

Dear voters,

We are different, but most of us want the same thing: a society in which we listen to and support each other, in which everyone is seen and heard. A life that can be planned with a secure future that leaves room for our own goals and decisions. A policy that takes responsibility, stands by people and takes care of their problems.

We, The Left, are fighting for it, we are convinced: It is possible. A life in which everyone has a secure income, rents are affordable and not every supermarket purchase leads to a shock at the checkout is possible. A life in which conflicts are resolved peacefully is possible. A life with effective climate policy that does not primarily burden people with low and middle incomes is possible. A life in which everyone has the same rights is possible. A life that does not destroy the livelihoods of future generations is possible.

But for that to happen, a lot of things have to change fundamentally. In recent years, the rich and powerful have become incredibly richer and more powerful. They go straight to the ministries and have laws changed to their advantage: to pay even less taxes, to pay even less for hard work, or to make even more profits from the fact that we all need housing, electricity and healthcare. Meanwhile, military spending is rising - at the expense of housing, health and care, daycare centers, schools, women's shelters, rail and mobility. And so that we don't notice this, they are trying to divide us and stir up hatred against some of us. The profiteers of our unjust economic system want to talk about everything except the fact that they are the problem.

But we need to talk about this in detail. It is clear to us that the division of society into rich and poor is one of the biggest problems of our time. Anyone who can only hope that their washing machine, their car or their own health will last another two years needs change now. Anyone who doesn't know how they are going to pay the next rent increase or where they are going to look after their child will not be helped by big promises.

We want no one to have to worry about being thrown out of their apartment when the next rent increase occurs. That's why we want to implement a nationwide rent cap. This will allow everyone to continue to live at home in peace. We want no one to stand in front of an empty refrigerator at the end of the month: that's why we want to abolish VAT on basic foodstuffs and break the market power of large supermarket chains. Heating and electricity prices must become affordable again. So that no one has to choose between a warm meal and a warm apartment. We want more money for those who always miss out - especially children and families. That's why we're continuing to fight for real basic child benefits.

We are fighting for women to finally receive equal pay for equal work. And for them to be able to decide over their own bodies and be protected from violence.

We want higher pensions and real pension justice for everyone. An end to two-tier healthcare and fundamental care reform are long overdue.

The debt brake must go and the military budget must be reduced so that we can invest in education, bridges, buses and trains and the economy today and tomorrow. The system of debt relief and tax increases for the rich has led to public poverty and a neglect of the social infrastructure. This must stop. We cannot have to turn down the heating at home while others happily fly to Sylt in their private jets. The climate crisis threatens our future and our lives. Past governments have not dealt with it effectively or socially. We want a completely different climate policy in which corporations and all others who make profits by destroying our livelihoods are held particularly accountable - and not the vast majority who are left with less and less of their wages at the end of the month. Wealth for all of us also means that we can see our loved ones as often as we want. That is why we want more buses and trains at the lowest possible prices. In addition, we need a faster expansion of renewable energies for affordable supply and a restructuring of the economy that protects jobs and not profits.

We stand by the right to asylum - without any ifs or buts. We do not want a fortress Europe that lets people drown in the Mediterranean or die of thirst in the desert. We want safe, legal escape routes and more money for local authorities. All people must have the same rights and opportunities here, regardless of passport or origin. And yes: we hold to the view that disarmament treaties, cooperation, diplomacy and

peaceful conflict resolution are the right way to create security and solve global problems. The planned stationing of medium-range missiles in Germany is making the whole of Europe less secure. We oppose the militaristic turn of the century because we know that rearmament always has a negative impact on social welfare. We want to make the country fairer. We defend democracy and want more participation. But we also say that our democracy must function better, especially for those who do not have expensive lobby organizations.

That is why we need a different economic policy so that work, production and investment are carried out responsibly and so that what we achieve together is also distributed fairly. Policies that make a few ever richer do not demonstrate economic competence - despite all assurances - but are simply lobbying on behalf of the super-rich. We want to tax high incomes more heavily and reduce the burden on low incomes. And large private capital assets must finally be taxed fairly. We are all "systemically relevant" - only billionaires are not. None of us will ever become billionaires, but we all need support at some point in our lives.

For us on the left, it is clear: we stand unconditionally on the side of working people and all those who barely have enough money to live on and who have no lobby. In short: on the side of the majority of this society. We base our policies on their priorities.

A word about us, Heidi and Jan: We have accepted the top candidacy for Die Linke because we are convinced that we need a party that is a loud voice for those who no one else hears. That puts its finger on the sore spot and highlights the inequality. We believe that more is possible. That this cannot be all there is - for Die Linke, for the country, for you. We believe that capitalism is not the end of history and that democracy is worth defending. We are fighting for democratic socialism.

Alone we are at the mercy of the rich and powerful, but together we can defend ourselves. That is why we must join forces and stand up for our concerns together.

Our motto is: **Together we stand against those at the top.**

Your

Heidi & Jan

1. Making life affordable

Three years of traffic light failures have made Germany even more socially unjust than before. Life has become more expensive for the majority. The price explosion has hit people with low and middle incomes particularly hard. They have to spend a large part of their income on housing, energy and food. This is where prices have risen the most: under Olaf Scholz, food has become more expensive by over 30 percent, and household energy by around 50 percent. The official inflation figures conceal the fact that inflation is much higher for those with less money than for those with a lot of money. It is an inflation of inequality that we are experiencing.

But that can be changed: prices are not a given. We want to regulate and limit prices – where necessary – so that corporations cannot increase their profits at will. This applies not only to rent, but also to energy and food. No one should be afraid of shopping at the end of the month. There must be no arbitrary price increases for basic needs. We propose price control and social tariffs for basic electricity and gas consumption to protect us from price gouging in the future. VAT should be abolished on basic foodstuffs, which will provide quick and uncomplicated relief for everyone.

The rising cost of living is no unfortunate coincidence: food and energy companies are making record profits. Companies are taking advantage of inflation. They are raising prices - and thereby increasing their profits. Dieter Schwarz, owner of Lidl and Kaufland, has doubled his private wealth in the last seven years! According to estimates by Manager Magazin, he now has 43.7 billion euros.

We reduce the cost of living – immediately and effectively

For many people, saving now starts with food. Often there is no longer enough for the bare necessities. People with low incomes and families with children are particularly affected. Hunger and poverty are once again part of everyday life in Germany. Two million people have to go to food banks to make ends meet. A quarter of them are children. We find this unacceptable.

We want to take quick and effective measures to make healthy eating affordable for everyone again.

Not only housing, food and energy have become far too expensive. Costs for everyday things such as local trains, cinema and sports have also risen sharply. This is particularly hard on people with low incomes and families. We want to counteract inflation:

- We want to exempt basic foodstuffs, hygiene products, buses and trains (regional and long-distance transport) from VAT. We will ensure by law that the VAT reduction is reflected in prices - and does not feed the profits of companies. This is a contribution to social justice, makes life safer and strengthens purchasing power.
- In addition, we are reducing the price of the Deutschlandticket again to 9 euros. The Deutschlandticket will be free for schoolchildren, trainees, senior citizens and students.
- Food waste should be banned. Edible food should be given to non-profit organizations or given away free of charge. The amount of food waste should be halved by 2030. This requires binding guidelines for the various sectors.
- We want to ban speculation with food (Chapter 6). The food market needs fair supply relationships and strong and effective antitrust law. The Federal Cartel Office has long been watching the purchasing power of food corporations and the market power of large supermarket chains with increasing concern. We demand decisive action to break the power of corporations, for the benefit of farmers and consumers alike. No region must be dominated by individual supermarket chains. Monopolies must be broken up and price watchdogs must be able to take action. Where necessary, we want to protect farmers with minimum producer prices.

We are reducing energy prices – fairly and in a climate-friendly manner

Everyone needs affordable and stable energy prices. In the long term, the expansion of renewable energies will reduce the prices of electricity and heat. But people with low incomes, families and small businesses cannot wait that long. We therefore call for small energy consumers to be given short-term relief:

- Socially staggered energy prices: We want to create affordable base tariffs for average consumption of electricity and heating energy. Those who consume more pay more. This is socially fair and still encourages people to save energy.
- To finance this, we are calling for a temporary energy solidarity tax for the rich. People with very high incomes benefit from low-cost basic tariffs - but do not need the relief. To ensure socially fair financing, Die Linke is therefore calling for an energy solidarity tax as a surcharge on income and capital gains tax until the energy crisis is over and the market price is stable below the price cap.

The neoliberal climate policy of the traffic light coalition is deeply unfair and has made people's problems even worse. The promised social compensation through climate money has not been implemented, even though CO2 prices continue to rise. This is a fraud on the voters.

- The Left therefore wants to introduce a social climate allowance of 320 euros per person per year as a direct payment, retroactive to January 1, 2025. Greenpeace has calculated that this can be financed from current CO2 revenues. Taxing the climate allowance will provide greater relief for households with low and medium incomes. In the future, the climate allowance will be adjusted to the development of CO2 prices.
- Every year, hundreds of thousands of people in Germany have their electricity and gas cut off, even in winter. This is inhumane. Electricity and gas cut offs must be prohibited by law.
- Energy companies must not enrich themselves at our expense: The aim of the electricity market system must be to provide affordable electricity to all consumers. We want to reform the electricity market (Chapter 8).

We ensure stable prices and prevent future crises

To prevent price shocks in the future, we need price controls that work quickly and take effect in the short term. The traffic light initially did not react at all and then did not react effectively enough to the price explosion and secured the profits of the corporations. People have not been relieved enough in their everyday lives. We must prepare ourselves for the next crisis: digitalization makes it possible to closely monitor prices. If corporations in systemically important sectors (energy, buildings/housing, food supply, mobility, health, banks) raise prices significantly more than costs have risen, it must be possible to intervene in the market in the short term. Price shocks must be responded to before they spread to other sectors.

- We are calling for a new price regulator as an early warning system for the German and European economy. The price regulator should be an independent, supreme federal authority. In the energy sector, no price increases should be allowed without approval. Energy suppliers must prove themselves that a price increase is justified due to increased procurement costs.

With an excess profit tax, we remove incentives for price increases: for example, energy and food companies have made record profits in times of war and crisis through enormous price increases. They have exploited their market power to make profits at the expense of all of us. If sudden and extraordinary jumps in profits in times of crisis, so-called excess profits, are subject to very high tax rates, there is no longer any incentive to drive prices up further.

- We are calling for an excess profit tax that taxes corporations' extra profits at 90 percent. The average corporate profits of the last ten years are a good comparison period: everything above that is taxed. To ensure that profits can be taxed effectively, we want to introduce a withholding tax and dry up tax havens.

Our policy makes people's lives affordable again. This not only provides financial security in everyday life, but also creates confidence for the future. A life that can be planned without fear of the future can help to remove the breeding ground for the shift to the right. To do this, it must become affordable to cover basic needs again. Wages must rise so that the vast majority of people in the country have more money in their wallets. The investment brakes in our country must finally be removed.

2. Housing must not be a luxury

Affordable housing is the central social issue of our time. Olaf Scholz took office as Chancellor of Rents, but rents have continued to explode over the past three years. Housing costs have risen sharply in recent years, not just in cities but also in many rural areas. Millions of people spend a large part of their income on housing. Added to this are the rapidly rising additional costs. Real estate companies are making extra profits by sending excessive heating bills to their tenants and hoping that no one notices.

Exploding rents are not a law of nature: Affordable housing, security against rent increases, cooperative housing construction are sensible, fair and achievable. The sale of public land is also a conscious political decision - it could be stopped tomorrow.

The SPD and others claim that we need to build in order to have affordable housing again. The average rent for a newly built apartment in Berlin is 20 euros per square meter. A 50 square meter apartment then costs an average of 1,000 euros. Who can afford that? The real estate companies are using the new construction to charge excessive rents and are thereby driving up the rent for existing apartments. We urgently need to build new apartments, but they have to be affordable! A fundamental change in rent policy is needed. Apartments are not a commodity.

Rents down!

Rents must be reduced and effectively regulated. The rent cap is largely ineffective and encourages outrageous practices: anyone who complains quickly loses the "trust" of the landlord - then the next repair in the apartment takes longer. A third of the apartments in the metropolises are now rented furnished because the rent cap does not apply in those cases. The traffic light coalition has not even managed to extend the rent cap, let alone tighten it.

- We demand a nationwide rent cap! Our goal: not only to slow down the explosion in rents, but to stop and reverse it. In tense housing markets, particularly high rents must be reduced.
- As an immediate measure, rent increases must be banned nationwide for the next six years. Only non-profit landlords who have previously charged very low rents are allowed to increase them slightly to cover costs. The tricks landlords use to increase rents must stop: we want to ban graduated rents and index-linked rental contracts and strictly regulate the rental of furnished apartments.
- Far too often, landlords terminate tenancies in order to charge higher rents when renting again. We want to expand protection against termination and demand long-term tenancy agreements for everyone. Terminations for personal use must be restricted to first-degree relatives. Rental apartments must be protected by a general ban on conversions.
- The application process for housing benefit is so complicated that only about a third of those entitled to it actually receive it. We therefore want to simplify the process considerably and remove unnecessary criteria. Applications must be decided on no later than three months after the application is submitted. As rents rise, housing benefit is also exploding: However, a nationwide rent cap and investments in social and non-profit housing will reduce the need for housing benefit subsidies in the future.
- We want to abolish the modernization surcharge! Renovations and heating system replacements must have a neutral impact on rent. We want socially just climate protection (Chapter 8).
- Property tax may no longer be passed on to tenants as part of the operating costs.
- Real estate and energy companies make extra profits by sending excessive heating bills to their tenants and hoping that no one notices. We want to make this a criminal offense.
- We demand socially staggered heating and electricity prices. We want to create affordable base tariffs for average consumption. We want to prohibit electricity and gas cut-offs. We want to set up a fund from which heating costs can be covered without red tape if tenants cannot afford a warm apartment.

- Many people live in apartments that are too small or too big, but cannot move because new rental contracts are much more expensive. We demand a right to swap apartments: Landlords may only refuse to swap apartments without increasing rent if they have good reasons.
- Small businesses are suffering from exploding commercial rents. The federal government must ensure that states and municipalities can legally introduce rent caps for small businesses, trades, cultural institutions, and social and non-profit organizations.
- In order to counteract the isolation of tenants, we want to oblige real estate companies with more than ten apartments to set up tenant advisory councils.

investment offensive for social and non-profit housing

We want to invest 20 billion euros a year in non-profit housing. Currently, more than 11 million tenant households in Germany are entitled to social housing. The stock is not even enough for one in ten of these households. Non-profit housing keeps rent affordable. Vienna is the metropolis in Europe where rents have exploded the least, because half of the housing is non-profit: a quarter "municipal housing" and a quarter cooperative.

