains. Social security systems should be designed in such a way that their financing is as crisis-proof as possible.
- (329) As an intergenerational contract, the pay-as-you-go retirement insurance system secures old-age provisions and is less susceptible to crises than other systems. At the same time, retirement benefits, health and long-term care insurance face major challenges as a result of the structural aging of society. The top priority is to prevent old-age poverty and maintain a retirement benefits level that secures the standard of living. People who have been insured in the statutory retirement insurance for

many years must not be dependent on basic benefits in old age. For people who nevertheless require a supplement to the basic security level, this should be done in an unbureaucratic and dignified manner.

- (330) Immigration of workers, increasing labor force participation of women and broader solidarity through a citizens' insurance scheme help to secure the level of retirement benefits in the long term. The abolition of insecure employment and the avoidance of insecure employment biographies also help to prevent poverty in old age.
- (331) Private and corporate pension schemes can usefully supplement the statutory retirement benefits. The funded pillars of old-age provision are to be publicly organized and managed in the future. Anyone who does not object should be able to participate. In this way, an attractive return will be achieved, even for small investors, and everyone will participate in productive assets at low risk.

Building on Education

Right to Education

- (332) Education aids people in shaping their lives to be self-determined and to be responsible for themselves. It helps people to develop their own potential and interests, to remain open to new insights and experiences, and to assume social responsibility. The right to a good education is a lifelong right open to every person for self-determination, maturity and social participation.
- (333) A good system of education promotes future competencies at all levels - cooperation, communication, creativity, critical thinking. And it must allow freedom for new ideas and learning experiences for all participants. Equal access to education, including for people with disabilities, is the basis for social development. The education system must enable children, young people and all learners to shape a self-determined and sustainable future that will be shaped by uncertainties, the climate crisis, digital transformation and social change. As the key to shaping competence, education for sustainable development should be anchored at all levels of education. Daycare centers and schools are interfaces to families and society and thus forums for social learning and educational institutions for preventive, resilience-promoting competence against domestic and sexualized violence. This requires appropriately trained educators and opportunities for children and young people.
- (334) The education system should enable holistic thinking, sustainable action, mutual respect and responsible decision-making and enable people to participate in society in a self-determined manner. It is thus the basis for a free and democratic society. This also means being able to critically question and classify social and technological developments in order to counter fake news or conspiracy narratives. Daycare centers and schools should be places where children and young people consistently experience appreciation and maturity, live democratic coexistence in practice, and have a say in their learning processes. Role models and gender norms, racist, discriminatory and dominance structures must be problematized, reflected upon and structurally reappraised in all educational institutions and therefore also addressed and critically questioned in the training of teaching professions. An international educational exchange that is accessible to all can contribute to intercultural understanding.

- (335) Good education is characterized by the fact that it does not cement existing inequalities but helps to overcome them. It is the task of the state to compensate for unequal starting conditions resulting from social disadvantages, housing and living environment, discrimination or language requirements. It is the task of the state to promote talent. That is why we need socially diverse and inclusive schools where young people learn together for as long as possible. All young people should be able to acquire the best possible level of education, regardless of their parents' level of education or income. The focus must be on the individual development of young people. Development evaluations focus on the individual person instead of evaluating students comparatively. Our education system should become more permeable, fairer and more efficient and thus be able to join the international top echelon. To achieve this, it is essential to ensure that all young people leave school with sufficient qualifications in key competencies. At the same time, the promotion of talent should be expanded.
- (336) Education is an important foundation for development opportunities in life and plays a key role in helping people find their place in the modern and sustainable world of work. A strong system of education is key to the economic future of our country and constantly evolves in interchanges between all the stakeholders.
- (337) It is also crucial that school is a discrimination-free and safe place for all to assure school is a happy time. To that end, educational staff must receive continued training, and especially children and young people who have experienced discrimination in must be strengthened and empowered. This also includes timely, age-appropriate education in schools. Especially queer youth can experience rejection and lack of understanding at school, but also in their own families. Therefore, extra-curricular programs, such as youth centers, must also be better equipped. They can help young people understand their own situation and build up a social network. It is also important to provide specific offers for transsexual youth and youth affected by multiple discrimination.

Daycare and School

- (338) The foundations for a good education are laid in early childhood. Differences in social conditions are compensated above all by comprehensive, high-quality early childhood education that reaches as many children as possible. This places new demands on the educational staff in daycare centers, which is why good staffing ratios and binding quality standards are needed nationwide. To meet the different

needs of children, people work in multi-disciplinary teams. In order to do justice to the individuality of children, good staffing levels with appropriate remuneration must be ensured.

- (339) The aim of full-day schooling is not only to impart knowledge, but also to promote social skills and togetherness, as well as to ensure a stronger link between learning, experiencing, researching and testing. In this way, social and cultural disadvantages can be overcome in a targeted manner. Quality must be assured through binding standards. There should be a statutory entitlement to full-day schooling.
- (340) Educational policy and social policy belong together. Accordingly, educational institutions must be embedded in networks of social support services that take a holistic view of the lives of children and young people, provide tailored assistance and prevent individuals from losing their connection. Educational institutions should strengthen their cooperation with each other and be open to civil society and the district.
- (341) Financing the education system is a key task for a forward-looking society and a prerequisite for justice. Wealth and access to education are still particularly closely linked. The higher taxation of wealth and inheritance can help pay for a better equipped system of education that offers all children and young people the same opportunities. Resources should be targeted according to the needs of students and schools.
- (342) Learning resources and access to schools and daycare centers should be free (of charge) for learners and teachers, including digital devices, required software and Internet access. Increased use of open source is the key to a participatory and empowered digital education.
- (343) All daycare centers and schools in Germany should develop toward being inclusive places. This must be reflected in a sufficient number of appropriately trained staff, but also in their diversity. Inclusive pedagogical concepts must enable every child and young person, regardless of intellectual, social-emotional, physical or other prerequisites, to learn together, to develop their own personality and potential, and to participate in social life. Schools must adapt their teaching to the students, not the other way around. To do this, they need time, empowerment, smaller classes, new structures for reflection and assessment, inclusive teaching concepts, individual learning paths, and multi-disciplinary support.

- (344) Good schools need a broader scope for decision-making, well-trained teachers who design lessons in such a way that they foster young people's natural thirst for knowledge, curiosity and love of play, and multi-disciplinary teams at eye level that strengthen holistic development. This also means that teacher training continuously evolves based on the realities of children's and young people's lives as well as social and technological developments. Open and permeable structures and diverse methods in the classroom and school help to release potential and develop practical and theoretical strengths. Individual support for children according to their potential is crucial, which is why large classes should be equipped with additional support staff. By understanding cultural competencies as a resource, schools make an important contribution in the diversity of an immigration society. For this reason, schools should be professionally supported in their change processes.
- (345) Daycare centers and schools are particularly important places for self-determined development in a digital world. Educational institutions must be technically equipped in such a way that all children can experience digital reality and help shape it. Good technical equipment also requires well-trained educational staff. Ensuring both is an urgent task for the public sector. Everyday learning must allow all children enough time to acquire digital skills. Both a basic understanding of technology and the social dimension of digital development must be addressed. Today's children will be the shapers of tomorrow's world. To do so, they need the necessary tools and a critical eye with which to question technical developments. Gender stereotypes in digital education and information technology must be overcome. Digital learning also makes it possible to strengthen individualized and inclusive teaching and makes schools more flexible and crisis-proof. The goal must also be to reduce social differences.
- (346) The German system of education needs significantly better funding for more staff, infrastructure and buildings. Well-designed and healthy rooms are of essential importance for the development of our children. Regional differences must be taken into account and targeted support must be given to communities with high poverty rates. The place of residence should not determine the quality of support. Spending must be doubled, especially on daycare and primary education, because this is where the course is set for educational success. Overall, Germany's spending on education should be aligned with the top echelon in the OECD ranking.
- (347) Federalism protects democracy and ensures regional diversity. However, it must not lead to a failure to reach agreement on nationwide educational goals and stand-

ards, or to a failure to make the necessary investments in digitalization, full-day education or inclusion. The states cannot do this alone; it is a task for the entire country. The ban on cooperation must be transformed into a demand for cooperation.