- We stand by Deutsche Wohnen & Co. We want to socialize the housing stock of real estate companies with more than 3,000 apartments and transfer it to a public institution with democratic administration. Compensation below market value is legally permissible. Compensation should only be given to small shareholders.
- The government has only built a quarter of the social housing promised. In the 1990s there were still around 3 million social housing units - now there are only one million. Regardless of whether it is existing or new construction, we demand: once social commitment, always social commitment.
- Investments in social housing must be exempt from the debt brake.
- The introduction of the new non-profit housing system by the traffic light coalition is a disappointment! We want to use the new non-profit housing system as an instrument to achieve a 30 percent share of non-profit housing in the medium term. With tax exemptions and preferential treatment for subsidies and public land, we want to create strong incentives to participate in the development of a non-profit housing market sector in which rents are based on real costs and profits are capped.
- We want to reintroduce and strengthen the municipal right of first refusal. A (re-)municipalization fund is intended to support municipalities in bringing housing (back) into public ownership. We are committed to a price-limited right of first refusal that is not based on the speculative "market price" but on rents that residents can afford (social yield value). We will ensure that the upcoming EU action plan for affordable housing is implemented together with the people and their experiences on the ground and with their communities, and is not pushed through from above.

Push back investors!

Even if new construction alone does not reduce rents, there is a need for more living space in major cities. We want to promote non-profit new construction rather than investors. We want to review regulations: Not all regulations for new construction make social and ecological sense, some simply drive up prices. On the other hand, energy-efficient construction is necessary for climate protection and saves tenants heating costs.

- The construction crisis is the time for the public sector: non-profit housing companies must be strengthened through funding programs and finally given preference over profit-oriented investors and housing corporations.
- Public funding should only be available for non-profit housing construction. Municipalities should be given a right of first refusal on all plots of land.
- We want to tax profits from speculation in real estate more heavily and ban tax tricks in the mass purchase and sale of apartments, such as so-called share deals.
- No speculation with housing and building land! We want to prohibit the misuse of housing and counteract the pursuit of profit with land: unproductive increases in land value should be skimmed off in a first step.

End vacancy!

Vacancy is an underestimated problem. According to the latest census, there are around 2 million empty apartments across Germany. Some of these are in rural areas that are becoming deserted due to structural change, and some are in cities, where vacancy is often financially viable due to rising land prices and is rarely penalized. In all cases, the following applies: the existing living space must be used more effectively, for social and ecological reasons. Using vacant properties is always better than building new ones.

- We want an active structural policy and infrastructure investments to make regions outside the metropolises more attractive and to counteract the desertification of rural areas.

Regardless of whether it is speculative vacancy or non-use due to inheritance disputes: Vacant living space in tight housing markets is misuse and must not be profitable!

- Vacant housing must be systematically recorded and then subject to a vacancy fee of 10 euros per square meter. This makes vacancy unprofitable. Buildings that are to be converted into residential space or that still need to be completed or renovated, but where investors are not taking any action, must also be considered "vacant housing". In cases of long-term vacancy, the apartment must be temporarily confiscated in the interests of the general public, repaired at the owner's expense and rented out again.
- The occupation of living space that has been vacant for at least one year must lead to a permanent right of residence, unless the owners undertake to make the living space available at socially acceptable rents.

End homelessness!

There are around 600,000 homeless people in Germany. The EU Parliament is calling for the abolition of homelessness. The federal government has written an action plan - but this has not led to a single new measure against homelessness.

- There are 30,000 evictions every year, and many of those affected end up homeless. We want to ban evictions into homelessness!
- We want to embed the "Housing First" approach in the fight against homelessness: homeless people are first given an apartment, then other offers follow. Since the introduction of "Housing First" in 2008, Finland has been able to more than halve homelessness.

Everyone has the right to their own home! We want to clearly enshrine this in the Basic Law. We will end the forced accommodation of refugees in mass accommodation and ensure that regular housing that meets their needs is available for the homeless, seasonal and migrant workers and refugees.

3. Change course

The past governments of the CDU, SPD, FDP and Greens have contributed to the fact that the richest people now pay significantly less tax than before. Social security contributions and VAT have been increased. People with low and medium incomes are feeling this particularly strongly: everyday life is becoming more difficult, inequality is increasing. We are resisting this and fighting for a fair tax system that sets limits on the astronomical power and wealth of billionaires. There should be no billionaires! We want to reduce taxes for the majority. This increases demand and thus provides better protection against recessions.

There should be no billionaires

- The wealth of the approximately 250 billionaires in Germany is predominantly in companies that they own. This value is growing significantly faster than the economy. This makes the rich richer - and more powerful. Taxing income does not intervene in this inequality. The Left demands that the wealth tax be reintroduced. So that we only tax the richest 2.5 percent of our society, we demand an allowance for private assets of one million euros per person (minus all debts, such as mortgages on a home). The allowance for business assets is 5 million euros.

Our tax rate is progressive and increases linearly from 1 percent for assets of 1 million euros to up to 5 percent for assets of 50 million euros.

Estimated annual additional revenue: 108 billion euros

- For assets above the one billion euro limit, we set a special tax rate of 12 percent: the billionaire tax. This is intended to prevent the super-rich from accumulating further wealth. Our goal: to abolish billionaires!
- We are committed to ensuring that Germany becomes a driving force for an internationally coordinated billionaires' tax and supports Brazil's proposal for this.
- We demand a reform of the property tax, which is based on the market value of the property and cannot be passed on to the tenants. Once the wealth tax is introduced, the property tax will be revised. It is currently not known how large the wealth of the richest Germans really is. We demand a publicly accessible financial register that registers the true owners of real estate, company shares and other large assets (e.g. art collections, securities and patents).
- We demand that one-off wealth taxes be levied on the richest in order to deal with the consequences of wars, crises and pandemics, so that they share appropriately in the costs of the crises. The design must be adapted to the specific situation. In order to cover the enormous costs of social and ecological transformation, we demand a one-off wealth tax that imposes a one-off burden on the richest in our society. With our concept, the richest 0.7 percent of German citizens will be burdened with up to 30 percent additionally. This could raise at least 310 billion euros. The tax can be spread over 20 years, so that the entire burden would not be incurred at once.

Relieve small and medium incomes

We will reduce the tax burden on low and middle incomes. On the other hand, we want to tax very high incomes more heavily. The rule of thumb is: anyone who earns less than 7,000 euros gross per month (as a single person, tax bracket I) pays less tax with our tariff.

- All taxable income below 16,800 euros per year remains tax-free – this corresponds to the level of our subsistence level model.
- We want to tax high incomes more heavily. For incomes of 85,000 euros or more per year (affects the top 5 percent), the tax rate is 53 percent. We are calling for two levels of the tax on the rich: 60 percent for incomes above a quarter of a million euros (affects the top 1 percent) and 75 percent for incomes above 1 million euros (affects the top 0.06 percent).
- We want to maintain the solidarity surcharge for the richest 10 percent of incomes and relieve the burden on people with low incomes.
- Income from work is currently taxed much more heavily than income from capital. While income from work is taxed at up to 45 percent, capital gains are taxed at a flat rate of 25 percent (capital gains tax). A slap in the face for all the people who keep this society running with hard work every day and who have built up prosperity in Germany. We demand that income from capital be taxed at the same rates as income from work. Those who earn a lot pay more taxes.
- We demand binding upper limits on manager and board salaries (including bonuses): they must not receive more than twenty times the lowest salary in the company.
- VAT is particularly hard on people with low incomes. We demand that basic foodstuffs, hygiene products and bus and train tickets be exempt from VAT (Chapter 1). In order for the reduction in VAT to actually reach people, food companies and supermarkets must be obliged to pass on the tax reduction.
- We want reduced tax rates for labour-intensive crafts, pharmaceuticals and products for children. This also applies to repair services and dismantling, so that repair and reuse take priority over disposal.
- Pensioners, trainees and students, as well as employees who were not previously entitled to it, will receive a one-off tax-financed inflation compensation.

Closing loopholes for the rich: inheritance and gift tax

Wealth is often passed on tax-free through generations through inheritances and gifts. In particular, the passing on of companies or company shares is largely exempt from inheritance tax. The tax rates levied on the income of an average family are therefore higher than those for inheritances worth millions or billions.

- For these super-rich, the tax rates for inheritances and gifts should be increased and the personal allowances reduced. 'Normal', owner-occupied residential property remains exempt. We also want to standardize the tax rates: the starting tax rate is 6 percent and rises to 60 percent for a taxable inheritance of 3 million euros or more (plus the allowance).
- We are calling for uniform tax allowances of 200,000 euros. We want to reduce the disadvantage of non-relatives (e.g. close friends) compared to relatives by allowing a person of their choice to receive up to 200,000 euros tax-free. For each inheritance, we want to exempt one property of up to 200 square meters from inheritance tax if it is used by the owner. The tax debt can be paid over 20 years and can also be paid in the form of public company shares.
- The loopholes in inheritance tax must be closed. Concessions for corporate assets, large housing stocks and, in particular, the exemption requirement test should be abolished.

Estimated annual additional revenue: 17 billion euros

- Tax advantages for real estate investors and companies must be abolished across the board. We are calling for a reform of the real estate transfer tax so that proportional real estate purchases (over 50 percent) are taxed accordingly. In the case of acquisitions by several people or companies (so-called co-investments), taxes are levied according to the respective participation rate. This makes share deals largely unattractive.
- We need a reform of the non-profit law with a clarification of the purposes recognized as non-profit. Participation in the political decision-making process must be explicitly possible, whether to pursue one's own goals or, in addition, for democracy, the rule of law and human rights. Organizations whose non-profit status was withdrawn for their selfless political work must have it returned (eg Attac or Campact).
- We want to abolish the tonnage tax privilege of the large shipowners and subject their profits to ordinary profit taxation.

Make corporations fairly share the costs and deprive speculators of their breeding ground

Corporate taxes have been massively reduced in recent decades. Until 1989, companies had average tax burdens of over 60 percent; today, it is less than 30 percent. Large corporations and the rich are the main beneficiaries of the numerous tax breaks.

- We demand that the corporate tax rate be increased to 25 percent. In order to combat tax competition and profit shifting internationally, we are also committed to increasing the global minimum tax rate to 25 percent. The tax base must be expanded through realistic profit

determination, for example through appropriate taxation of profits resulting from the sale of company shares.

- It is particularly easy for international corporations to shift profits abroad and thus avoid taxes. We demand that international corporations be taxed more heavily where they have their economic activities. To this end, we demand a withholding tax on profits at the location of the economic activity. To achieve this, a stronger interstate exchange of all tax-relevant information is crucial. For payments such as dividends, interest and royalties that flow into states unwilling to cooperate, we demand a withholding tax of 50 percent. This makes tax evasion unattractive. Companies can only claim tax credits if they disclose all tax-relevant information. Business expenses that only serve to shift profits must not be deductible. The concept of the virtual permanent establishment must also be anchored in tax law.
- Transnational corporations should be obliged to disclose their key data on value creation, sales, profits and tax payments on a country-by-country basis. This will prevent money flows from being concealed, for example via letterbox companies. Tax avoidance via foundations must be restricted.

Estimated annual additional revenue: 42 billion euros

trade tax

The trade tax in Germany is like a patchwork quilt, it varies from region to region. Some municipalities advertise particularly low trade taxes in order to attract more companies and increase municipal revenues. The result: many municipalities are underfinanced and can no longer make investments, and the gap between poor and rich municipalities is widening ever further.

- The Left is in favor of reforming the trade tax, which is to be converted into a municipal business tax. The assessment basis will be expanded (leases, rents, leasing rates and license fees will be taken into account) and high-earning self-employed and freelance workers will be included. To do this, we will raise the tax allowance to 30,000 euros and take the assessed tax into account in income tax. The trade tax levy will be abolished, which will relieve the financial burden on cities and municipalities.

Estimated annual additional revenue: 18 billion euros

financial transaction tax

We are fighting for a financial transaction tax to curb speculation on the financial markets. A tax rate of 0.1 percent should be due on every financial transaction. The financial transaction tax primarily affects short-term large transactions with small profit margins - the so-called high-frequency traders. In this way, it stabilizes and shrinks the financial markets.

Estimated annual additional revenue: 36 billion euros

Preventing Profits Through War and Crises

Corporations such as RWE, Shell and Total have made record profits in the wake of the Ukraine war through enormous price increases. They have exploited the crisis situations and their market power to enrich themselves at the expense of the general public. We want to distribute the extra profits back to the general public. The Left calls for the introduction of an excess profit tax of 90 percent on all crisis profits (Chapter 1).

combating financial crime

Germany is a paradise for financial crime and money laundering. Cum-Ex and Cum-Cum or the Wirecard scandal have shown once again how easy it is for criminals in Germany to deprive the community of hundreds of billions of euros through fraud. We will prevent this theft at the expense of the public!

- We need an official tax gap estimate, which is carried out annually by the federal government, is publicly accessible and becomes a target for the tax administration.

- Scandals such as Cum-Ex, Cum-Cum or Wirecard must be systematically investigated. Law enforcement authorities and tax offices must be given the personnel and technical resources to consistently pursue tax evasion as a business model.
- On average, every tax inspector brings the state over a million euros more than he or she costs it. There is far too little checking of the super-rich in particular, although 75 percent of the millionaires checked are found to be evading taxes. We demand more checks of the super-rich!
- Reform financial supervision, strengthen financial consumer protection: All financial and asset investments as well as credit transactions should be recorded and regularly audited by the Federal Financial Supervisory Authority (BaFin). BaFin needs more specialist staff to be able to carry out balance sheet controls better.
- Without a criminal law for companies, the big banks often get off lightly in aid proceedings. We need a corporate criminal law to hold not only individuals but also large corporations accountable.
- We want to prevent individual super-rich people from avoiding taxes, for example by moving abroad or relocating their businesses. We want all German citizens to be taxed in Germany, regardless of where they earned their income or where they live. To avoid double taxation, taxes paid abroad can be credited.

Estimated annual additional revenue: 18 billion euros

abolition of the investment brake

The so-called debt brake has created huge investment gaps in infrastructure and social services. The price that citizens pay for this is excessive rents, delayed trains and extreme staff shortages in schools and daycare centers. We oppose this and demand a change in budget policy. In the next 10 years alone, it is estimated that the German state will have to provide 600 billion euros for additional investments in order to make infrastructure, the economy and society fit for the future.

- We demand the abolition of the debt brake. It must again be possible to finance public investments in infrastructure, a climate-neutral industry and social compensation through loans. This should apply to the states as well as to the federal government. This also requires a rethink in investment policy: more money for education, social welfare and public housing, less for armaments and climate-damaging subsidies. Especially in crises, the state must be able to counteract these by taking out additional loans. We want to make this possible.
- The vast majority of investments must be made by the states and municipalities. In order to support the municipalities, we need a reform of municipal finances, 100 percent of the municipal financial strength being taken into account in the state financial equalization scheme and a legacy

debt fund for over-indebted municipalities. The revenue from the wealth tax would also flow to the states.