Lifelong Learning

- (348) Education is a lifelong process. The state's responsibility begins with daycare and school and extends through vocational training and higher education to the right to continuing education and adult education. It is framed by a lifelong process of non-formal education. More than ever before, education must become a natural part of life at every age. General and vocational continuing education is a task for society as a whole, so that a self-determined life and participation in society are ensured.
- (349) No educational step should be without a degree or practical connection. Everyone should have the opportunity to acquire school and university degrees, vocational training or partial qualifications at any point in their lives. Guaranteed, low-threshold access to adult education in the form of a "second educational pathway" promotes social mobility within society and is essential to the goal of equal educational and opportunities in life. Directly after leaving school, the path to appropriately paid, recognized vocational training or higher education must be open to all young people. In addition, it must be possible for foreign educational qualifications to be recognized quickly and unbureaucratically. People with career breaks should be helped to re-enter the labor market by having their acquired skills more readily recognized.
- (350) Anybody who cannot read, write or calculate well enough or not at all should have easy access to educational opportunities and special support and be able to take advantage of them.
- (351) The focus of digital learning is on media competence and digital maturity. Adults with little experience with digital media should also be targeted so that they can use the opportunities of the digital world in a self-determined and safe manner.
- (352) Lifelong learning requires a broad spectrum of private, corporate and publicly funded further education institutions. It is the task of the state to make it possible that places of extracurricular education offer a range of further education that is affordable for all and can be used flexibly, so that everyone can acquire the skills and competences necessary for their needs. These and similar institutions are part of public services and must become barrier-free hubs of adult education.

- (353) Many people learn to become involved and have a say in a wide variety of clubs, youth associations and educational institutions. This extracurricular and non-formal education must also be provided with sufficient space and financial opportunities.
- (354) Nowadays, educational paths are constant, accompany employment and involve changes. Education funding must be adapted to this reality and be fully subsidized, independent of parents, age and performance in order to support the right to education. No one should be denied opportunities for essential qualifications due to insecure employment.
- (355) Access to education is strongly impacted by the characteristics of the city districts or by urban-rural disparities. Ensuring equal living conditions means making it possible for children in rural areas to obtain a high-quality education with acceptable distances to school. The preservation of small schools should be made possible through networking. Creative concepts such as mobile media libraries, traditional libraries and laboratories create educational and training opportunities in structurally weak areas - and not just for adults. These must be promoted just as much as student transportation. This is part of the state's provision of public services. Everyone has a right to further education.

International Cooperation

Peace and International Order

- (356) The major political challenges of our time can only be solved globally. Sustainable politics requires forward-looking action in international cooperation.
- (357) A policy oriented toward peace, freedom, solidarity, non-violence, human rights and global justice requires alliances of all those who believe in the value of cooperation and the power of law in international relations - precisely because open societies and liberal democracies are increasingly competing globally with authoritarian states and dictatorships. Germany and Europe must face up to this competition with self-confidence. Multilateral cooperation in international organizations remains the best way to shape global policy.
- (358) There is a need for an international order based on the equitable distribution of global resources and on binding rules that protect the rights of individuals and collectives, prevent conflicts or resolve them without violence and for the common good.
- (359) A peaceful and just world order requires a strong United Nations with the goal of a world domestic policy. They are the central forum for developing norms of international law and agreeing on goals for the world community. They have developed important institutions and procedures for the prevention, settlement and post-conflict rehabilitation of violent conflicts. The United Nations, as well as regional organizations, must therefore be strengthened.
- (360) Our foreign cultural relations and education policy is our bridge to the civil societies of the world. The network of its stakeholders creates safe meeting places for cultural exchange, access to education and knowledge, and assumes responsibility based on our history. It is a value-driven foreign policy at the individual level focusing on peace and development, international cooperation and solidarity.
- (361) To deal with global challenges, the European Union needs to be a power for peace that is aware of its responsibility in the world, especially within the framework of the United Nations, and is committed to the principle of international cooperation. The EU can only live up to this responsibility if it overcomes national divisions and acts

together. The answer to the current global challenges is a constant deepening and further development of the EU, with the perspective of a Federal Republic of Europe.

European Union

- (362) The European Union is Europe's answer to two world wars and the Holocaust. It is the anchor for multilateralism, the rule of law, human rights and democratic sovereignty in a globalized world. It is essential to uphold the European Union's promise of a value-based policy, both internally and externally. In crises, the EU project repeatedly comes under pressure, with nation states acting without consultation and often without solidarity. But it is precisely in crises that it becomes clear that the EU as a community is stronger than any individual country and that the European Union is more than a single market. It must continue to be developed as a political project that manages crises cooperatively and in solidarity.
- (363) It is a key responsibility of the EU member states not to widen the rifts in the European Union through national egoism. It is their responsibility to improve the EU's ability to act both internally and externally.
- (364) The European Charter of Fundamental Rights, free internal borders and European freedom of movement are milestones of European unification we must continue to support. They must apply to all people in the EU. When national governments threaten minority rights and dismantle freedoms, intensive cooperation with civil society and pro-European forces on the ground are all the more important.
- (365) On the basis of shared values, the EU needs a common strategic awareness and attitude that runs through the various areas of policy. By building more sovereignty and strategic capacity to act, the EU can also protect democracy globally and advance climate protection, as well as set standards in economic and financial policy oriented toward human rights and the general welfare. This establishes a common force to shape the future in an interconnected world.
- (366) With the largest single market in the world, the EU has great economic influence. This gives rise to a responsibility to shape globalization in a meaningful way and to regulate it in a way that is oriented toward human rights, the common good and sustainability in order to prevent crises instead of exacerbating them. Those who produce ecologically, socially, transparently and in accordance with human rights should benefit from this. Those who do the opposite should feel negative consequences.

- (367) To ensure that challenges are not viewed solely through the lens of one's own nation state, and to strengthen mutual understanding, requires a pan-European discourse in the European public sphere as well as a European civil society. To accomplish this, we need non-commercial communication and meeting spaces for all Europeans that are supported by the European Union - digitally, via traditional media and in direct exchange with each other, as well as common forms of organization such as European associations and non-profit organizations.
- (368) Not all EU states always want the same thing at the same time, and the lack of agreement among EU states or the blocking attitude of individual states must not become an excuse for collective inaction. Therefore, within the framework of enhanced cooperation, member states can take next steps sooner than others and move forward together in certain areas. It must always be ensured that the project of the European Union as a whole is not jeopardized and that any member state can join in at any time. In this way, an alliance of European democracies, even against nationalist forces and governments in Europe, can succeed in continuing the work of European unification and strengthening the rule of law and democracy.
- (369) The EU must become capable of global politics in order to help shape the rules and realities of the international environment in terms of universal values and the interests derived from them. A united European Union can act effectively as a stakeholder in the globalized world and develop democratic and sustainably oriented creativity. Human rights and the global sustainability goals form the basis for this.
- (370) The EU must use its soft power to play a decisive role in shaping international policy. This involves defining national interests in the light of the European common good and the EU's ability to act and bundling the member states' guidelines into a common foreign policy strategy. The principle of unanimity is to be replaced by majority decisions in order to strengthen the EU's common foreign and security policy (CFSP/CSDP) and thus make it more capable of action.
- (371) The peace project Europe is more than just the EU. This gives rise to obligations in the enlargement process and in the neighborhood policy. The EU has a political responsibility not to disappoint the trust placed in the accession promise and at the same time to help shape the necessary reform process in the countries seeking accession. Partnerships, economic cooperation and solidarity with the regions in the EU's neighborhood contribute to stability and security. The EU's Eastern Partnership is an important pillar based on democratic solidarity and the self-determined development

of Eastern European neighbors. Cooperation with states in North Africa and the Middle East can also strengthen democratization, the enforcement of human rights and economic development. They should be expanded under this premise. The common European institutions such as the OSCE and the Council of Europe, in conjunction with a strong European Union, are important platforms for a multilateral world order.

Multilateral Relations

- (372) The United Nations provides the multilateral framework for international cooperation. Greater responsibility in the United Nations requires Germany and the EU to substantially strengthen their commitment financially, in terms of personnel and diplomatically, to coordinate it better and also to implement the international agreements consistently and coherently in national and European policy. This involves the principle of reform through strengthening. This is particularly important when national egoisms are on the rise and important decisions are being blocked.
- (373) EU partnerships with regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) should be intensified to strengthen multilateral cooperation, democracy, human rights and global sustainability. In particular, the African Union should be strengthened in establishing its capacities and the African countries' claim to self-representation in international forums should be supported.
- (374) The Security Council and other organs of the United Nations must be adapted to the realities of the 21st century. This concerns both the structural and financial endowment of UN organizations and a fairer representation of the regions in the Security Council. The concept of veto powers is no longer up to date and is not compatible with this requirement. The right of veto should be abolished in the long term and, as an intermediate step, a veto in the Security Council must be accompanied by a justification and an alternative proposal in the case of the most serious crimes against humanity. If the Security Council is persistently deadlocked in the case of the most serious human rights violations, the General Assembly should decide in its place on peace-enforcing measures by means of a qualified majority.
- (375) The World Health Organization (WHO) should be strengthened politically, financially and in terms of personnel as a specialized agency of the UN and the most important organization in the field of global health. It can only carry out its task with significantly higher government contributions and a strong mandate.

- (376) If multilateral processes in the United Nations and the EU are permanently blocked, pioneers and innovative concepts that are open to as many participants as possible are needed to strengthen international law and order. This requires partnership with democracies and democrats worldwide to support international law, to maintain democratic processes in the world and to stand up for the strength of the law instead of the law of the strongest.
- (377) In times of dysfunctional international institutions, informal formats build bridges. But these may not be instruments of power over those who are not involved in them. For example, the G20 plays an important role in international economic cooperation and in addressing global challenges. They must be open to other stakeholders. In the long term, the G20 deliberations should be transferred to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.
- (378) The transatlantic partnership, which has been a pillar of German foreign policy for decades, must be renewed and thus strengthened, framed in European terms, oriented multilaterally and based on clear common values. These include a commitment to sustainability, human rights, the rule of law and democracy, and international solidarity. Cooperation should involve all governmental and civil society organizations and institutions that can contribute to such prospects in their own countries and internationally. Cooperation with Russia and China is also needed to solve the challenges facing humanity. This must not be at the expense of third countries or human and civil rights. Democracy and human rights are the measure for deepening relations.
- (379) In addition to cooperation between nations, alliances with and between cities and regions, economic stakeholders and civil societies are essential. Non-governmental stakeholders need to be more closely involved in negotiation processes at the bilateral and multilateral level and supported in their networking with one another. In a dialogue between global civil society and the private sector, new ways must be developed, and global allies found to advance socio-ecological modernization and respect for human rights. Even if there is no agreement on an international approach yet, it is possible to move forward in key areas such as trade or refugee and migration policy.
- (380) A fair globalization includes the strengthening of regional economic cycles as well as co-determination and democratic organization at the municipal and regional level. Politics - and not transnational corporations - must determine the international rules of the game for the global economy.

(381) The right to live one's own cultural, linguistic and religious identity must be guaranteed. Instead of lapsing into regional nationalisms, independence aspirations or violent conflicts, a policy is needed for national minorities that reinforces their rights to cultural and linguistic diversity and ensures and promotes equal social participation and cultural involvement.

Global Security

(382) A policy oriented towards universal dignity and freedom does not think of security in terms of national borders, but in terms of each individual person. Civil crisis prevention, social security, human rights, gender equality, the empowerment of marginalized groups in society, in particular also of LGBTIQ*, a non-violent settlement of conflicts, reconstruction, climate and environmental protection, fair distribution of resources and the validity of international law are the basis of a sustainable peace and security policy. This also includes European integration and participation in collective security systems.

(383) Deliberations about peace and security should not begin only when both are already in danger. Applied consistently to all policy areas, the principle of precaution can prevent much suffering. Sustainable security can only be achieved together. Peace-seeking actions must take into account the interests and perceptions of threat by the other side. Talks do not necessarily presuppose trust, but trust is created by breaking down clichéd images of the enemy and a targeted policy of détente.

(384) Civil crisis prevention and political conflict management must be even more firmly anchored institutionally. This requires sufficient analytical capabilities, regional competence, impact research, intensified transfer of knowledge between science, practice and politics, and the immediate availability of personnel and material. Civil crisis prevention and political conflict resolution have priority over the use of military force, which must also be reflected in the actual institutional, financial and personnel resources. Where multiple crises accumulate, it is particularly important to improve more quickly in crisis prevention.

(385) The general prohibition of the use of force in the UN Charter is a major achievement. UN-led peacekeeping operations are a key instrument of collective peacekeeping and, as such, should be strengthened despite all their shortcomings - especially through greater European participation in UN peacekeeping operations.