Democratizing the European Central Bank

The European Central Bank (ECB) has failed in past crises. Raising key interest rates was an ineffective attempt to combat profit-driven inflation - at the expense of the working population: urgently needed investments were curbed, prices continued to rise. The ECB has proven that it cannot prevent emerging crises. We therefore want to redefine its role so that it protects the people of the EU in the future.

- We demand that the ECB be controlled by the European Parliament and no longer subject to the influence of financial lobbyists. The ECB's management staff and bodies - such as the ECB Governing Council, the ECB Executive Board and the ECB President - should be elected by the European Parliament. The fundamental and long-term objectives of monetary policy should be discussed in Parliament and determined by it. Central banks are key political actors, especially in times of financial and economic crises - democratic participation is urgently needed here.
- The ECB's mandate is to be expanded: in addition to price stability, it should also pursue the goals of full employment and sustainable economic development, which goes hand in hand with ecological responsibility. We want to enable the ECB to finance states directly in order to achieve these goals. There is no inflationary risk because the ECB remains committed to its inflation target of 2 percent.

Money and currency must remain part of state sovereignty; we reject creeping privatization. Internet giants and financial technology companies (Amazon, Paypal, etc.) must be subject to the same rules and laws as conventional financial service providers, i.e. banks and insurance companies. With a public alternative to the payment systems of the large Internet companies, we can limit their enormous power.

- The Left supports the introduction of the digital euro by the ECB. It is intended to be a legal tender guaranteed by the ECB, which private individuals can hold in limited quantities and without interest in accounts with the ECB. It is not intended to replace cash, but to complement it as another convenient form of central bank money.
- Digital payments enable the creation of personal profiles and the collection of sensitive personal data. For small amounts, the right to anonymous payment must be enshrined in law.

Breaking the power of banks and financial markets

Fifteen years after the financial crisis, the government has still not managed to implement the measures promised during the financial crisis. Yet crises in the financial sector can plunge entire countries and social systems into ruin. We want to free society and democracy from the stranglehold of the financial corporations. To do this, we will trim the financial sector down to a function that serves society.

- There must be no speculation on the financial markets with vital goods and services. This includes infrastructure needed for public services, but also food. We want hospital, care and real estate companies to be stripped of their stock exchange listings.
- Banks must be downsized and investment banking must be wound down. We will commit banks to a business model that meets the needs of society and the real economy: 1. payment offerings, 2. simpler and safer savings instruments and 3. financing public and private investments.
- The Left is committed to stricter social and ecological criteria in the EU taxonomy. Investments in nuclear or gas energy are not sustainable, and we reject greenwashing, for example by including conventional ships and aircraft or compensatory measures for biodiversity losses.
- In the future, financial instruments will have to receive explicit approval from a financial TÜV before they can be put into circulation. Financial transactions, services and instruments will then only be permitted if they have a general economic and/or social benefit.
- The global financial and monetary system is exacerbating social inequality, the climate catastrophe and refugee movements. We need international cooperation on an equal footing. The basic prerequisite for this is a debt cut and a sustainable debt relief initiative for all countries in the Global South whose debt burden is unsustainable. Private creditors must be forced to participate in this debt initiative. We demand the introduction of a state insolvency procedure.
- We also demand a cap on overdraft interest rates: the interest rate for overdrafts and credit lines may not exceed 5 percentage points above the ECB's base rate. This way we protect people who live on the edge of subsistence and have to use their overdrafts often.

4. Social security for all

Social security is not alms. Social policy ensures that people in different life circumstances have a decent income, even if the mechanisms of the market do not ensure this. This does not only affect the poorest. Families with children need benefits such as housing benefit and child benefit because there is no longer a "family wage" that differentiates according to marital status. It would be unfair, antisocial and not in society's interest if families with children were fundamentally poorer because they also have to support

their children on the same income and often have to reduce their working hours. Even in old age and when unemployed, it must be ensured that everyone can lead a life of dignity and security. Only a society in which there is no constant fear of decline is a humane and productive society.

The Left fights to ensure that people in need are given back their dignity and social rights. Poverty and unemployment are not self-inflicted, but often have structural causes. We fight for the right to secure one's existence without coercion and punishment.

- The standard rate in the citizen's allowance is underestimated: The Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband shows that the standard rate should be at least 813 euros.
- We want to transform the citizen's allowance into a sanction-free individual minimum income. Anyone who does not have sufficient income or assets is entitled to it. To prevent poverty, we are guided by the so-called poverty line, currently around 1,400 euros per month (including rent and other housing costs; correspondingly more in regions with high rents). With a minimum wage of at least 15 euros - 16 euros from 2026 at the latest - and tax relief for low incomes, we ensure that gainful employment is worthwhile.

A secure pension for all

Many people quickly put their annual "pension information" away because they know that it will not be enough. Fewer and fewer people have a predictable working life and can be sure that the standard of living they have worked for and fought for will also last. It does not have to be that way. The statutory pension does not have a demographic problem, but a problem of justice:

- To ensure a fair pension system, all people with earned income - including civil servants, the self-employed, freelancers, managers and members of parliament - pay into a solidarity-based employment insurance scheme. The pension level can then increase. People with so-called Riester contracts and similar supplementary pensions should be able to transfer their contracts to the statutory pension. It should be easier to make voluntary contributions to the statutory pension insurance scheme in order to be able to make additional provision for old age. In addition, there are company pensions, which must be financed at least 50 percent by employers.
- We want to raise the pension level back to 53 percent and double the contribution assessment limit. We want to increase the value of the low pension entitlements of low and low-earners, the unemployed, parents and carers. We want to increase the value of eastern earnings until 2030 so that pensions in eastern and western Germany are equalized. This requires higher tax subsidies. The fact that contributors finance non-insurance benefits such as the recognition of child-rearing periods (known as "mothers' pension") and the basic pension must be stopped.

- The statutory pension does not belong on the stock market! The proposed share pension ("generational capital") is supposed to keep contributions stable via the capital market. This is risky and expensive and the wrong approach. We reject this, along with social associations, unions and many experts.
- Retirement only at 67 means pension cuts for everyone, especially in jobs where workers cannot stay that long. We are calling for a standard retirement age of 65. Anyone who has worked for 40 years and paid contributions themselves should be able to retire at 60 without any reductions.
- Our "solidarity minimum pension" helps combat poverty in old age: for those who do not receive an adequate pension because of bad jobs, forced part-time work or unemployment. They receive a supplement up to the poverty risk threshold, currently around 1,400 euros. In addition, there are health and nursing insurance contributions and, in regions with very high housing costs, a rental subsidy.
- A secure and adequate pension depends on sufficient immigration, a high female employment rate, the reduction of the low-wage sector and a family policy that ensures that children are not an individual economic, social and professional risk factor.

Strengthen and relieve all families, improve the compatibility of care and paid work

For Die Linke, family is where people take on social responsibility for one another - regardless of marriage, sexual orientation and gender identity. Often it has to compensate for gaps in the social security system. We want to strengthen the responsibility of society as a whole and enable everyone to lead a good life without fear of the future and compensate for material disadvantages. Social security - especially for single parents - must provide reliable protection against poverty and it must be easier to combine family and work.

- Parents need high-quality and reliable childcare facilities to ensure that family and work are compatible. Massive investments must therefore be made in expanding public, free, all-day childcare for all age groups. The legal right to all-day care must be implemented, and this includes creating sufficient daycare places.
- In order to promote a partnership-based division of care and paid work between the parents, we want to introduce 28 days of parental protection for the second parent (from the birth of the child).
- We want to increase the minimum amount of parental allowance to 420 euros. The minimum and maximum amounts should be linked to the development of the general consumer price index. Until a basic child benefit is introduced, the minimum parental allowance should not be offset against citizen's allowance and benefits under the Asylum Seekers Benefits Act.
- We want to replace the splitting of income between spouses with individual taxation, whereby the

unused tax subsistence level should be transferable between spouses or life partners.

- We want to relieve the burden on working single parents by consistently implementing the legal right to a daycare place. We are also calling for a tax credit that is at least equivalent to the maximum effect of the current relief amount of 2,028 euros per year and that is regularly increased.
- We are making maintenance advances fairer by, among other things, no longer taking child benefit into account in full and extending the age of eligibility to 25. We want to enshrine protection against violence in custody and access rights. The equality of all care models must be made clear in family law and in counseling.
- We are committed to working time models with a shorter working week (e.g. 32 hours or a four-day week) with full pay and the necessary staff compensation. This should enable single parents in particular to better balance work, family and private life. This is accompanied by the expansion of flexible childcare options and home office options. Instead of flexible working hours that are only based on operational requirements, employees need more time autonomy. We want to extend protection against dismissal for parents until the child is six years old. We are strengthening the situation of those returning to work after parental leave, among other things, by giving them an explicit right to return to the same or an equivalent job.
- Rainbow families must be given equal rights. The law of descent must be reformed because it discriminates against queer families.

Combating child poverty – involving children and young people

In order to effectively combat child poverty, we want to introduce an independent basic child benefit from which all children and young people benefit. It combines four social benefits:

1. Child benefit for all children in the amount of 350 euros per month (regardless of the parents' income). Child benefit can no longer be offset against citizen's allowance.
2. Child supplement for children living in poverty (age-based up to a maximum of 379 euros per month).
3. Actual accommodation costs (pro rata).
4. One-off and special needs (e.g. school trips, moving costs, etc.).

In addition to basic child benefit, we want to create the best possible conditions for children and young people in their lives:

- We want children and young people to have a legal right to good development and social participation. The same applies to protection from violence. That is why we want to enshrine their rights in the Basic Law.
- Children's and youth leisure facilities, music schools, libraries, swimming pools, sports clubs and other facilities for children and young people must be low-threshold, barrier-free, close to home and free of charge. This requires an improvement in the funding basis in the municipalities and permanent co-financing by the states. The funds from the federal children and youth plan must also be increased for this purpose. Even at preschool age, children should learn to recognize sexual assaults and violence and to inform adults if they have experienced or observed such assaults.

The world in which children and young people live has changed massively (not only) due to the advancing climate crisis, wars and the corona pandemic. Children and young people must be involved in decisions about their future.

- We want to strengthen the political participation of young people. The voting age should be lowered to 16 and youth councils or youth parliaments should be set up in the municipalities, with voting rights in all matters that affect them.
- We are also committed to strengthening child and youth welfare services.

Enabling Self-Determined Aging

Many people are dependent on special support in old age. This is not just about financial support, but also about age-appropriate advice, culture, sports and leisure activities. We are committed to a new culture of aging in this society. It is about self-determined aging in dignity, without discrimination, poverty and fear of decline.

Seniors must be able to participate equally in all areas of society.

- We want older people to have a legal right to elderly care services. We want to prohibit age discrimination: Article 3 (3) of the Basic Law should be amended to include the criterion of age. Senior citizens' representatives should be set up in all municipalities.
- All existing offers should be made available both digitally and analogue without any financial surcharge.

- The conversion of apartments to make them suitable for the elderly by municipal and cooperative housing companies should be supported primarily with state funds. We want a quota for age-appropriate and barrier-free housing and a legal ban on forced evictions of older people. We are also committed to housing exchanges with rent control. Assisted living suitable for the elderly must be anchored in the guidelines for social housing with nationwide quality standards.
- In order to strengthen the mobility and social participation of older people, we want to introduce a free nationwide senior citizens' ticket (Chapter 9).

5. Health and Care: Solidarity instead of Competition

Given the state of the healthcare system, there is only one hope: just don't get sick. The care and working conditions are a disaster. As a patient with statutory health insurance, you wait forever for an appointment - and then again in the waiting room. The care could be much better - and the same for everyone. Good healthcare for everyone is a question of distribution. We can achieve good healthcare if we break with the profit orientation and align the healthcare system with social and medical criteria.

This is desperately needed because the current situation is intolerable. A fundamental reform of the healthcare system is urgently required. In rural areas, the medical infrastructure is collapsing and patients often have to travel hours. Obstetrics and life-saving emergency care are not guaranteed across the board. At the same time, too many treatments are superfluous and are offered by hospital groups and doctors primarily because it is financially worthwhile. Privatization and economization of the healthcare system have proven to be inefficient and are at the expense of patients and employees. The actual needs of patients are not taken into account, even though they should be the focus. Nevertheless, Lauterbach and the traffic light government have pushed through a hospital reform that threatens care (not only) in rural areas and continues to rely on competition between hospitals.

People who are poor die earlier on average and are more likely to become seriously ill or need care. The reasons for this include poor working and living conditions, precarious living conditions, inadequate support for prevention and healthy lifestyles, and inadequate access to medical treatment. We want to enable a healthy life in all areas of life, regardless of one's own financial situation! People without regular residency status and those without insurance, such as the homeless, must have access to health care nationwide. Health must no longer be a question of class - and therefore not a question of health insurance either.

- We are committed to a solidarity-based health and long-term care insurance system. Everyone pays in, contributions are levied on all incomes, and everyone is well cared for. The contribution assessment limit is abolished. Contributions must also be paid for income from capital gains and other types of income. Privately insured people are taken over into statutory health insurance. This means that the health insurance contribution falls from the current 17.1 to around 13.3 percent of gross wages. Contributions are reduced for all people with a monthly income of less than around 7,100 euros (gross). This concept will provide financial relief for the vast majority of the population, including many self-employed people and pensioners.

- Our solidarity-based health insurance should cover all medically useful services such as dentures, glasses and ibuprofen based on evidence - but we can save ourselves the costs of services that are proven to be useless. There will be no competition between the health insurance companies.
- Our solidarity-based full care insurance is intended to cover all care services. People in need of care and their families often pay more than 3,000 euros a month for a place in a home - this would then no longer be necessary. No care service may be refused for cost reasons!
- With full nursing care insurance, the burden on municipalities is reduced because they no longer have to pay for the co-payments of those in need of care.

For employees, the constant cost pressure in the healthcare system means stress and overwork. Many have turned their backs on the profession, and the lack of staff exacerbates the stress - a vicious circle. For patients, this means more avoidable infections and deaths in hospital and poorer care.

- We support the struggles for comprehensive collective agreements to ease the burden and for better working conditions. We call for a nationwide offensive to re-recruit nursing staff and other health workers who have left their profession, as well as a training offensive, the refinancing of collective agreements and for collective agreements to be made more easily generally binding (Chapter 7).
- We are committed to legally prescribed staffing levels, which ultimately result in more staff, and to stress-free shift schedules. At least 100,000 additional nursing staff are needed in hospitals! We demand the consistent implementation and further development of the Nursing Staff Regulation 2.0 (PPR 2.0) and sanctions for non-compliance. Staffing levels should be refinanced and monitored in a binding manner for all medical, therapeutic and nursing professions.
- We demand comprehensive, low-threshold counseling and support services for nursing staff, paramedics and other stressful healthcare professions.
- No more outsourcing to reduce wages or circumvent collective agreements! We support the struggles of healthcare workers to reverse outsourcing and privatization (such as kitchen and cleaning services or logistics). The rule must be: one house, one tariff!