- (386) The European Union is a peacekeeping power. It is characterized by the primacy of the civilian and the broad spectrum of civilian instruments. Peace missions, civil crisis prevention, diplomacy, international cooperation, humanitarian aid and foreign cultural and educational policy, mediation, the provision of civil and security experts, the promotion of the rule of law and social understanding are the strengths of the EU's joint foreign and security policy. It must be strengthened institutionally, in terms of personnel and funding, and even more closely interwoven.
- (387) A strong foreign and security policy is feminist. The equal representation of women in international politics as well as their equal participation and co-determination in diplomatic negotiations or in the composition of security and foreign policy bodies is a prerequisite for this. Feminist foreign policy follows the guiding principle of "human security." Women and marginalized groups are particularly affected by wars and violent conflicts. The migrant perspective must also be integrated into foreign and security policy decisions.
- (388) The climate crisis is a global security risk. Climate policy is therefore a key component of global foreign, security and development policy. This requires an international framework, at the UN and EU level, for preventing climate and environmental conflicts in order to protect and support states and regions that are particularly affected by the consequences of the climate crisis or by shortages of raw materials, droughts, food shortages and floods: The responsibility to prepare.
- (389) Disarmament, arms control and the non-proliferation of weapons are and remain essential pillars of any peace policy. Our claim is to include all countries here, in particular also the new superpower China. Disarmament and arms control mean greater global security for all. A strict set of rules on disarmament and the ban on chemical, biological and nuclear weapons of mass destruction is needed. Germany's accession to the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the strengthening of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty are part of this. To achieve this, we must work together with our international and European partners toward the goal of a Europe free of nuclear weapons. This requires a Germany free of nuclear weapons and thus a swift end to nuclear participation. The aspiration is nothing less than a world free of nuclear weapons.
- (390) Exports of arms and military equipment to dictators, regimes that violate human rights and to war zones are prohibited. To reduce arms exports, the EU needs a common restrictive arms export control system with strong institutions and export

criteria that have been incorporated into EU Community law. EU member states that violate binding arms export criteria must expect sanctions. The use of security companies in international conflicts must be strictly regulated and private military companies banned. Cooperation with the security sector of other states must be tied to compliance with democratic, rule-of-law and human rights criteria.

- (391) Autonomous lethal weapon systems that are no longer subject to effective human control in selecting and engaging targets pose an incalculable threat. It is crucial for peace and stability to regulate autonomy in weapon systems in an internationally binding manner and to outlaw and ban their applications, which violate ethical and international legal principles. This also applies to digital weapons such as attack and spy software. Germany and the EU must take a global leadership role in this. Further developed, binding rules should prevent the militarization of outer space.
- (392) The European Union and its member states must protect themselves against attacks on their critical infrastructure. Preventing attacks through and on the Internet requires more on our part to secure infrastructure and an international treaty.
- (393) The use of military force in war always results in massive suffering. But we also know that failure to act in individual cases can lead to greater suffering. That is why it is so important to intervene early in conflicts and prevent them from escalating into armed conflict. The concept of "Responsibility to Protect" obliges states to protect their populations from the most serious human rights violations and crimes against humanity. In such cases, the United Nations can adopt coercive measures. The Responsibility to Protect equally obligates the international community to expand its instruments for prevention, crisis response, and post-conflict rehabilitation or reconstruction of war-torn societies. Diplomatic initiatives, mediation and UN peace operations can contain violence and create conditions for peace processes. Key to peace, reconciliation and justice is also the fight against impunity for human rights crimes.
- (394) The use of military force is always a last resort. It is only considered when every alternative option, such as sanctions or embargoes, are futile. A military mission needs a clear and achievable mandate, balanced civilian and military capabilities and independent evaluations. Armed missions of the Bundeswehr abroad must be embedded in a system of mutual collective security, i.e. not in unconstitutional coalitions of the willing, and in an overall political concept based on the Basic Law and international law. In the case of interventions in the sovereignty of a state or where state sovereignty is lacking, a mandate from the United Nations is needed. If

the veto power in the Security Council is abused to cover up the most serious crimes against humanity, the world community faces a dilemma, because inaction is just as damaging to human rights and international law as action.

- (395) The Bundeswehr is a parliamentary army anchored in the Basic Law and in international alliances. This gives rise to a duty of care on the part of parliament toward active and former soldiers and civilian employees, as well as an obligation to provide them with the personnel and materiel they need to fulfill their mission and tasks. The mission and tasks of the Bundeswehr are based on the real and strategically significant challenges to security and peacekeeping. It is a necessary instrument of national and international security policy. Germany should be able to rely on its allies and, in the same way, the allies should be able to rely on Germany. Overall responsibility for their deployment must be established, and information on all operations in the field must be fully accessible to the allies. Direct operations within the framework of the UN take precedence over crisis operations by the EU and NATO.
- (396) The principles of “inner leadership” and “citizens in uniform” bind soldiers to society and the values and norms of the Basic Law. A Bundeswehr that is firmly anchored in our society must reflect the diversity of society. This applies to the proportion of people from different social backgrounds, with and without migration experience, people of color, and women employed in the Bundeswehr. Ideologies against people and right-wing extremist structures in the Bundeswehr must be consistently prosecuted and dismantled. Our history teaches us how irreplaceable basic democratic and anti-fascist values as well as democracy education are, especially in an army. The armed deployment of the Bundeswehr within Germany is to be rejected.
- (397) Together with its international partners, the European Union must live up to its responsibility for its own security and defense. The EU's common security and defense policy presupposes a common EU foreign policy. This needs a parliamentary-controlled security union. Instead of channeling more and more money into national, parallel military structures, increased cooperation among the armed forces in the EU should be expanded and military capabilities should be pooled, and generally recognized capability gaps closed. This requires appropriate equipment, the expansion of EU units, and a strengthening and consolidation of the joint EU command structure.
- (398) The European Union's foreign and security policy must be strategic, forward-looking, comprehensive and capable of acting quickly. This requires a joint analytical capability and a strengthening of the European External Action Service. Step by step,

it should be possible to take more and more decisions in this area by means of a qualified majority.

- (399) NATO is suffering from diverging security interests within the alliance, up to and including mutual military threats. In this deep crisis, it lacks a clear strategic perspective. Nevertheless, from a European perspective, it remains an indispensable stakeholder alongside the EU, which can guarantee Europe's joint security and which, as an alliance of states, counteracts the re-nationalization of security policy. However, a strategic reorientation is needed. With stronger military cooperation and coordination within the EU and with European NATO partners such as Great Britain and Norway, European values and strategic interests can be represented more coherently and convincingly.
- (400) Peace in Europe means more than just peace, security and stability in the EU. In order for the vision of a peaceful future for all Europeans to become reality, the common European institutions that reach beyond the EU, such as the Council of Europe and the OSCE, are needed to involve every European state. They need to be strengthened and further developed in order to achieve the goal of a truly effective and strong system of collective security across Europe. Even in the face of Russia's nationalistic and backward-looking policies that undermine Europe's security and the self-determination of Russia's neighbors, the goal remains to win over this eastern neighbor of the European Union to such a perspective on the basis of shared values.

Global Structural Policy

- (401) In an interconnected world, all areas of policy connect and intersect. Global structural policy must pursue a coordinated, networked approach for the socio-ecological transformation that also includes domestic policy areas and consistently eliminates internal contradictions in government action. Every political decision must be subjected to a mandatory sustainability check.
- (402) The framework for overarching government action is provided by human rights, the Paris climate targets and the 2030 Agenda with its 17 Sustainable Development Goals. They are a prerequisite for being able to shape structures globally and sustainably. For example, successes have been achieved in the fight against poverty and hunger and in access to the healthcare and education systems. The commitment to gender equality is an integral part of a queer-feminist structural policy.

The right to development applies worldwide. In order to comply with the global sustainability goals within planetary limitations and to make global coexistence as crisis-proof as possible, requires a global socio-ecological transformation.