There is a need for free healthcare close to home. To achieve this, the federal government must provide reliable and adequate funding for cross-sectoral treatment and regional basic care and make cross-sectoral work in public or non-profit hands legally possible.

The hospital reform law from Lauterbach's office is exacerbating the cold structural change in the hospital landscape. The death of small hospitals in particular is planned and half of it is to be financed by contributions from statutory health insurance funds. There are no plans for hospital planning that is close to people's homes and based on needs. The flat-rate fees with their false incentives and effects on medical treatment are to remain. Necessary structural adjustments due to changes in medical care strategies, the state of research and also the population structure must take place in a planned and needs-based manner rather than through cold structural adjustments through hospital bankruptcies.

- We want the necessary operating costs of hospitals to be fully financed by the health insurance companies. The flat-rate fees must be completely abolished. This will make profits and losses

largely impossible. Private companies should be allowed to continue to operate hospitals, but without the possibility of profit they will have no interest in doing so. We want to transfer hospitals that are being abandoned by private operators into public ownership. To this end, municipalities and states can access a so-called re-municipalization fund (Chapter 11).

- The states are responsible for the investment costs of hospitals, but have provided far too little money for this for decades. As a result, we have a massive investment backlog. Although personnel resources are being used for construction work, the hospitals are in a poor state in terms of their structure and equipment. The federal and state governments must invest in hospitals on a long-term basis! The wealth tax can help them do this.

outpatient care

Doctors' offices are often difficult to reach and rarely barrier-free. Making an appointment is complicated and the waiting time depends on the insurance status. The Left advocates good, comprehensive, barrier-free and needs-based health care in cities and rural areas. We want to promote municipal care centers as the backbone of local health care! They should be the central point of contact for patients and combine outpatient care with acute inpatient, emergency medical, psychotherapeutic, (community) nursing and other therapeutic treatments. We want inpatient and outpatient care to be planned and designed together in the interest of the common good.

- Municipal care centers with short distances and shared administration would make a decisive contribution to reducing bureaucracy and ensure that doctors have more time for their patients.
- In many regions and districts, there are hardly any practicing physicians left, while the services are concentrated in affluent residential areas close to the city center. Due to the two-tier medical system, practicing physicians also have a structural interest in moving their practices to better residential areas. The care districts must be smaller and determined by states and municipalities.
- Pharmacists, nurses, therapists, midwives, medical assistants and emergency paramedics bring their special skills and are indispensable for good care. They should be able to treat and advise more independently. We want to expand the powers of the medical professions and ensure comprehensive care.
- Social conditions are making people ill, including mentally. Preventive measures are needed, and they must play a role in all political areas ("Mental health in all policies"). In addition, it is necessary to massively expand care: not only, but especially for children and young people. In many regions, psychotherapeutic services fall far short of meeting demand. As long as there are not enough licensed psychotherapists available, therapies must be made possible in an unbureaucratic manner through the reimbursement process. To achieve this, we need a fundamental reform of the needs planning for statutory psychotherapy health insurance seats, which is based on real needs. The training costs for future psychotherapists must be capped. Psychotherapists in training must

be given an employment status that allows them to be included in tariff structures. The financing of training by the training centers must be regulated by law.

- Private capital companies (especially private equity firms) are investing heavily in care facilities and medical care centers, trimming them for profit and selling them on at a higher price. We want to stop that!
- We want the electronic patient record to serve to improve treatment and prevent huge amounts of data from being made available to commercial players without the knowledge of the patients. The dangerous gaps in data protection and data security must be closed immediately.
- We need scientific evaluation procedures for digital health applications. We want to publicly promote open source applications!

Affordable medicines for all and health research that helps everyone! Breaking the power of the pharmaceutical industry

In Germany, statutory health insurance companies spend over 50 billion euros on medicines - and the trend is rising rapidly - even though patients have to pay extra for the medicines. Pharmaceutical companies charge fantasy prices for new medicines and make billions in profits. None of the attempts to regulate the prices of new medicines have been able to effectively limit the cost explosion. We want to reduce the influence of pharmaceutical companies. Public control over drug research is needed. Prices must be set uniformly across the EU. We want to provide targeted funds to strengthen public health research and non-commercial clinical research.

We want to strengthen research into previously neglected diseases. This includes not only rare diseases, but also ME/CFS and Long Covid or post-Covid, for example. The number of people affected continues to rise. There is still not a single approved drug, hardly any contact points and far too little money for drug research. Those affected are stigmatized and suffer harmful mistreatment. We are committed to research funding that is appropriate to the severity, frequency and research backlog in ME/CFS and Long Covid and that aims to make treatments available. We want to draw lessons from the corona pandemic for health promotion and infection protection based on scientific evidence, for example on clean air indoors.

Care must not be a risk of poverty!

The personal contributions in care are so high that they usually eat up all reserves and pensions, and then the costs have to be borne by the municipalities. Care facilities are now considered a lucrative investment. Profits are rising, but that comes at a price: the stress for the nursing staff is increasing and the care of the residents is getting worse. Financing must be geared towards cost coverage. We are committed to a system change in care: for good working conditions and relief for employees in care facilities. We want to push care companies out of inpatient care. We want to transfer private care facilities into public ownership. We want to transfer the ineffective structure of small care providers, which often also lead to poor working conditions, into more effective public non-profit structures.

- The spiral of personal contributions must be broken: With our comprehensive nursing care insurance, we want to abolish personal contributions in the long term. We want to cap the nursing home costs (accommodation and meals) that are not covered by nursing care insurance and oblige the federal states to cover the real investment costs and training costs. In the short term, the protected assets must be increased.
- 100,000 additional nursing staff are needed in nursing homes to ensure high-quality nursing care, including the mix of nursing professionals. Hundreds of thousands of nursing staff can imagine returning to work - with better working conditions.
- The vocational training for nursing and geriatric care has been combined. However, there is still a wage gap of around 300 euros. This must be closed. All nursing staff are skilled workers and deserve appropriate remuneration.
- Caring relatives must be better supported! The care allowance is not enough: we want all employees to be given six weeks' leave with full employer-funded wage compensation when a family member needs care for the first time. We are also committed to ensuring that all caring relatives receive cash benefits and pension points. Those in need of care and their relatives should also have the right to take vacation.
- The greatest relief for both people in need of care and their caring relatives are offers of professional day and short-term care close to home, non-commercial and covered by a solidarity-based full care insurance, as well as other unbureaucratically accessible assistance.
- No exploitation of foreign workers in care! "24-hour care" is an imposition on everyone involved. The precarious situation of these people in their countries of origin is exploited for employment under unacceptable conditions. These employment relationships finally need to be regulated with social security protection, statutory working hours, vacation and minimum wage.

Prevention and Counseling Instead of Prosecution in Drug Policy

A drug ban neither reduces drug trafficking nor effectively reduces consumption. Many problems arise as a result of criminalization, such as health damage caused by contamination, the social decline of people with

addiction problems and the promotion of organized crime. At the same time, state repression ties up considerable financial resources.

- We want to introduce a ban on advertising and sponsorship for tobacco, alcohol, other drugs and gambling, accompanied by awareness campaigns on alcohol, drug and gambling addiction. Some of these addictive substances are widely accepted in society, but have serious consequences. We want to ban slot machines in restaurants.
- We want to completely decriminalize drug use and create medical and social work intervention programs to finally regulate drugs appropriately. In this way, we will counter the inhumane persecution of drug users, but also organized crime.
- We want to achieve complete legalization of cannabis and push through the necessary changes at EU and UN level.
- For all drugs, including alcohol, blood concentration limits are set at which, according to scientific and medical criteria, the ability to drive is not impaired. Higher concentrations in traffic are punished. In this way, we want to finally properly enforce the sobriety requirement.
- The main priority must be to save lives. That is why we want to ensure comprehensive access to drug consumption rooms, sterile consumption utensils and medication to prevent overdose. Drug analysis for dangerous additives and contaminants (drug checking) must be available nationwide.
- We strengthen prevention, counseling and assistance services.

6. Relaxation instead of rearmament and militarization: A peaceful world is possible

For Die Linke, war is not a legitimate political tool. Our vision is a peaceful Germany in a democratic, social and peaceful Europe in which civility prevails. We want a policy that does not look away from injustice and violence in the world, but intervenes using peaceful means. Die Linke stands on the side of the oppressed and the attacked. We represent a foreign policy that always seeks peaceful, civil solutions and does not think with a finger on the trigger. Die Linke is a peace party and a reliable voice of the peace movements. We stand for a foreign policy in which human rights are indivisible and in which there are no double standards. Our perspective is not that of the general, but that of the people affected. Because even in war there is a class conflict. NATO Secretary General Rutte and Chancellor candidate Merz (CDU) are calling for pensions, health and social spending to be cut in favor of armaments. We oppose this with all our might. We do not forget that it is primarily the working population and the civilian population that bears the consequences and costs of war, and that inequalities based on class, gender, ethnicity and neo-colonial superiority play a key role in determining who is killed or falls victim to violence, impoverishment and disenfranchisement. To end this situation, it is essential to persuade warring parties to adapt their political goals and principles so that peace-building compromises and negotiations become possible. Social justice, climate sustainability and peace policy must be thought about, developed and implemented together. Movements for social justice as well as climate and peace movements must therefore be strengthened and their networking promoted.

There are countless conflicts in the world that are combining to form a system of wars for a new world order. The old superpowers, the USA, the EU and Japan, are heavily involved in these conflicts, both politically and militarily. The new global players, China and Russia, and also India, are acting in these conflicts with their own imperial interests. The danger of new wars is growing continuously. Germany is a country that started two terrible world wars and is forever committed to antimilitarism. Foreign policy in recent decades has been far from living up to this claim. The "turning point" of rearmament and the goal of "war readiness" are making war easier. The planned stationing of US medium-range missiles in Germany will not close a military "capability gap" but will intensify the confrontation between the USA and Russia on European soil. The people of Germany and Europe are primarily responsible for the risks. Germany and the EU often contribute to the escalation of conflicts themselves through economic dependence, arms exports and support for authoritarian regimes in various parts of the world. The world is becoming increasingly insecure. Imperialist wars of aggression are being fought for access to raw materials and markets or for regional order, such as the Russian war against Ukraine or the years-long struggle over Syria or Turkey's war in north-eastern Syria. They threaten the lives and limbs of millions of people. The war in Gaza also threatens the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people.

Putin's threats and the election of Donald Trump show that democracy and security are also facing major challenges in the EU. We are, however, committed to a policy that puts international solidarity above profit interests - as in economic South-South cooperation or Cuba's international work in the health sector. We are facing the challenge of securing peace without becoming belligerent; we are fighting for the strengthening of international law and human rights, for a global peace order. The militarization of politics brutalizes society, destroys democracy from within and only benefits the arms giants and financial corporations.

For the Russia-Ukraine war, this means that we stand closely by the side of the people in Ukraine and Russia and advocate for massive humanitarian aid as well as diplomatic initiatives for a ceasefire. We condemn Russia's attack on Ukraine, which violates international law. It must be stopped immediately; Russian troops have no business in Ukraine. We respect the Ukrainian people's right to self-defense. But we are calling for a change in strategy: instead of more and more arms deliveries, we finally need a joint initiative by the German government and the EU with China, Brazil and other states in the Global South to bring Russia and Ukraine to the negotiating table. More targeted sanctions that are not directed against the population but against Putin's power apparatus and the military-industrial complex and thus against the ability to wage war, and that are imposed in accordance with the UN Charter, can be an important means of exerting pressure to achieve a just peace for Ukraine. Targeted sanctions against individuals who have directly or indirectly participated in war crimes can also help build diplomatic pressure.

The war in Ukraine shows how dangerous the confrontation between the geopolitical power blocs has become. The world's power structure is shifting. The supremacy of the West, especially the USA, is being challenged by new blocs such as the BRICS states. Powerful actors are trying to gain more influence by any means possible and to defend existing influence by force. We condemn this way of thinking and acting, in Ukraine, in the Middle East and in all crisis areas around the world. Germany plays a dual role in this context: As an actor within NATO, it is driving forward militarization and confrontation. As an economic power, Germany is increasing social inequality and dependence in the Global South through its trade and financial policy. This contradiction must be resolved by aligning politics with the needs of the majority of the world's population and not with the interests of the elites. We want people everywhere to be able to

decide how they live together in a self-determined, democratic and sovereign manner. We welcome and support the Global South's uprising against colonial exploitation and wars, blockades and sanctions – for radical debt relief, a just world economic order and peace in all countries.

There is no military solution to the war in the Middle East either: one human rights crime must never be used as a justification for another human rights crime. The deaths of tens of thousands of civilians, including many children, the destruction of much of the infrastructure and the starvation of the population have nothing to do with legitimate self-defense. The injustice of the occupation of the Palestinian territories is never a justification for the inhumane terror of Hamas - and in the same way October 7th does not justify the brutal crimes against international law committed by the Israeli army in Gaza and Lebanon. We condemn the illegal actions in Syria. We support the efforts of the International Criminal Court to hold those responsible on both sides of the Middle East conflict to account. The Left is committed to implementing the demands of the International Court of Justice's legal opinion on Israeli occupation policy and calls for an end to the occupation and settlement construction. Our goal is a safe, self-determined and equal life for the people of Israel and Palestine within the framework of a further developed, just two-state solution. The end of the Assad dictatorship in Syria is a signal of hope. The people of Syria now need democratic elections, human and fundamental rights must be guaranteed. The fighting between regional militias must end. The autonomy of the Kurdish areas (Rojava) must be secured. The EU and NATO must put pressure on the Turkish government: it must not support a civil war against the Kurdish areas.

The aim of the attacks from Turkey is to prevent the democratic social model that the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (AANES) is striving for. This model is based on federal structures and focuses on women's freedom, ecological sustainability and grassroots democracy. We are firmly committed to an end to these attacks that violate international law. To this end, we demand: All arms exports from Germany to Turkey must be stopped. Germany must establish diplomatic relations with the AANES in order to support peaceful relations, the development of democracy and stability in the region.

We want to break the global spiral of rearmament and confrontation. The looming arms race and the stationing of US medium-range missiles will lead to less, not more, security for people in Germany, Europe and the whole world. The main beneficiaries of an arms race are the arms companies and their shareholders. A world in which the military has priority is a world in which the needs of the majority of people are systematically ignored. Disarmament is therefore not just a question of peace, but also a question of democracy and social justice. What is needed is a completely different turning point, a change in the policy of peace.

The Left is striving for a cooperative security policy in Europe. NATO, a relic of the Cold War, is not suitable for this: it is not a community of values, but a purely military alliance for the enforcement of national and economic interests, repeatedly and for many decades also with military force. Neither the Afghanistan war, nor the Iraq war, nor the numerous other violations of international law by NATO members have made Europe safer. We have a chance of a more peaceful future in Europe if we learn from mistakes and return to the principles of *détente*. No Cold War 2.0, but an OSCE 2.0, that is our vision of a peaceful Europe. Our goal is a security architecture in Europe that is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and the agreements of the CSCE and includes all countries on the continent. Such a security architecture makes NATO superfluous and enables a foreign policy of international cooperation

instead of economic and military competition. In the long term, it should also include Russia and Turkey - the prerequisite would be an end to all wars of aggression and a process of reconciliation and reconstruction. Global security can only be achieved through a fair reorganization of economic and trade relations in the world. This is what we are committed to.

We want to strengthen diplomacy and make the EU and Germany credible again internationally. This is because the lack of credibility, for example in view of the violations of international law by NATO allies such as the USA, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, is itself a security risk for Europe. An EU that is no longer part of the bloc confrontation, but instead credibly advocates a balance of interests in the UN system and without double standards, would significantly increase its political weight through civil means.

- In order to finally enable a peace process for Ukraine, the German government must finally take up peace initiatives such as those of China and Brazil and actively support a joint diplomatic negotiation offensive, supported by targeted sanctions that are not directed against the general population. We advocate a regular review of sanctions practice. We reject arms deliveries to war and crisis zones. An international contact group should prepare negotiations by dealing with specific issues and developing compromise proposals. One result of the peace process must be reliable security guarantees.
- No stationing of US medium-range missiles in Germany and no further rearmament, but rather disarmament in Germany and Europe. The European NATO states already spend (adjusted for purchasing power) much more money on the military than Russia. Security can be organized without rearmament. Therefore, these EU states should take the first step and issue a binding invitation to a collective disarmament process. Political conflict resolution requires de-escalation and an end to the arms race. This is a prerequisite for the prospect of a common security architecture involving China, India and Russia. The Left, together with peace organizations and peace initiatives, opposes the intended stationing of US medium-range missiles in Germany!
- We want to withdraw the Bundeswehr from all foreign missions. We want it to be converted into a structurally incapable defensive army.
- We want to end the Federal Republic's nuclear participation. All US nuclear weapons must be withdrawn from Germany. The Federal Republic must follow the example of many countries and join the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Against the background of the open discussion in political and military circles here about building a German or European nuclear bomb, we want to shut down the uranium enrichment plant in Gronau immediately. With its centrifuge technology, it could also produce the material for a uranium nuclear weapon. It could be used to help the EU and Germany to get the nuclear bomb.
- We call for diplomatic initiatives that push for an immediate ceasefire and a sustainable peace process in Israel and Palestine. We call for an end to German arms exports to Israel, the recognition of Palestine as an independent state within the 1967 borders and political pressure from the German government on the states in the region to recognize Israel as a state.
- Germany must support the efforts of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to investigate and prosecute crimes in the context of the Middle East war in accordance with its obligations as a contracting party. The arrest warrants against Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, former

Defense Minister Yoav Gallant and leading members of Hamas must be recognized and implemented.

- We want to end the war business and completely ban arms exports. The conversion of arms companies to products necessary for civilian use must be specifically encouraged.
- We demand that the arms companies be transferred into public ownership and converted into social production. Jobs and collective agreements must be preserved.
- We are against the militarization of society: no reintroduction of conscription, no advertising for death in schools, at education fairs, at universities or by mail. We want to defend and expand civil clauses for universities without the military. We support the youth alliance against conscription!
- We want to drastically reduce military spending and instead invest in education, social affairs, health and a just transformation. We reject NATO's arms buildup target of 2 percent of GDP or even more. The "special funds" of the turning point should flow into civilian infrastructure.
- Strengthening and reforming the United Nations: The UN General Assembly, in which all members of the United Nations are represented, must be given stronger decision-making powers compared to the undemocratic UN Security Council, especially on issues relating to the maintenance of world peace.
- We support all grassroots disarmament efforts in which global civil society advocates for a cross-border curbing of the arms madness. We support global initiatives for disarmament and the reduction of military spending in order to break the logic of the arms race and use the money for future investments.

For an EU that is part of the solution

We want a social EU that is committed to international balance and peace, instead of suppressing wages and exacerbating bloc confrontation and competition between locations. We want a social and democratic Europe that helps people with low and middle incomes. A peace union that promotes democracy and invests in global justice instead of confrontation. We advocate a policy of détente and want to stop the militarization of Europe. Reforming the EU is also a peace policy necessity. But the possibilities for a fundamental reform of the EU are limited by the existing EU treaties. We are therefore striving for new treaties that leave the logic of neoliberalism behind. At the same time, we are already advocating a maximum of emancipatory changes within the existing treaties in the sense of a Europe from below instead of an EU of banks and corporations.

- We want massive public investment in social affairs, education, health and climate-friendly restructuring. But the "Stability and Growth Pact" curtails democracy in the member states and commits them to a neoliberal financial policy. We want to change that: the EU needs an investment offensive without a handbrake. For this, deficit and debt rules in Europe must also be adjusted.

The "European Semester Process" must be restructured so that it promotes public investment, job creation and crisis management. Social rights must also be indivisible in the EU.

- We will work together with the trade unions to ensure that the positive developments in the EU, such as the strengthening of trade union rights through the Minimum Wage Directive, are deepened in the coming years, despite the shift to the right in the EU.
- The Erasmus+ programme for apprentices must be expanded. We are committed to improving the resources and conditions for this and to making the programme better known.
- Social cohesion must become an even greater priority of EU policy in order to improve the living conditions of people throughout the European Union. The equalization of social conditions prevents relocation, wage dumping and the migration of skilled workers; regions must not be played off against each other. We reject the currently discussed centralization of regional funds in the hands of the EU Commission. Instead, the regions must develop and implement the programs for spending the money themselves with the local citizens. We want a solidarity-based expansion of the European Union, and this requires compliance with social, ecological and democratic standards. Accession aid should serve the development of the respective countries and enable them to meet these standards so that the local people also benefit. In order to become capable of enlargement, reforms of the EU 27 are also required.
- We want the European Parliament to finally have full right of initiative and to be able to submit its own legislative proposals. Fundamental decisions must be made by the European Parliament - not by executive bodies such as the Commission, Eurogroup or Council. The high hurdles for European citizens' initiatives must be lowered: We want to enable EU-wide referendums and popular initiatives. All people should have the same rights in the EU states in which they live.
- The Committee of the Regions is to be strengthened by integrating it into the decision-making structure of the EU institutions. The aim is to take greater account of local perspectives and experiences in policy-making.
- Peace union instead of Fortress Europe! We oppose the further rearmament of the EU and the militarization of European borders. We reject the obligation to rearm as set out in the Treaty of Lisbon, as well as deals aimed at isolating refugees. The Frontex agency must be transformed into a European rescue mission.
- We want a Europe without weapons of mass destruction. Germany and the EU member states must join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and work for a revival of the Treaty on the Disarmament and Destruction of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles throughout Europe. The goal must be the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

For Global Justice

An EU that sees itself as a counterweight to global inequality and exploitation must also distance itself from imperialist practices of the past and present. Centuries of colonial exploitation, the current world economic order, and blockades and sanctions that prevent the free and fair development of countries and regions are the cause of the great inequalities between the western industrialized countries and the countries of the South. Die Linke is therefore committed to ending the US economic, trade, and financial blockade against Cuba, which has been in place for over 60 years and is contrary to international law. We also demand that Cuba be finally removed from the list of states that, in the US view, support international terrorism. Die Linke's global view is also that there is no peace, no security, and no climate protection without social justice. What we demand for Germany in terms of economic, climate, and social policy, we also want to implement globally - together and in solidarity with social movements and progressive parties and governments around the world. Economic partnership agreements that undermine or endanger regional economic alliances must be terminated, as must those that force neoliberal structural adjustments.

For us it is clear: we stand unconditionally on the side of working people and families. On the side of people who barely have enough money to live on and those who have no lobby. In short: on the side of the majority of this society. We align our policies with their priorities.

As an internationalist party, Die Linke is part of the worldwide movement for a peaceful and just world, against imperialism and war, against fascism and racism, against exploitation, oppression, poverty and environmental destruction.

The Left stands in solidarity with the people, movements, organizations, parties and governments that are committed to an independent path of development beyond the capitalist logic of profit and against imperialist striving for hegemony. It stands in solidarity with all countries that, like Cuba, have embarked on a socialist path of development; it stands in solidarity with progressive political development processes in Latin America, in the Global South and throughout the world - with all those who pursue a policy of peace, international understanding and solidarity-based economic cooperation, with all those who are committed to combating poverty, reducing social exclusion and inequality, protecting the environment and promoting the rights of indigenous peoples in their countries. We firmly believe that every country has the right to determine its own path of development.

- Despite announcing the contrary in its coalition agreement, the traffic light government has made drastic cuts to development policy and humanitarian aid. We want to reverse this development. We want social justice worldwide and are using the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a benchmark. We are calling for a global billionaire tax, regulation of financial markets and the introduction of a financial transaction tax, fair cooperation agreements instead of free trade agreements and global tax justice. We need a debt cut for countries in the Global South and a strengthening of debt relief initiatives.
- Financial support for countries in the Global South for climate protection, energy transition, adaptation to the consequences of climate change and compensation for climate damage must be adapted to actual needs and massively increased. These funds must be additional and must not be offset against development cooperation as has been the case so far.

- There needs to be a reliable minimum level of funding for development cooperation, based on the agreed 0.7 percent of German economic output, and at least 0.2 percent must finally go to the poorest countries. The central guidelines for development policy measures must be the observance of human rights, the protection of women, children and young people and members of the LGBTIQ+ community. We reject the use of development funds for civil-military cooperation or for isolating refugees or for corporate profits. Investments must benefit the people on the ground.
- Germany and the EU must ensure food sovereignty and the right to food, prevent land theft by large corporations, support small farmers, protect local producers from price dumping and displacement, and prohibit speculation in food. Pesticides banned in Germany and the EU must no longer be exported. Seeds must not be monopolized by corporations.
- Strengthen the human right to health! Medicines and vaccines developed through research funded by taxpayers' money must be made available for reproduction without a license. Patents for vital medicines must be overcome (also internationally) in order to prevent monopoly-like pricing.
- We want to strengthen the supply chain law instead of weakening it. Agreements and regulations on human rights, occupational health and safety, environmental and climate protection standards and the fight against child labor should be strengthened and expanded, for example through improved litigation options, complaint mechanisms and more government controls. Companies that violate these standards must be subject to stricter sanctions - also at the international level.
- Germany's raw material agreements with other countries must be democratic, social and ecological and should contribute to the creation of sustainable local value creation.

7. Work that fits your life

Good work is a key to a life of solidarity and self-determination in which we can develop ourselves and participate in leisure and cultural life. Work must not make us ill. However, complaints about poor working conditions are increasing. A huge low-wage sector has been created, fixed-term contracts and temporary work are being promoted and in many sectors there are increasing reports from employees about being overworked at work. Increasingly, there is a lack of sufficient staff due to poor planning and poor working conditions or the work is being intensified.

The shortage of skilled workers is now omnipresent. Working conditions must change. Productive work until retirement is only possible with greater relief, better work-life balance and more co-determination. We want to strengthen democratic rights in the workplace as well as in all other areas of society. Employees rightly expect that their work must fit in with their lives. This also makes economic sense.

No more poor wages and insecure jobs

Wages must be enough for a good life with children. But one in six people in Germany only receives a low wage for their own work, which is barely enough to get them through the month - in East Germany almost one in four. According to the EU, the statutory minimum wage should be at least 60 percent of the median income, in Germany it is significantly lower. The EU is also calling for measures to protect 80 percent of employees through collective agreements. In Germany, this is currently only one in two. Nevertheless, the traffic light government has not implemented the European minimum wage directive - even though it is current law.

- The statutory minimum wage must be increased in accordance with the European directive - to at least 60 percent of the average income (median wage). That would be around 15 euros by 2025. In order to clearly comply with the European directive, we are calling for a minimum wage of 16 euros by 2026 at the latest, which should be permanently adjusted to the development of the median wage, but must increase at least annually by the rate of inflation. The minimum wage commission can no longer decide against the votes of the unions. The minimum wage must apply without exceptions - for example, also for employees in workshops for people with disabilities, for employees under 18 and without vocational training, and for the long-term unemployed.
- The federal government must finally draw up an action plan to promote collective bargaining and increase collective bargaining coverage. A federal collective bargaining law must stipulate that only those companies that comply with collective bargaining standards will be awarded public contracts. The federal and state labor ministries should be able to declare collective bargaining agreements generally binding for all employees in a sector much more easily - even without the consent of the employer. In the event of outsourcing and company splits, collective bargaining agreements must continue to apply without restrictions. Craft guilds must be obliged to fulfill their public-law mandate and conclude collective bargaining agreements so that wage dumping can be more easily prevented there too.
- Full social insurance in every employment relationship from the first euro instead of mini-jobs, midi-jobs and exceptions for foreign seasonal workers. Everyone needs health insurance, pensions and protection against unemployment. Even in the case of self-employed individuals, clients must pay social insurance contributions and comply with industry-wide minimum fees.
- In order to provide security and predictability in life, we want to abolish temporary work and fixed-term contracts without objective reasons. We will significantly restrict objective reasons for fixed-term contracts; at the latest, the third employment contract with the same employer must be permanent. Until temporary work is banned, temporary workers must be paid and treated in the same way as employees in the company they work for from day one (including collectively agreed and company special payments), plus a 10 percent flexibility allowance. The maximum duration of a temporary employment contract must apply to the workplace rather than to the employees. We want to effectively combat bogus work contracts so that no one is cheated out of their employee rights: If there is suspicion of violations of the Temporary Employment Act, the burden of proof must lie with the companies involved. Temporary workers must not be used to break strikes.
- In order for occupational safety to work, foreign employees must not be disadvantaged by controls or reports of grievances. Residence rights must therefore be independent of the employment contract. Mobile employment law advice in native languages must be permanently financed. Costs for accommodation provided or arranged by the employer must be capped and shown transparently on the pay slip. Employees in private households should primarily be placed through

public welfare and municipal agencies and through certified agencies that ensure collective agreements and good working conditions.

- In order to better protect employees and honest companies, we need more frequent checks on working hours and minimum wage regulations, including through uncomplicated proof from companies via email. We want to double the number of customs staff to uncover wage fraud and significantly increase the penalties for companies.
- The Pay Transparency Act must become a Pay Equality Act in order to enforce equal pay for work of equal value. It should also oblige companies to gradually reduce existing injustices in the evaluation of work across all sectors, with the aim of ensuring that work with people is not rated worse than work with machines, or that professional experience is given equal status with formal qualifications. Equal pay for women, employees with a migration background and regardless of gender identity must finally be guaranteed - overcome the gender pay gap and migration pay gap! Trade unions need the right to bring class action lawsuits so that those affected do not have to sue alone.