- (403) International cooperation, especially development policy with states and civil societies in poorer regions of the world, may not be subordinated to multilateral migration, economic or security policy interests. Rather, international cooperation is based on rights-based cooperation, the partnership principle, self-determination, and aims at global justice and the safeguarding of global public goods.
- (404) The crimes of colonialism give rise to a special responsibility for Germany and Europe, both internally and externally. Society as a whole has a duty to acknowledge the devastating effects of colonialism, to come to terms with them and to remedy them. The people and states in the global South have enormous potential for innovation, from which Germany and Europe can also learn. International cooperation must be postcolonial and antiracist.
- (405) The mistakes of exploiting people and nature must be overcome by a fair and sustainable model of prosperity. Value-based politics must consistently check their actions for effects that are counterproductive in terms of peace, human rights and climate policy and refrain from doing harm.
- (406) A strong public pillar of development and climate finance is needed. It must be closely integrated, effectively expanded, and aligned with sustainable development goals. Evidence-based approaches and ongoing exchange with the scientific community are essential.
- (407) Global transformation means massive investments, especially in poorer countries. Providing these in a sustainable, socio-ecological manner and geared to local needs must be a key goal of the global financing architecture. International commitments must be honored and the promotion of gender equality must be taken into account. New methods, such as direct aid to people via social cash transfers, should also be structurally anchored. In international climate finance, industrialized countries have a responsibility to poorer countries - also because of their historical emissions. They support investments in climate protection, adaptation to the consequences of the climate crisis and coping with damage and losses. After all, global cooperation and support are indispensable in the face of the climate crisis.

- (408) As the world's largest donor, the EU has great potential for greater coherence and efficiency in global structural policy. The medium-term goal is to unify the national development policies of the member states. A common European development policy is to become a core of joint European action.
- (409) Sustainable peace and democracy depend on an active civil society and transparency. A vibrant civil society helps to fight corruption and social inequality. It is therefore essential to defend the scope for action and design processes of a critical civil society globally and to strengthen and expand the self-organizing forces of civil society, especially of women, indigenous peoples and marginalized groups. This requires secure and open digital tools and forums.

Trade

- (410) International trade connects people and states, enables participation in goods and services and the spread of innovations, but poor trade rules contribute to environmental pollution and exploitation. Trade is not an end in itself, but serves a globally just prosperity and thus human development. It should be fair and democratically controlled. It must contribute to the implementation of the UN Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Climate Agreement, rather than counteracting them.
- (411) A democratic world trade order under the umbrella of a reformed WTO should stand for the rule-based balancing of interests. This includes global antitrust law, transparent monitoring of the degree of interconnectedness of an economic player, and legally anchored human rights due diligence obligations for companies as well as the enforceability of such. Progressive bilateral agreements can also be important steps on this path, provided they are transparent and democratic and are aligned with global public welfare interests. We oppose the undermining of multilateralism through major power politics.
- (412) The EU's trade policy is a powerful instrument for reconciling environmental, animal and climate protection, respect for human rights and social standards, such as the protection of workers' rights, with economic interests and enforcing them worldwide. Areas of general welfare, i.e. public goods such as education, healthcare, social security or water, are state tasks and are subject to the public interest. Special rights and special justice for corporations must be excluded. Trade agreements may not make it more difficult for states and the EU to set their own higher standards with

regard to climate, environmental and consumer protection. The European principle of prevention must always be upheld.

- (413) There is a global need for regional security for the supply of essential food and medicines. Therefore, these may not be left to crisis-prone global supply chains alone, but must also be able to be produced in the European domestic market.
- (414) Trade agreements are strong if they promote regional circular economies, regional value creation and regional trade and ensure the fulfillment of sustainability goals by making environmental and social standards and compliance with human rights binding. Audit and complaint instruments as well as sanction options such as trade restrictions must be provided for this purpose.
- (415) Fair trade requires a reduction of the imbalances in world trade and in the euro zone. Germany has a special responsibility in this regard and should gradually reduce its trade surplus with public investment, good wages or a strengthening of domestic demand.
- (416) A fair trade policy is based on reciprocity and helps the European economy against unfair practices such as dumping or subsidies that violate world trade law. It pays attention to the protection of sensitive infrastructure against investments from third countries.
- (417) Poorer countries are to be strengthened in world trade with an asymmetrical customs policy. They should decide sovereignly which areas of their economy they want to open up and which they want to protect. Industrialized countries, on the other hand, must open their markets to these countries, taking into account high ecological and social standards, and should not export highly subsidized agricultural products that destroy local markets. Formal equal rights with unequally distributed economic power lead to inequitable results and therefore require joint steering mechanisms and orientation toward global common good interests.
- (418) The manufacture, production and transport of goods for the European market must be free of exploitative labor, human rights violations, child labor and environmental destruction, including at sea. Fair trade should become the standard. Due diligence obligations are to be enshrined in law at both the national and international level. Animal welfare is also to be taken into account. This applies to the entire supply chain and is to be achieved through full transparency, for example through digital

processes, and sanctions. As by far the largest procurer, the public sector has a special responsibility in this regard. At the same time, the EU advocates that these goals also apply globally.

Financial Markets and Monetary Order

- (419) Unregulated global financial markets triggered a severe economic crisis at the beginning of the 21st century and caused serious distortions worldwide. Short-term, speculative financial flows should therefore be regulated, made more expensive and, if necessary, banned. All international capital flows should be transparent. In the future, no more money should be made from tax avoidance and unsecured speculation. Tax swamps must be drained and international tax evasion must be combated - also by means of an internationally binding set of rules that sets minimum standards for the tax obligations of companies and states. Where and how much international corporations pay in taxes must be open to public scrutiny.
- (420) Sustainable international direct investment promotes global development and is part of a strong foreign economic policy of the European Union. A fair world monetary order enables all countries - not only the wealthy ones - to finance investments in the long term and thus reliably. In addition to regulating short-term capital movements, this requires the stabilization of exchange rates.
- (421) Only global public institutions can safeguard against speculative attacks on states and their currencies. The long-term goal is therefore global cooperation among central banks and the strengthening and democratization of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This should ensure liquidity, provide a stable framework for the global financial market and prevent crises. The European Central Bank already has a responsibility to consider the impact of its policies on less and least developed countries and to stabilize and hedge exchange rates. In this way, European monetary policy helps to prevent speculative capital flight from these countries and to promote their development.
- (422) Debt can - if the money is well invested - promote development and provide the necessary financing for the socio-ecological transformation. Over-indebtedness, on the other hand, harms the poorest of the poor in particular. In particular, it slows down the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals, jeopardizes healthcare, education and infrastructure in many countries. The international community must create rules-based procedures to compensate for sovereign insolvency through

debt relief, payment deferrals or debt haircuts. Sovereign insolvency procedures can include all debt for countries that are not indebted in their own currency. Financial assistance, in turn, must not be made conditional on the dismantling of services of general welfare.

(423) A secure and strong currency is part of an EU that is capable of conducting global politics. The euro should become a global reserve currency. The prerequisites for this are a common EU fiscal policy and the issuance of secure and liquid joint bonds, backed by the EU's own tax sources. The EU's strategic ability to act should also be ensured by its own payment systems and a digital central bank money.

Migration and Flight

(424) Migration has existed throughout human history. It is and always has been a driving force for development and global cooperation, as well as a source of exchange and innovation, but also of suffering and loss. For centuries, migration has also shaped and changed our society and our everyday lives at all levels. The opportunity to migrate or stay at home may not remain the privilege of a few people. In order to end global isolation, the foundations must be laid. Our democracy is not one in which belonging is based on origin, but an open society in which we agree together on how we want to live together. Discrimination and exclusion mechanisms are to be dismantled and racism is to be fought actively and resolutely. Every person has the right to live in dignity and freedom.