Securing skilled workers with good working conditions

Good wages and working conditions are the best way to combat staff shortages. Everyone is talking about a shortage of skilled workers, but the reasons are often overlooked. Nursing staff, educators and teachers are fighting for collective agreements to ease the burden. They are quitting their jobs in droves or reducing their working hours because the stress of their job is no longer bearable. Many companies are paying just above the minimum wage. Fewer and fewer companies are training themselves, while at the same time almost 3 million young people in Germany have no professional qualifications. Around 3.5 million people are also stuck in unemployment if you include older unemployed people and people in further training courses. Companies and the government are diverting attention to the fact that they do not want to improve wages and working conditions and do not want to invest more in training. According to studies, half of former nursing staff would return to their jobs if conditions improved. The employers' associations are demanding the opposite and want longer working hours, even though this does not solve the problems, but rather exacerbates them. We want good working conditions to become the norm everywhere.

- Public contracts should only be awarded to companies that comply with collective agreements, including with their subcontractors. Public administrations and publicly owned companies must agree with the unions on realistic steps to ease the burden and provide good work in order to remedy the shortage of staff. This includes adequately financed public budgets that enable good working conditions instead of handing out gifts to billionaires and multimillionaires. We are committed to a legal regulation that ensures that employees are taken on under at least the same or better conditions when the contractor for a public service contract changes.

- We need better occupational health and safety regulations to prevent overwork and enforceable co-determination for works councils in staffing levels and the prevention of stress. Employees should be given weekly consultation time to reach agreement on working conditions. Occupational health and safety authorities need more staff and fines must be significantly increased. Occupational diseases must be more easily recognized.
- A training levy must relieve the burden on companies providing training and require companies that do not train themselves to contribute to the costs of training. All trainees should receive at least 80 percent of the agreed training allowance.
- We support the unions in their fight for shorter working hours with full pay and the necessary staff compensation in all sectors. A shorter weekly working time, for example in the form of a four-day week, allows more rest and a better balance between family and work. We defend the 8-hour day as the upper limit and demand at least 11 hours of rest between shifts. We want to limit exceptions and limit the maximum weekly working time to 40 hours. We are also working in the unions to ensure that shorter working hours are made more of an issue. Work breaks and service times must be paid for; they are not employees' free time!
- Right to time off: Employees should have the opportunity to take a year off twice in their working life (sabbatical year), combined with a right to return.
- We are committed to a legal right to a full-time job and family-friendly shifts. All employees need the right to temporarily reduce their working hours and to six weeks of care leave with continued pay. We are committed to a statutory right to six weeks' holiday per year.
- When it comes to plant closures, relocations, investments, environmental and climate issues, staffing levels, further training and the prevention of health damage, works councils and staff councils need an enforceable right to co-determination. In all private and public companies with 500 or more employees, there must be genuine parity co-determination on supervisory boards. Corporate co-determination must be extended by law to all companies with their administrative headquarters in Germany, including those with foreign or European legal forms. If this obligation is violated, tangible sanctions must be imposed (Chapter 8).
- No company without a works council! Works council elections must be made easier, obstruction of elections and works councils must be pursued more strictly and unions must be given reliable access, especially digitally. Employees who initiate the first election of a works council must be better protected by law. Public prosecutors must be able to take action "officially" against the obstruction of works council elections or the obstruction of works council activities. The concepts of company and employee must be adjusted. Work organized via digital platforms must automatically be considered an employment relationship unless the opposite can be proven. Strict criteria must be applied here. Together with the unions, we are calling for the abolition of special labor law for churches and church organizations such as Diakonie or Caritas. Co-determination in public and church institutions must be adapted to the Works Constitution Act. We defend the right to strike against all attacks. It must also apply to churches and civil servants - and strikes for political and social concerns must be permitted. The Collective Bargaining Act must go. Employers' associations must not offer memberships without a collective agreement. Trade unions must be able to enforce collective agreements.
- The federal government must develop a binding future plan for the economy together with employees and their unions, environmental and social associations, science and companies. This

must set out restructuring goals and investments for the coming years and be tied to employment guarantees and collective agreements in order to create planning security for everyone (Chapter 8).

- Companies must train all employees to meet changing requirements and tasks. That is why we need a fund into which all companies in a sector pay. All employees can reduce their working hours for further training and receive at least 70 percent of their salary for this time (in the low-wage sector, the state increases this to 100 percent) so that everyone can afford further training. This time must be better taken into account in unemployment benefits and pensions. Anyone who loses their job should receive 90 percent of their last net salary as further training money, without this reducing their entitlement to unemployment benefit.
- We are committed to one week of educational leave in all federal states and want to oblige companies to inform their employees annually about their entitlement.

Good protection in case of unemployment

In October 2024, over 3.5 million people in Germany were either unemployed or in labor market policy measures. Almost one million people are long-term unemployed. We believe that no one should be involuntarily excluded from working life.

- With longer framework periods and shorter qualifying periods, we are giving more people access to unemployment insurance. Unemployment benefits will be paid for longer and increased to 68 percent. Blocking periods will be abolished.
- We are combating unemployment with government employment measures and training programs. Our program for investments in public services and in the transport and energy transition is creating hundreds of thousands of good jobs.
- For people who are permanently excluded from the regular labor market, we create additional jobs in a publicly funded employment sector (“social labor market”). Unemployed people are given a legal right to qualification and further training. We want a right to gainful employment with an enforceable individual legal claim. This also includes the right to refuse specific gainful employment.

8. Economy for all – social and ecological

We want an economic policy for the majority that creates the conditions for broad social prosperity. This includes a reliable infrastructure, trained specialists, qualified service providers and suppliers, education, research, a balanced mix of different industries and company sizes, high human rights and environmental standards, quality of life and political stability. We want an economy for everyone that is not just focused

on a few selected flagship projects, but also takes into account the situation of employees, consumers, small businesses and companies providing public services.

At the same time, we are in a process that requires a rapid, fundamental restructuring of the economy: because production and lifestyles must become climate-neutral, because it is about innovation, because the balance between openness and security must be redefined, including for supply chains, trade routes and energy supplies. This can only be achieved with an active state economic policy. Currently, the only serious economic policy impulse in Germany comes from investments that are intended to finance the military "turning point". In Germany, unlike China or even parts of the USA, there is no targeted state industrial policy. Instead of new factories for solar systems, the arms industry is booming. Public funds are being put into expanding Bundeswehr bases instead of into future-oriented civilian research and high technology.

Clear, long-term targets are needed as to which technologies and funding will be used to achieve the transformation, because without a clear framework, private companies cannot invest. But this also means that no one is left behind in the transformation, that employees can have a say, are qualified and insured, and that the lower half of the income group is exempt from the costs of the transformation.

The limits of fossil capitalism have been reached: Despite this, corporations are clinging to their economic system in order to protect their business model and their profits. A few wealthy individuals are becoming ever richer by letting others work for them and by unrestrainedly exploiting nature and heating up the climate. We want to overcome this economic system. An ecological energy and heat transition, the socio-ecological restructuring of industry and the economy will only succeed if they are carried out in a socially just, democratic and solidarity-based manner. Our goal is a fair, sustainable economy that enables the vast majority of people to live a better life while respecting the natural limits of growth. We want democratic socialism.

The past three years have been devastating for climate protection. There has been no fundamental progress in any area; instead, the previous government's already modest climate protection law has been watered down even further. All cosmetic measures have ignored people's needs. In doing so, the traffic light government has destroyed the population's great willingness to support far-reaching climate protection measures. Our economic policy is directed against social division and ecological destruction, both here and internationally. We demand recognition and respect for all those who keep our society running. This means investing in the restructuring of the economy while at the same time ensuring that the costs are not passed on to employees and the vast majority.

For us, climate protection and social justice are inseparable: without social justice, the majority have no way of implementing climate protection in their everyday lives. Even from a global perspective, we are not all in the same boat. Resource consumption is extremely unequally distributed: between rich and poor people within the country, within the European Union and between rich and poor countries. At the same time, the poor are the most affected by environmental change and pollution everywhere. Those who have assets can better protect themselves from heat, drought and flooding. The poor cannot do this. The destruction of nature threatens our material livelihoods and is becoming a class issue in Germany and

globally. In addition, women and children in particular suffer above average from the climate catastrophe and environmental damage. Without climate protection, there will no longer be any social justice, because climate change hits those who are financially worse off the hardest.

Restructuring the industry in a socially and ecologically just way

Previous federal governments have watched as industrial jobs in future sectors have been destroyed on a massive scale. Since its peak, the number of employees in the solar industry has fallen by almost 120,000, and the industry has still not recovered. More than 40,000 jobs have been lost in the wind power industry. Without imports from China, no more solar plants or wind turbines can be built in Germany. The restructuring of the automobile industry was missed - hundreds of thousands of jobs are at stake. The government's decision to blindly trust the market in terms of industrial policy was fatal.

German industry is heavily dependent on exports, especially the automotive industry and tool and machine manufacturing. We want to restructure industrial production with the involvement of employees. In this way, we create good jobs for the future. That is why we want to strengthen production for the domestic market and the manufacture of sustainable goods. We are committed to a civil and ecologically sustainable conversion of industrial production. Central to this is the restructuring of the arms industry towards peace production and the further development of the automotive industry as part of a mobility industry that is being developed, for which the state must create demand by investing in the transport transition. We want to create good jobs, protect the climate and sustainably strengthen public or collective forms of ownership such as cooperatives or employee ownership and co-determination.

We want to build regional economic cycles and thereby reduce transport emissions. We want products to be manufactured as close as possible to where they are needed. This makes supply chains shorter, more reliable and has less impact on the environment.

Instead of sending industrial components around the world or across Europe to exploit the wage gap between rich and poor countries, we want to strengthen integrated production processes. This secures local jobs and strengthens regions away from major cities.

Patents and intellectual property rights for the technologies needed for the transformation are concentrated in the hands of a few profit-oriented actors. This hinders the necessary transformation. The Left is committed to laws on the creation and use of public intellectual property in order to accelerate the development and implementation of future-oriented technologies, such as large-scale patent pools, open hardware promotion and the expansion of digital product databases.

Our socio-ecological investment program for industrial restructuring

We are calling for 200 billion euros for industrial restructuring: The money will go into an investment fund from which companies will be supported in their climate-friendly restructuring either with long-term loans or

in exchange for company shares. Employees should receive a loan if they want to take over a company themselves and continue to run it as a cooperative. This should also apply in the event of insolvency if there is a fundamental prospect of continued economic operation. The fund should reinvest profits from investments or loans.

In addition, we want to expand the Climate and Transformation Fund (KTF) and provide it with 65 billion euros annually: The money will be used, among other things:

- for start-up funding for new battery technologies and energy storage;
- for the production and transport of hydrogen where it is proven to be necessary and there are no practical alternatives, such as for long-term energy storage or as a raw material for the chemical industry;
- for the financing of an industrial electricity price that supports the energy-intensive industry in its transformation;
- for a rescue package for suppliers in the automotive industry amounting to 20 billion euros.

With the help of climate protection contracts, we want to promote climate-friendly technology in the conversion and equipment of production facilities, in addition to the activities of the investment fund.

At the European level, Die Linke is committed to expanding the exemptions and changing European state aid law. This is the only way to make social-ecological industrial policy possible.

- The rule is: no tax money without something in return. We tie state funds (whether direct aid payments or indirect subsidies) to long-term guarantees for employees on collective agreements, site commitments and binding investment plans. In this way, we drive forward the necessary ecological restructuring of production and secure jobs and income for employees.
- If companies issue redundancies and do not comply with employment agreements or ignore environmental standards, they must pay back subsidies. Companies in tax havens must not be subsidized. Dividend payments must be prohibited when claiming crisis aid for companies in distress.
- Public control of key industries through the establishment of industrial foundations and other forms of public participation in addition to the investment fund. Financed by the federal government, shares are to be acquired in companies that play a key role in the system change. This will enable climate-friendly transformation to be better controlled. In this way, we will also protect critical infrastructure such as refineries, pipelines, energy storage facilities or ports from being sold off to authoritarian regimes or private corporations. Public companies must become the engine of industrial renewal, take on a controlling role and integrate the skills of private companies into cooperation.
- Promote climate-friendly production: Through public procurement, product standards and quotas, the most environmentally friendly and collectively agreed products can be given advantages in leading markets, such as the steel industry. The companies that can offer climate-friendly products

most quickly and cheaply while at the same time guaranteeing good work and union co-determination are rewarded.

- Economic and transformation councils: In the regions affected by structural change, we want to set up economic and transformation councils that have access to money from the climate and transformation fund and help shape the transformation locally. In addition to state governments, municipalities and companies, trade unions, works councils, employees and environmental and social associations should also have equal voting rights. Ecological and social impacts along the supply chain should also be weighed up in the decision-making process. We are committed to ensuring that the regional transformation networks continue to be financed by the federal government.
- More economic democracy: Works councils must be given the right to co-determination in economic matters and all important company decisions must be confirmed by staff meetings. The workforce should be able to have a say in decisions about relocations, closures and outsourcing, mass layoffs and decisions about future investments and should be given the right of veto.

European works councils must be strengthened so that different locations in transnational corporations cannot be played off against each other. By creating collective employee ownership, co-determination can be expanded and secured. The more democratically a company is organized, the more socially and ecologically sustainable its corporate decisions are. This has been shown by several studies. We want to expand economic democracy and strengthen employee-owned companies.

- Job and income guarantee: A fair transformation includes ensuring that employees who change jobs and industries can gain further qualifications without jeopardizing their income. For the period of further training, we want to introduce further training allowances amounting to 90 percent of the last salary. The further training allowance will be financed in part by the employment agency and a fund into which companies pay (Chapter 10, Further Training Fund). For employees who lose their old jobs due to the socio-ecological restructuring of the economy, we want to set up employment companies so that they do not lose good working conditions and do not have to leave their regions. These companies will take care of placing employees in new jobs that match their qualifications or in suitable further training measures.
- The transformation must be tied to compliance with ecological standards and environmental goals. Where investments are made, production targets and site preservation must also be sustainable in the long term.

Transformation in Practice: Automotive Industry for the Future

The car industry in Germany is in an existential crisis. The costs are borne by the employees. This is most clearly seen at Volkswagen: the Porsche and Piech family clan has an estimated fortune of 36.5 billion euros. They own the majority of the Volkswagen Group through the holding company Porsche SE. For decades they have made profits from the companies and deliberately prevented ecological restructuring. Even this year VW paid out 4.5 billion euros in dividends. So that their billion-dollar fortune can continue to grow, the employees are now to pay the price: wages are to be cut by 10%. They want to cut bonuses and premiums for employees. Factories are facing closure.

Lobbying, poor planning and the wrong product strategy of managers, the global decline in car sales (down two million per year in Europe alone) and the refusal of the car industry and the government to set the course for a transport revolution are partly to blame for the crisis in the automobile industry. While VW, Mercedes and BMW are making high profits with ever larger and more expensive cars, workers have to fear for their future.

Instead of clinging to old technology so that corporations can continue to make profits, the industry must be restructured in such a way that good jobs are secured and created. This can only be done in a socially just manner and with the involvement of the workforce in the production facilities. Neither e-fuels nor hydrogen are practical solutions for individual transport. Simply switching to e-cars is also not a viable strategy for the transport transition and overcoming the crisis in the automotive industry. In the current crisis, we are supporting employees in ensuring that their locations and jobs are retained as comprehensively as possible. Reliable government framework conditions are needed to ramp up production of electromobility. At the same time, we are supporting the socio-ecological restructuring and diversification of the companies affected towards sustainable mobility companies that do not just rely on motorized individual transport, but produce much more for the growing demand for collective transport. But this will not succeed without political control of this process.

- We want to redesign the vehicle tax and tax large and heavy cars significantly more heavily.
- We see no need for regular cars that weigh more than two tons. This also protects the roads and saves money on their maintenance.
- With fleet conversion and public procurement, we are starting the engine for the transformation of the automotive industry. The public sector should become a pioneer for electromobility. From now on, purely electric vehicles should be purchased as a rule.
- We are committed to introducing e-car quotas for commercial fleet operators at EU level. We want to introduce socially staggered subsidies for small e-vehicles for craft businesses, care services or people in rural areas who rely on a car for commuting. In future, subsidies should only be available for vehicles that are largely manufactured in the EU.
- We finally want comprehensive investments in public charging infrastructure, combined with low tariffs and requirements for more charging points at petrol stations, in retail stores and at work.
- By expanding public transport, we are creating additional needs for the production and maintenance of buses, trains, car sharing and the associated workshops for maintenance and repair work. Production facilities that the automotive industry wants to close down should be socialized and converted to meet the needs of a collective transport system. The workforce should be included in this and collective bargaining coverage should be maintained or introduced. Financing is provided through the fund for the restructuring of industry.

Climate Justice and Energy Transition

The effects of global warming have long been felt in Germany too: flood disasters, more droughts and water shortages and the death of our forests will shape our everyday lives. Germany has already used up

its fair budget of CO2 emissions to achieve the Paris climate goals. This is precisely why we must make every effort to reduce emissions effectively and quickly.

We have no time for further delays. Because more emissions mean more and more climate damage. We want to switch to renewable energies as quickly as possible and disempower the energy companies.

We are making energy affordable again and introducing socially staggered price tariffs, fighting for a supply of electricity and heat not in the hands of corporations, but of citizens, municipalities and cooperatives. We want to organize the generation of electricity and heat and their distribution as decentrally as possible and as centrally as necessary. We therefore rely on electricity and heat from the municipal utility, from municipal cooperative solar or wind power plants and from the roofs and heat pumps of citizens. We are strengthening the active role of citizens and companies in the energy transition as prosumers who consume energy they produce themselves and are promoting energy management and storage technology for this purpose. We want to integrate long-term energy storage for the dark doldrums into the existing power grid at strategically favorable locations so that grid expansion can be minimized. We want to make Germany climate-neutral by 2040.

Down with energy prices

- A few expensive fossil fuel power plants should no longer be allowed to set the prices for the entire electricity market. We reject the merit order principle in its current form. A fair electricity market system must exclude excess profits that are not performance-related. Should they nevertheless occur due to external shocks, they must be consistently skimmed off (Chapter 1).
- We are calling for a new grid fee structure. The flexibility of industrial electricity demand must be encouraged instead of rewarding constant demand. Electricity producers and international electricity trading must share in the costs of electricity transport. Electricity should be used as close to where it is generated as possible, which can also reduce future grid expansion. We are calling for the electricity tax to be reduced to the European minimum tax rate. These measures can reduce electricity prices in the short term by up to 9 cents per kilowatt hour, which corresponds to a reduction of 315 euros per household per year.
- We want an energy solidarity tax for the rich (Chapter 1).
- Electricity and gas cuts must be prohibited by law (Chapter 1).
- We want to create low-cost base tariffs for average consumption of electricity and heating energy (Chapter 1).
- We want to introduce a social climate money (Chapter 1)

Accelerate climate protection and climate adaptation

The traffic light coalition has massively weakened climate protection in Germany by abolishing the sector targets in the Climate Protection Act. We want to protect the climate because we owe it to our children and because smart climate protection combined with a fairer society does not result in a loss of quality of life

for the vast majority. At the same time, we must prepare for the climate damage that can no longer be prevented: there will be more heavy rain, hot days, longer dry periods and low groundwater levels, even if we can continue to prevent worse things through determined climate protection. Almost nothing has been done to date to adapt to climate change. We must invest now to be prepared for the future.

- We want binding targets and emission limits and will give corporations clear rules. We will restore sector targets.
- Emissions trading: For Die Linke, the following applies: no CO2 price without social compensation (climate money).
- We reject emissions trading in the heating and transport sectors (ETS-2): Instead, binding climate targets and emission limits must be set. Funding programs and state infrastructure programs must support the restructuring in the sectors. In the heating and transport sectors, a legally regulated framework ensures greater social justice and faster ecological restructuring.
- Climate protection and adaptation must be defined as a joint task so that the federal government, states and municipalities can act together. We must now adapt to climate change, massively improve disaster protection and invest in order to prepare for floods, flash floods, heat waves and droughts (Chapter 12).
- Financial support for climate protection and the reduction of climate damage in countries in the Global South must be massively increased. The funding pledged at the World Climate Conference in November 2024 is far below the real need. This funding for the supported countries must not lead to further indebtedness or be offset against development aid funds.

implementing the energy transition

Fossil capitalism is striking back: Under the guise of technological neutrality, outdated business models with fossil fuels are being secured. The gas companies are rubbing their hands together, climate protection is not making any progress. Under Robert Habeck, oversized liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminals for fracking gas were built with taxpayers' money. The Greens are even in favor of the risky CO2 injection under the bottom of our seas (CCS). The CDU and FDP are not only lost in irrational dreams about the possible applications of hydrogen and e-fuels in cars and buildings, they even want nuclear power back. It is fitting that right-wing and liberal parties in the EU have declared investments in gas infrastructure and nuclear power plants to be sustainable investments.

The Left only wants to invest in genuine renewable energy sources and infrastructure. We will not leave the energy transition to the market. We want to reduce energy consumption and increase energy efficiency.

- Energy independence through public ownership: The largest part of our future energy supply has yet to be built. The state and municipalities should play a major role in the development of renewable energies, also in order to bring large parts of energy production back into public ownership. We want to use this to (re)locate wind turbine and solar factories in Germany.

- We want to make solar mandatory for new buildings and for existing buildings after extensive roof renovation, where it is structurally possible and worthwhile, especially on the roofs of commercial properties. To achieve this, we want to expand funding and simplify approval procedures.
- Energy transition for local people: Municipalities receive a bonus of 25,000 euros for every 1 megawatt of output of a wind turbine or large-scale PV system built. This goes directly into the municipal coffers and can be used for new systems as well as for repowering. This means that the local population benefits directly from the expansion of renewable energies. In addition, we want to make payments from operators of wind and solar systems to local municipalities compulsory, extend them to existing systems and increase them from 0.2 to 0.5 cents per kilowatt hour of electricity fed into the grid.
- Electricity, heat and gas networks must be transferred to public ownership, democratically controlled and coordinated at European level. We want to create a re-municipalization fund for municipalities. We want to give priority to promoting decentralized solutions for the energy and heat transition.
- We want to work to ensure that the positive assessment of nuclear power and gas in the EU's so-called taxonomy is removed. Public funds, including pension reserves and funds from pension funds, must be immediately withdrawn from investments in companies in the fossil-nuclear energy sector. Public institutions must not invest in fossil and nuclear energy companies.
- No rollback, but an immediate exit from nuclear power: We want to enshrine the exit from nuclear power in the constitution and end the production of uranium fuel in the nuclear factories in Gronau and Lingen. The companies must bear the long-term costs of the nuclear industry. We want comprehensive participation and the right to sue in all phases of the final storage facility search process.
- We are committed to phasing out nuclear power in Europe and all over the world. A pan-European plan is needed to shut down nuclear power plants. The German state development bank KfW (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau) is not allowed to support nuclear power plants abroad.
- No permanent structures for interim solutions! No new permanent infrastructure must be created for liquefied gas and natural gas. We demand a ban on fracking in Germany. LNG obtained through fracking must not be imported. We reject the levy-financed promotion of new gas-fired power plants. This would be both harmful to the climate and socially unjust.
- Carbon capture and storage (CCS) - the capture and underground storage of carbon dioxide - is not a solution to the problems of climate change. Storing CO₂ underground is associated with high risks. Carbon capture and utilization (CCU) - the material use of the extracted CO₂ - must not lead to the energy transition being slowed down and fossil applications and production processes being retained for longer than necessary. We only want to promote it in industrial restructuring if it can be proven that there is no alternative, CO₂-free production process.
- The phase-out of coal must be implemented by 2030. This will not be achieved through emissions trading alone. The federal and state funds for former lignite regions should be continued and take inflation and possible new requirements into account.
- The phase-out of nuclear and coal must be followed by a phase-out of the combustion of fossil natural gas. The Left wants a natural gas phase-out law with a binding phase-out path and social security for affected employees. Existing fossil power plant sites should continue to be used for

infrastructure purposes as part of a socially and ecologically sensible power plant strategy (for example as a site for large storage facilities) and should be retained as established skilled workers and training locations. We want to end the use of natural gas to generate electricity by 2035.

- Hydrogen is the champagne of the energy transition, expensive and energy-intensive. That is why hydrogen should only be used where it is absolutely essential, especially in areas of industrial production. In the long term, we want to see only hydrogen from the electrolysis of electricity from renewable energy sources used in all areas of application.
- Illuminated advertising is not only annoying, it also costs a lot of energy, is distracting and affects people and animals. We want to limit it. In addition, we demand advertising bans for products or services that are particularly harmful to the climate, such as urban SUVs, cruises or air travel.

Just Heat Transition

Housing and construction are responsible for 40% of greenhouse gases in Germany. A heat transition is an essential part of climate policy: buildings must be renovated, heating systems must be converted. This must not lead to an additional burden for tenants and homeowners with low and middle incomes. A warm apartment must be affordable for everyone. Tenants cannot change their heating systems, which is why we reject CO2 prices in the heating sector.

The traffic light coalition's heating law has divided society because it ignored people's concerns and gave the right the opportunity to play ecological and social issues off against each other. We don't want to leave people alone: average earners should not experience any additional financial burdens due to climate protection. There is a need for comprehensive advisory services with renovation officers for all houses in need of renovation. Municipal heating planning can only work if citizens, tenants' associations and environmental associations are more involved.

- We are calling for an investment offensive in energy-efficient renovations and heating system replacements amounting to 25 billion euros per year. When it comes to heating system replacements, we want to stagger the funding for additional costs according to income: people with low incomes will have up to 100% of the heating system replacement paid for, while people with middle incomes will receive a proportional rate. For a single-person household, for example, we want to reimburse 82 percent of the costs for an annual income of 30,000 euros and 42 percent for an income of 60,000 euros. Top earners with an income of 250,000 euros and above will have to pay for the renovation of their luxury villas themselves.
- Real estate companies are not allowed to use renovations to increase rents. That is why we want to abolish the levy for energy-saving renovations and establish the concept of rent neutrality: the sum of the basic rent and the energy costs actually saved through the renovation must remain the same. We support the joint third model of the Tenants' Association and BUND.
- We want to oblige landlords to take advantage of subsidies and pass on the financial benefits. So far, only 15 percent of them have taken advantage of the subsidies.
- Far too often, real estate companies tear down existing buildings, drive tenants out of their apartments, build new ones and rent them out for twice the price or sell them: This is an ecological

catastrophe and promotes gentrification - we want to ban it. Demolition should only be permitted if the building structure can no longer be saved or if new construction creates many times the previous living space.

- In order to develop solutions at the district and settlement level instead of concepts for each individual house, good municipal heat planning is needed: Collective solutions for heat supply often make sense, especially in urban areas, which is why we want to support cities and municipalities in expanding local and district heating networks. To do this, the real estate companies must submit renovation plans for their existing buildings to the respective municipalities by the end of 2026 at the latest.
- In order to make heat prices independent of market fluctuations and speculation, we are calling for a profit ban on heat networks. The price of heat must not be higher than the actual cost of generating heat.

conserve resources

We consume more resources worldwide than our planet can regenerate. Resource extraction is reaching its natural limits. Green technologies are part of the socio-ecological transformation. But their production is also dependent on raw materials that are not available in sufficient quantities in Germany and Europe. At the same time, more and more energy is being used to extract these resources. Mining often takes place under unacceptable conditions for people and the environment. Our goal is a society that uses resources sparingly. This requires a resource protection law.

- We do not want mining in nature reserves, drinking water protection areas or the deep sea. The local population must be involved in mining projects and value creation - and has the right to say no. This also applies to lithium mining in Saxony. Local people must benefit from mining projects. Environmental protection and drinking water protection must be guaranteed - whether in Germany, Europe or elsewhere in the world.
- We do not want "green colonialism". Green technology must not be based on the exploitation of nature and people in the Global South. That is why we are calling for a stronger supply chain law that contains complaint mechanisms for those affected and liability rules in the event of violations of corporate due diligence obligations, and the consideration of strong social and environmental standards in trade agreements.

More circular economy, less waste

The raw material revolution can only succeed if we use resources for longer and feed them back into production after use - this is how a circular economy is created. To do this, we need stricter specifications for durability and products without predetermined breaking points. We want to repair and reuse instead of throwing away. We want to recycle what really has to go so that we can bring valuable raw materials back into the cycle.

- We demand higher legal recycling quotas and higher usage rates for recycled materials.

- We want new eco-design requirements and a longer warranty period for sustainable products: We set requirements for the service life of products. Updates, upgrades, repairs and reuse must be possible. Long-lasting products need a warranty period that is based on the service life of the product. Information about this should be clearly visible on the product. The burden of proof when purchasing consumer goods must be increased to two years. Recycling products at the end of their life cycle must also be as easy as possible.
- Manufacturers must be responsible for the costs of taking back, transporting, recycling or disposing of their products.

Around 16 million tons of waste are exported from Germany every year – often to the Global South. There it is disposed of and processed under devastating social and ecological conditions.