(425) Migration is a global reality and needs global regulations. International agreements such as the Global Compact on Migration strengthen the rights and freedom of people who do not live, work or go to school in their country of birth. They are the basis for international understanding on rights-based approaches to migration and should, in those terms, be further developed. The equal entitlement of migrants to assert their rights must be implemented in a binding manner at the national and European level.

(426) Germany is a country of immigration, Europe a continent of migration. That is why it needs safe access routes and an immigration law that defines fair and non-discriminatory criteria for immigration. This includes a right to family life as well as people being able to change their status and travel between their country of origin and place of residence. People who live here should quickly gain access to citizenship rights. This requires a modern citizenship law that allows for multiple citizenships.

- (427) People who are forced to leave their homes due to political persecution, torture, threats to life and limb, human rights violations or war are protected by the right of asylum. The internationally enshrined right to seek protection in another country is based on the lessons learned from the crimes against humanity of the Shoah. The binding rules of international law, in particular the Geneva Refugee Convention, apply universally and without restriction to all refugees. They are the obligation and foundation of a world in which human dignity is inviolable. The individual fundamental right to asylum is the cornerstone of a human rights-oriented policy and must remain unaltered. Instead of politically classifying countries as safe third countries or countries of origin, there is a need for legally secure, fast and fair procedures, i.e. unbiased asylum procedures, and access to independent counsel throughout the entire procedure. The Global Compact for Refugees stands for the endeavor to make flight internationally humane and to protect the rights of those affected. Accordingly, the international treatment of refugees must be further developed on the basis of rights.
- (428) Regardless of where someone comes from, no matter where someone wants to go or for what reason a person is in distress at sea: People must be rescued from danger to their lives and brought to a safe place. Where people are in distress, states have the responsibility to coordinate and organize rescues. This requires a joint EU sea rescue system. Those who stand up for human rights, whether on land or at sea, must be supported and may not be criminalized.
- (429) The climate crisis is forcing more and more people to migrate and flee, and existing conflicts are being further exacerbated. The global South is particularly affected. The goal must be to prevent people from having to leave their homes due to the consequences of climate change through climate protection, financing and adaptation. When people are threatened with statelessness or permanently lose their homes, they need opportunities for dignified, early, self-determined and safe migration. They must not be allowed to fall into a protection gap. In the long term, they need a protection status under international law. In particular, states that historically and currently emit the majority of climate-damaging gases must participate in a global compensation of climate impacts, damages and losses as well as in the creation of safe and dignified migration routes.
- (430) People need prospects. Toleration means a state of limbo, continuing insecurity and a lack of prospects. Such a unusual status must be an exception. People who live here permanently need a secure right to stay. No person is illegal, so deportations

should always be the last resort. Voluntary return always has priority. Imprisonment without crime to enforce departure is a massive encroachment on the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom. Deportations to war and crisis zones are prohibited.

- (431) Rule of law, swift and orderly procedures enable the EU to fulfill its human rights and humanitarian responsibilities. Access to individual asylum procedures must be guaranteed in the EU member states. Compartmentalization is not only inhumane, but leads to chaos. Rule of law and European-controlled EU external borders, reliable registration and initial checks by a separate EU asylum authority, humane accommodation and a uniform system of asylum that fairly distributes responsibility within the EU are the foundations of a common EU asylum policy. Borders are only controlled by the rule of law if human rights are protected at these borders and a possibility to enter exists.
- (432) Not everyone has the right to asylum, but everyone has the right to a procedure under the rule of law with individual review and to dignified accommodation and treatment. Access to independent legal advice and to the possibility of appeal is the hallmark of the rule of law. Medical care and access to education must be guaranteed during this time and also regardless of status. The goal is a common EU asylum law with high standards.
- (433) In order to support the humanitarian care of refugees outside the European Union, cooperation and solidarity with neighboring countries and other host countries are necessary. However, the possibility of fleeing and seeking protection in Germany and Europe must not be made more difficult through cooperation with third countries, and cooperation must not lead to human rights violations. Vulnerable groups such as women, children, LGBTIQ*, elderly and sick people need special protection.
- (434) Fighting the causes of flight means fighting the reasons for flight and not the people fleeing. European policy must be geared towards thinking globally about political challenges and also ensuring that global justice is strengthened locally. European economic, financial, trade, agricultural and arms export policies must be consistently checked for their social, economic and ecological effects in third countries, prevent corruption and patronage and be designed in accordance with the Paris Climate Agreement, the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and human rights.
- (435) At the center of our asylum and migration policy are human beings in their dignity and freedom. Our goal is a world in which people are not forced to flee.

Index

A

Abortion	51, 60
Adherence to collective bargaining	66
African Union	92
Age	11, 14, 19, 25, 27, 42, 50, 53, 58, 62, 65, 67, 81f, 84, 87f
Agriculture	21ff, 30, 43
Animal protection	24
Anti-Semitism	49
Antidiscrimination	67
Antiracism	72
Antiziganism	50
Arms export control	95
Art	56f
Arts	16, 52, 56ff
Assets/Wealth	11, 13, 29, 34, 38f, 54, 58, 66, 81f, 85, 102
Asylum	74, 104f
Automotive industries	33

B

Banks	35ff, 75, 102
Barrier-free/Barriers	9, 14, 24f, 32, 44, 55, 61, 66f, 87
Basic child benefit system	81
Basic security	80, 82
Biodiversity	11, 21f, 24, 29, 71
Bioethics	42
Bots	74
Broadband	13, 27, 52
Broadband connections	13, 52
Budget	20, 36ff, 69
Budgetary policy	36



CO ₂	20, 22, 27, 38
CO ₂ price	28
Capital	28, 31, 34, 36, 39, 81, 102
Capitalism	13, 46
Care	23, 31, 53, 58ff, 78ff, 97, 105
Care planning	59, 60
Caregivers	60, 63
Caregiving	31, 53, 60f, 63, 76, 79f
Central banks	36f, 102
Charter of Fundamental Rights	10, 69, 71, 90
Chemical Industry	33
Child poverty	81
Children's rights	54
Church	49, 65
Circular economy	23, 27, 33
Citizen councils	68
Citizens	11, 16, 32, 46, 49, 68f, 71, 75, 80
Citizens' initiatives	65
Civil disobedience	65
Civil society	16, 40, 44, 51, 64f, 69, 72, 85, 90f, 93, 100
Civilian social service	56
Climate	9, 11f, 18ff, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40, 58, 70f, 76, 83, 90, 94f, 98ff, 104f
Climate crisis	11f, 19, 21, 40, 83, 95, 99, 104
Climate financing	99
Climate movement	9
Climate neutrality	11, 19f, 29, 38
Climate policy	20, 26, 95, 99
Climate protection	20, 22, 27f, 33, 36, 58, 70f, 76, 90, 99f, 104
Co-determination	16, 42, 45, 49, 54, 66, 78f, 93, 95
Collective bargaining	49, 66, 77
Colonialism	99
Commitment	16, 18, 35, 39, 51, 64f, 71, 78, 92f, 98f
Committees/Bodies	42, 62, 68, 95
Common EU asylum policy	105
Communities	49, 56, 65, 69f, 72, 86
Competition	14, 29ff, 38, 89

Conspiracy narratives	49, 83
Construction transition	27
Consumers/Consumer protection/Consumer rights	14, 30, 34, 37, 43, 45, 71, 101
Consumption	19f, 22ff, 27, 33, 38f
Control	45, 66f, 69, 72, 78, 95f
Credit financing	36, 38
Criminal law/Penal system	73f
Crisis prevention	94f
Cryptocurrency	37
Culture	16, 18, 24, 42, 44, 50ff, 55ff
Cultural diversity	15, 56
Cultural participation	13, 48, 66
Cultural policy	57
Customs policy	101

D

Data protection	45f, 61, 73
Daycare	13, 52, 54, 81, 83ff
Decarbonization	12, 20f, 33
Decolonization	58
Degree/1.5 degrees/Green New Deal	19, 29
Democracy	10, 12f, 15ff, 30, 34, 38, 46, 56f, 64ff, 70f
Democratization	67, 92, 102
Demographic change	52, 55, 61, 62
Development policy	95, 99f
Digitalization	20, 33f, 43ff, 61, 70, 78f, 87
Digital platforms	32, 65f
Digital skills	86
Dignity	9ff, 14, 17ff, 40, 42, 47, 51, 54, 58f, 62ff, 66, 70, 74, 94, 103ff
Disability	13f, 42, 50, 54f, 58
Disarmament	18, 95
Discrimination	15, 18, 30, 44, 47, 49ff, 54, 62, 64, 72f, 75, 77, 84, 103
Distribution	10, 26, 28f, 34f, 59, 62, 81
Diversity	9, 11, 14f, 23, 30, 33f, 40, 42, 45, 47, 49, 51f, 56, 62, 75, 85f, 94, 97
Domestic market	101
Drug policy	62

E

East and West	52
Ecology	10ff, 27
Ecological farming	55
Ecological limits	11
Economy	12, 14, 20, 23, 25, 27, 29ff, 44f, 66, 76, 78, 93, 101
Economic growth	29
Economic policy	31f, 102
Economic system	14, 29, 66, 77
Ecosystem	11, 22, 36, 44
Education/Training	13, 15f, 22, 28, 41f, 50, 52ff, 56f, 62, 64ff, 72ff, 78f, 83ff, 95, 97, 102, 105
Educational institutions	16, 53, 65, 83, 85f, 88
Educational policy	58, 85, 95
Educational system	13, 45, 81, 83ff, 98
Emancipation	11, 15
Emissions	20, 22, 26, 99
Empowerment	18, 62, 85, 94
Energy	19ff, 26ff
Energy foreign policy	21
Energy transition	21
Entrepreneurs	30, 33
Environment	11f, 21ff, 28f, 31, 33, 36, 40, 43, 52f, 55, 58, 71, 84, 91, 94f, 100f
Environmental destruction	12, 101
Environmental policy	28
Environmental pollution	100
Equal opportunity	15, 29, 50, 53, 64, 81
Equality	12, 16f, 31, 33, 48, 50f, 57, 66, 71, 75, 77, 79, 81, 94, 98f
Ethics	28, 40, 42f, 45, 96
Euro zone	101
Europe	17ff, 32, 34, 37, 42, 46, 49, 56, 59, 64, 69, 80, 89, 91, 95, 98f, 103, 105
European Criminal Investigation Bureau/Europol	73
European Parliament	67ff
European domestic market	101
Peace project Europe	91
European Union	34, 37, 46, 69, 76, 81, 89ff, 95ff, 102, 105
EU Charter of Fundamental Rights	10, 69, 71
EU Commission	69

EU budget	69
EU's common security and defense policy	97
EU's joint foreign and security policy	95
European Central Bank	37, 102
European integration	17, 94
Exclusion	50, 66f, 78, 103
Exertion of influence	17
Experience discrimination	84
Export	24, 38, 95f, 101, 105
Extremism	72

F

Fake news	83
Family	50, 51, 53, 61, 63, 67, 103
Fare evasion	73
Federal Republic of Europe	17, 69, 80, 90
Federal state	69
Federalism	17, 86
Feminism	50
Feminist foreign policy	95
FinTech	36
Financial policy	90
Financial institute	35f
Financial market	28, 35f, 102
Fiscal policy	36ff, 103
Fiscal and social law	79
Flight	26, 102ff
Food	23f, 95, 101
Foreign policy	18, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97
Fossil age	19
Fossil fuels	20, 27
Foundations of life	11f, 19, 71
Founder	34
Freedom	9ff, 14ff, 23f, 26, 29f, 32, 35, 40ff, 47ff, 51ff, 56, 58, 62, 64, 70ff, 76, 78, 80, 83, 89f, 94, 103, 105
Freedom of opinion	64
Full-day	85, 87
Fundamental rights	10, 32, 44, 66, 69ff, 73, 90

Further training/education	28, 78, 87f
Future	9ff, 19ff, 23ff, 29f, 33f, 37f, 40, 42ff, 46, 48, 55, 62, 68, 79, 82ff, 90, 98, 102

G

G20	93
GDR (German Democratic Republic)	57
Gender diversity	51
Gender equality	12, 16, 31, 33, 50, 57, 79, 94, 98f
General welfare	29ff, 34ff, 38ff, 46, 52, 54f, 58f, 64, 66, 70, 76, 79, 81, 90, 100, 103
Genetic engineering	22f, 43
German army/Bundeswehr	96f
Global economy	93
Global security	59, 94f
Global structural policy	98, 100
Globalization	64, 90, 93
Greenhouse gases	20
Growth	29
Guarantee of social security	80

H

Hate on the Internet	74
Health	11, 22ff, 27ff, 43, 50, 55, 58ff, 76ff, 81, 86, 92, 98
Healthcare	13, 51, 58ff, 74, 100, 102
Healthcare policy	58f
Healthcare professions	60
Healthcare system	43, 58ff
Hedge funds	36
Home office	25, 55
Housing	13, 25ff, 31, 50, 52, 54f, 58, 63, 74, 76, 84
Housing policy	26
Human dignity	10, 12, 18, 42, 66, 104
Human rights	10, 14, 16f, 34, 36, 44, 51, 55, 58, 66, 70ff, 89ff, 104f
Humanitarian aid	95

I

IT	14, 28, 73f
Immigration	48, 57, 62, 82, 86, 103
Immigration Law	103
Immigration society	48, 57, 62, 86
Inclusion	50, 87
Income	13, 38f, 54, 58, 61, 66, 78, 80f, 84
Industry	27, 33f, 42, 45, 55
Industrial location	32
Industrial policy	27, 32
Industrialized country	12, 20, 99, 101
Informational self-determination	44
Infrastructure	14, 21, 25f, 28, 31f, 34, 37f, 44, 46, 52f, 55, 60f, 63, 65, 73f, 76, 81, 86, 96, 101f
Inheritance	39, 81, 85
Inheritance tax	39
Innovation	14, 16, 29f, 32ff, 41f, 45f, 99f, 103
Innovation policy	33
Institutional discrimination	75
Integration	17, 69, 77, 94
Intelligence services	72, 74
Intercultural understanding	83
Intergenerational contract	81
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	102
International community	18, 71, 96, 102
International cooperation	44, 89, 92, 95, 99
International law	89, 93f, 96f, 104
International policy	18, 91
Internet	44, 50, 68, 71, 74, 85, 96
Intersexual	15f, 43, 50f
Investors	24, 36, 82
Islam	49
Islamism	72
Israel	49
Istanbul Convention	51

J

Journalism	65
Judaism	49
Judiciary	16, 64, 70f, 73f
Just distribution	28
Justice	10ff, 18, 23, 27ff, 31, 35, 48, 53f, 57, 64, 70, 72f, 80, 85, 89, 96, 99f, 105

L

LGBTQ	48, 51, 74, 94, 105
Legal claim	48
Lifelong learning	87
Lobbying	17, 66
Lobby register	66

M

Majority decision	69, 91
Marginalized groups	12, 18, 67, 94f, 100
Mass data storage	73
Media	65, 71, 74, 87f, 91
Media competence	87
Media education	65
Medicine	42ff, 54, 59f, 62, 101
Migration	48, 79, 93, 97, 99, 103ff
Minimum wage	76, 80
Minorities/Protection of minorities	11, 47, 56, 64, 94
Mobile phone coverage	52
Mobile working	78
Mobility	24ff, 31, 33, 44, 70, 87
Mobility transition	24f
Monetary order	102
Monetary policy	36f, 102
Monetary union	37f, 80
Multilateral cooperation	89, 92
Multilateralism	18, 90, 100

N

NATO	98
NSU	72
Needs-based	63, 80
New community housing	55
Non-binary	16, 50f
Nonviolence	18
Nuclear weapon	95
Nursing professions	60
Nutrition policy	24

O

OECD	86
OSCE	92, 98
Obstetrics	60
Octoberfest attack	72
Old-age poverty	81
Open society	47, 56, 103
Open source	45, 85
Open spaces/Public spaces	52ff, 73
Opportunities for participation	44, 64, 67
Origin	14, 42, 50, 54f, 58, 77, 103f
Ownership	15, 20, 35, 39, 71

P

Parenthood	43
Paris Climate Agreement	100, 105
Parity	16, 51
Parliamentarianism	67
Participation	10ff, 21, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 40, 42, 44f, 47f, 50, 52ff, 56, 62, 64ff, 70, 76, 78, 80ff, 87, 94, 95, 100
Party donations	68
Party of alliance	10
Patients	59ff
Peace	9f, 17f, 29, 42, 48f, 55ff, 65, 81, 89, 91f, 94ff
Peacekeeping	94f

Police	54, 73
Political education	65
Political participation	29, 48, 64, 66
Poverty	12, 18, 58, 61, 64, 70, 76, 79ff, 86, 98
Prevention	54f, 58, 60ff, 72ff, 89, 94ff, 101
Producers	22, 71
Progress/Advancement	11, 13f, 19, 30, 32, 34, 40, 43, 46f, 53, 58, 61f, 100
Prohibition of the use of force	94
Promise of security	76
Prosperity	11f, 14, 19f, 23, 29ff, 35ff, 80, 99f
Protest	65
Provision/Precaution	11, 20, 29, 30, 40, 43, 52ff, 56, 70, 81f, 88, 94f
Public services	13, 24, 27, 38, 52ff, 56, 81, 87f
Public transportation	13, 25, 52, 55

Q

Queer	43, 50f, 62, 84, 98
-------	---------------------

R

Racism	9, 13, 57, 66, 71f, 75, 103
Racial attributions	14
Raw materials industry	34
Real estate market	54
Referendum	68
Regional diversity	52, 86
Regional provision of public services	52
Regulation	13, 23, 32, 35, 37, 41, 43, 45, 62, 67, 76, 78f, 103
Religion	14f, 48, 50, 77
Religious diversity	15
Remembrance culture	57
Renewable energy	19f, 28
Representation	66f, 75, 77, 92, 95
Representation deficit	67
Research	22, 24, 31, 33f, 40ff, 46, 57ff, 62, 85, 94
Research policy	34
Researcher	34, 42, 46, 57

Reserve currency	103
Resources	13, 18f, 23, 29, 33f, 37f, 43, 50, 56, 65, 69, 72, 75, 85, 89, 94
Resource consumption	20, 23, 39
Resource distribution	89, 94
Resource efficiency	20
Responsibility to protect	96
Retirement benefits	81f
Retirement insurance	81
Right of asylum	104
Right of citizenship	48, 66, 103
Right to housing	26, 54, 76
Right-wing extremism	72
Risk of poverty	61, 76, 79, 81
Romani	48, 50
Rule of law/Constitutional state	16, 49, 64, 66, 70f, 73f, 90f, 93, 95, 105

S

School	13, 50, 52, 54f, 65, 72, 81, 83ff, 103
Science	16, 40ff, 51, 94
Secondary employment	76, 79
Secularism	49
Security	13f, 24, 29, 31, 44, 46, 49, 52, 57, 59, 61, 70, 72f, 76f, 80f, 91f, 94ff
Security agencies	72
Security Council	92, 97
Security of supply	59
Self-determination	10ff, 14f, 42, 44, 50f, 53f, 60, 62f, 78, 83, 98f
Separation banking system	35
Separation of powers	16
Sexual identity	14, 54, 55
Sexual orientation	14, 51, 55, 58f
Sexual violence	37, 51, 74
Shareholders	66
Skilled workers	31
Social policy	32, 76, 80, 85
Social guarantees	80
Social justice	12, 27f
Social participation	31, 78, 80, 83, 94

Social union	37, 80
Socialization	35
Socio-ecological	27, 29, 33f, 36, 44, 93, 98f, 102
Solidarity	10ff, 14ff, 24, 28, 30, 39, 51, 59, 61, 76, 78, 80ff, 89ff, 93, 105
Solo self-employed	57, 77
Sport	13, 52, 55, 65, 81
Spousal splitting	79
Stability	9, 11, 17f, 31, 37, 81, 91, 96, 98
Start-ups	32, 34
Structural change	78
Studies	42, 79
Subsidiarity	69
Subsidies	28, 37, 101
Supply chain	23, 33, 101
Sustainability	12, 19, 27, 36, 38, 44, 71, 90ff, 98f, 101
Sustainability goals	91, 99, 101

T

Tax dumping	39
Tax evasion	37, 39, 102
Tax revenues	36f, 69
Tax system	38f, 80f
Tenant co-determination	54
Terror	37, 72
Times of crisis	36
Tourism	33
Trade	14, 21f, 24, 29, 33, 37f, 65f, 77, 93, 100f, 105
Trade agreement	100f
Trade policy	100f
Trades	32, 33
Traffic	24ff, 43
Transatlantic partnership	93
Transparency	17, 21, 28, 30, 39, 41, 44, 65f, 68f, 73f, 100f
Transparency Laws	65
Transportation policy	25
Transportation transition	25
Transsexual	15f, 43, 50f, 62, 84

Troll armies	74
Two-state settlement	49

U

Unemployment re-insurance	80
Union	14, 33, 65f, 77
United Nations	18, 89, 92f, 96, 105
Universal basic income	80
Universities	13, 34, 41

V

Violence toward women and girls	74
Vocational training	79, 87
Voluntary	51, 56, 70, 76, 105
Voting age	67

W

Waiting period	66
Weapons	71, 95f
Welfare state	13, 61
Whistle-blowing	71
Women	9, 12, 15f, 18, 31, 43, 45, 50ff, 60, 67, 74, 78ff, 82, 95, 97, 100, 105
Women's health	60
Women's quota	51
Women's rights	18, 67
Women's shelters	52
Work/Labor	13f, 29f, 33, 39, 41, 45, 49, 53ff, 60f, 76ff, 82, 84, 87, 101, 103
Reduction in working hours	78
Working conditions	14, 32, 42, 57, 60f, 78f
Working hours	53, 76, 78
Working world	77ff, 84
Workplace	77, 79
World Health Organization	59, 92
World domestic policy	89
World order	89, 92



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