- We want to move away from waste and towards the recycling of raw materials as part of regional production chains. The amount of waste will be reduced overall: To achieve this, we are calling for far-reaching bans on single-use packaging and, in the remaining cases, levies on manufacturers. In the EU, we are committed to a uniform deposit system for single-use and reusable drinks bottles.
- We want to ban waste exports from the EU. We want to combat the illegal shipping of electronic waste (e-waste) more intensively.
- Waste treatment and disposal must be returned to public ownership as part of the public service. This is the only way to guarantee social and ecological waste management. Collected organic waste must first be fermented to produce biogas before the fermentation residues can be composted.
- Private fireworks (“crackers”) must be reduced to protect people, animals and nature. The amount of waste and the air, soil and water pollution are disproportionate to the benefits. Every year, countless children and adults are injured by the explosive devices.

9. Mobility for all

Traffic jams and stress when travelling by train are increasing - and the transport sector is still not doing anything to help achieve climate targets. The 9-euro ticket now costs 58 euros, trains are late, electric cars are too expensive for average earners and too big to really protect the environment. The 9-euro ticket has just shown that good and affordable public transport is met with great approval.

The traffic light government has made driving more expensive by increasing the price of CO₂. However, alternatives to leaving the car at home have not been created. In many places, the train runs too infrequently and many are overcrowded. More than a third of the routes are not electrified. But the railway is sinking billions of euros into prestige projects such as Stuttgart 21.

The car lobby is calling for e-fuels and an end to combustion engines. But what is needed is exactly the opposite: a consistent mobility transition, the expansion of local public transport and the rail network, as well as low ticket prices, good connections even at night and in rural areas, cities with short distances. This

will also provide planning security for industry and good industrial jobs will be created in rail and vehicle construction (Chapter 8).

Alternatives to flying and driving must work for everyone. Otherwise, no one can leave their car at home. In order to make the large investment needs for transport infrastructure independent of the annual federal budget and thus reliable in the long term, we propose the creation of a cross-modal infrastructure fund based on the Swiss model - with clear multi-year budgets for the individual modes of transport.

Public transport – around the clock, across the area, barrier-free and affordable

The 9-euro ticket has shown that much cheaper local transport is possible and is in demand. People want and need a much better public transport service. One in twenty car journeys could be avoided thanks to the ticket - and it was only available for 3 months. Increasing the subscription price to 58 euros is fatal and the different solutions in the states must be standardized nationwide. A VAT exemption for local public transport will free up money for local transport in the short term.

- We want to reintroduce the 9-euro ticket immediately. We want an immediate 0-euro ticket for schoolchildren, trainees, students and senior citizens. Taking children, bicycles and dogs with you must be included. We demand six free journeys per year on long-distance routes for all subscribers. In the long term, we demand free public transport throughout Germany. We want to replace the commuter allowance with a mobility allowance.
- However, we are abolishing the company car privilege for rich people who use it to buy luxury cars (whether electric or not).
- We are committed to the right to sustainable mobility. This means that every town needs a bus and train connection at least every hour during the day. Services such as community buses or dial-a-ride taxis can be included and supplement the basic services. A basic service must also be available at night, if necessary through on-demand services.
- We want to bring the privatized local transport companies back into public ownership and organize them democratically! Our buses and trains are too important to be left to the market.
- We want to promote public and non-profit car-sharing platforms to enable people to live without their own car. Autonomous driving presents major technological challenges as well as data protection and liability concerns. We therefore have no illusions that autonomous driving can solve mobility problems in the foreseeable future.

- In order to double passenger numbers by 2030, 150,000 drivers will be needed in public transport, and tens of thousands more in rail. More staff can only be achieved with better pay and better working conditions, such as access to clean toilets and sufficient breaks for employees.

The mobility of the future belongs to walking, cycling and public transport. So-called e-fuels are extremely inefficient and expensive. Like biofuels and hydrogen, they will remain scarce in the future and can only be used where there really is no better alternative. For us, biofuels are only an alternative if they are produced regionally and from organic waste or residues and do not compete with food.

- We reject imports of biofuels. They are not a realistic option for private transport, just like e-fuels. That is why the focus on e-cars is the right thing to do. Consumers and industry need long-term planning security, which is why we are sticking to the phasing out of new car sales for combustion engines in accordance with the current EU directive. Where necessary, we promote the switch to efficient e-cars for tradespeople, social services, taxi companies, small businesses and people in rural areas with low incomes.
- To protect people and the climate, we finally need a speed limit of 120 km/h on motorways and 30 km/h in towns - except on main traffic routes. Every traffic fatality or injury is one too many. The Left is committed to Vision Zero. We support the school street model, among others.

Railway: Repair, expand and operate for non-profit purposes!

The railway is a vital part of our society's public services. It is the backbone of public transport. The form of a stock corporation with its profit interests contradicts this. The focus on the common good for the railway's infrastructure division (InfraGo) has only gone halfway. We want a public railway instead of a profit-oriented railway. We want an integrated company instead of a sell-off. We want a railway in the region and a network for the Germany timetable instead of expensive prestige projects.

In order for the railways to run on time and reliably again, the network must be renovated, electrified, and routes must be reactivated and expanded, of course barrier-free. We are sticking to the goal of increasing the share of rail freight transport to at least 25% and doubling rail passenger transport by 2030. It is clear to us that planning and construction capacities are limited. Anyone who wants to expand and renovate railway lines and bridges more quickly must forego the construction of new motorways and extensions. When it comes to road construction, we want to concentrate on renovating existing ones.

A punctual railway not only needs renovated tracks, it also needs enough staff to work. To achieve this, working conditions must become more attractive. The long absences in the driving and train service areas must be shortened and compensated for by additional free time.

- We want affordable train prices! We want to oblige Deutsche Bahn to do this. We want to reduce track access charges and railway electricity tax and abolish VAT for local and long-distance public transport (chapters 1 and 3).
- To achieve this, every major city needs hourly long-distance and night train connections – right across Europe! This way we can make flying on many routes unnecessary.
- We want to ban flights that are shorter than 500 kilometers or five hours by train. New airport capacity is not necessary.
- We want to put an end to social and ecological dumping competition in air transport. We want a uniform kerosene tax in the EU and the full VAT rate should be charged on flight tickets abroad.

The time for excessive luxury of the rich that destroys the climate is over

- We want to ban private jets and mega yachts over 60 meters in length. There must be no public funding for air taxis.
- While some can barely afford to visit relatives abroad, others take short shopping trips to Dubai. Instead of a flat-rate additional tax on flights via the CO2 price, we are calling for a frequent flyer tax.
- We want to reduce freight transport on the road and shift it to rail. Thousands of road bridges are dilapidated; they are simply not designed for the volume and weight of today's truck transports.
- We therefore reject gigaliners and overhead lines for trucks. We need to rethink freight transport. Regional economic cycles avoid unnecessary transport. We are making rail and water the backbone of freight transport. To make this possible, we want to promote rail connections and local logistics centers. Freight transport under 300 kilometers must also be shifted back to rail.
- Good working conditions for truck drivers also mean that there must be decent rest areas. We want to organize rest areas in a way that is geared to the common good again. Overseas ports should cooperate better with each other (national port planning) and have hinterland connections by rail. The federal government must finally take more responsibility for the enormous port investments. Privatization of port infrastructure or its sale to large shipping companies leads to structural dependencies and safety risks. We need good working conditions, regardless of whether freight transport is by road, rail or water.
- We want to shift freight transport to inland waterway transport wherever possible. This requires investment in the dilapidated waterways and associated infrastructure. Where possible, ships must be powered by electricity: near the coast, in inland waterway transport and on short distances.

10. Good education

Educational misery and daycare catastrophe: The German education system is unfair. Children from non-academic households, who usually only have a low income, have less access to good education. In schools, the plaster is crumbling from the ceilings, gyms are closed and the toilets are often unusable. Yet education should be the number one priority for the community! We want to ensure that high-quality, inclusive and lifelong educational opportunities become a matter of course. We want education to be more than just a qualification for the job market. We want education that enables students to go through the world critically and responsibly and enables them to develop their potential and thus contribute to a better society.

The backlog of renovations in schools now amounts to almost 55 billion euros. Universities are short of 74 billion euros for renovations. There is a shortage of teachers and educational staff everywhere. By 2035, 177,500 teachers will be missing. There is currently a shortage of 125,000 skilled workers in daycare centers.

- To change this, we need enough teaching and educational staff so that a reserve of 10 percent can be built up at schools and sickness does not lead to class cancellations or short-term closures. We want to strengthen dual training and offer it nationwide. We want to improve the recognition and qualification of immigrant teachers and promote the training of lateral entrants and those changing careers (including as single-year teachers).
- We want to finally end the investment backlog, and to do this we need a wealth tax (Chapter 3) that flows into the state budgets. Until then, we are calling on the federal government to provide a special fund of 100 billion euros for the renovation, modernization and support of educational institutions in order to quickly remedy the desolate conditions there.
- The ban on cooperation between the federal government and the states in education must be completely lifted and instead a comprehensive joint task of education must be anchored in the Basic Law. Privatization must be ruled out for the education sector.
- We want a framework law for education so that the same minimum social and personnel standards and legal entitlements apply in all federal states.
- Educational institutions, especially daycare centers and schools, must be better protected from heat waves. Investment funds must be made available for this.
- We want school books, digital devices and infrastructure as well as other learning materials to be made available free of charge. We also demand free meals in daycare centers and schools as well as free transport for students so that good education does not depend on money.
- Learning should take place in school. Homework translates social inequality into unequal school success, which is why we want to abolish it. Practicing and consolidating what has been learned and working on exercises take place in school.

Strengthening daycare centers and children

The legal right to a daycare place is not implemented in many places: There is a shortage of 430,000 places nationwide. The daycare groups are too large and the staff are often overworked. Many educators are leaving their profession. We are therefore calling for a daycare quality law that puts children and employees at the center and implements the legal right to a daycare place.

- Better childcare ratios: at least one educator for a maximum of 3 children under 3 years of age and for 7.5 children aged 3 and over – taking into account absence and preparation times and parental work.
- Free daycare: All children must have access to a place, regardless of family income.
- Healthy food: Free, good lunch in all daycare centers and schools.
- Wages in social and educational services must rise! To achieve this, the refinancing of collective agreements must be secured, particularly for the municipal and non-profit sectors. Early childhood education is hard work and important for society.
- We want to facilitate access to educator training and increase the quality of the training.
- We are committed to strengthening competencies in daycare teams, integrating language learning into everyday life and promoting multilingualism.

A school for all

The highly structured German school system continues to promote social inequality. We are committed to a school for everyone. It is organized all day and offers all school qualifications. Our goal: an inclusive school in which all children can learn and grow together, regardless of their origin, need for support or social circumstances.

- The legal right to all-day education must be implemented. All students must have access to high-quality all-day education, ideally at a community school.
- Educational institutions must be barrier-free and should have sufficient skilled staff and equipment suitable for all children.

- We support the multi-teacher system: More teachers per class provide more individual support. Multi-professional teams of teachers, school social workers, psychologists and medical professionals work together to meet the individual needs of students. This makes it possible for several specialists to be available in class.
- Every child has the right to individual support. Regardless of their abilities, we are committed to ensuring that every child is supported in such a way that they can develop to their full potential. However, we do not support cooperation with child and youth services in such a way that labeling them according to their different support needs leads to discrimination and exclusion.
- Strengthen language skills: We want to launch a federal program that enables the training and further education of teachers of German as a second language, as well as language and literacy courses for the parents and siblings of migrant children. We want to expand the range of language learning options in schools and demand that native languages are also recognized as first or second languages in schools.
- Students' rights to co-determination must be expanded.
- School psychologists and social workers must be available nationwide and on a permanent basis at every school.
- Political education, co-determination rights, democracy and participation must be anchored early on in educational institutions and educational content.
- Independence: Ban on advertising and lobbying in schools. No advertising for the Bundeswehr in schools and universities. Against war readiness from the classroom to the lecture hall. Instead, we demand education and information on peace work and civilian alternatives to the Bundeswehr in educational institutions! (Chapter 6)
- We want to improve road safety on the way to school and therefore support, among other things, the school street model.
- The media and data protection competence of children and young people must be promoted as early as possible.
- Learning software must not be used as a replacement for teaching staff. AI must not be used to evaluate or predict learning outcomes. Teachers must be given more training in AI, data protection and digital technology. Digitalization must not become a gateway for companies and their profit interests in schools. The software should meet the standards of open source free software and so-called open educational resources (free learning and teaching materials) should be used preferably.

Train, otherwise you will be killed

Almost 3 million young people in Germany have no school qualifications. Those looking for a training place are often stuck in waiting lists - secondary school students and migrants are particularly disadvantaged. At the same time, companies complain about the lack of skilled workers, but are increasingly less likely to train them themselves. Half of the trainees are overworked because they have to compensate for the lack of workers. The quality and training conditions urgently need to be improved. By 2030, 160,000 additional teachers must be hired in vocational training.

- Solidarity training levy: Companies that do not provide training should pay into a fund to finance training places and joint training for other companies.
- Companies should be obliged to contribute financially to the creation of public housing, such as affordable dormitories for trainees, particularly in rural areas.
- All training should be fully qualified and free of charge. We want there to be no school fees and trainees should receive a minimum training allowance (80 percent of the average training allowance in the industry). After their training, all trainees should be taken on by the companies on a permanent basis without a probationary period.
- School-based training (technical college training according to DQR 6) should be retained. Anyone who completes such a three-year training course should be entitled to the so-called advancement BaföG (AFBG) and should not be subject to any sanctions. The BaföG rate is constantly adjusted to inflation. Institutions that offer such technical college training should be supported by the states.
- Anonymous application procedures should ensure that everyone has the same chances of getting an apprenticeship. The employment agency's criterion of "training readiness" must be abolished. Career preparation measures should end with a binding training offer.
- The Vocational Training Act (BBiG) must be reformed so that the focus is on improving the quality of training and a legal right to fully qualified training is anchored.
- Gender-specific imbalances in the training and labor market are to be overcome through gender-sensitive education and the upgrading of poorly paid jobs with a high proportion of women. Political education, media skills and AI knowledge are to be part of vocational training.
- We want to strengthen the co-determination rights of trainees. Their participation in staff representatives must be guaranteed.
- We support the unions and their youth organizations in their fight for better collective bargaining solutions. Training that is not dual, for example in all social, health and educational professions, must be better paid.

promote further education

We are committed to lifelong and life-long learning: as an offer, not as a requirement for self-optimization. A crucial prerequisite is good working conditions and good pay from the providers in all areas of adult education. We demand a collective agreement for all those employed in further education. Funds must be made available for this. Collective agreements should be able to be declared generally binding at the request of the unions.

- Honorary positions should be converted into permanent positions. Freelance lecturers must receive remuneration in line with the collective agreement.
- When awarding contracts, the employment agencies and other public contracting authorities must take into account the quality of the training offers and ensure good pay and collective bargaining coverage at the level of the collective agreements.
- There should be a legally regulated exemption of employees for various further training courses and not only for professional training.
- People without training should be entitled to extended retraining and to facilitated external examinations so that they can obtain recognized professional qualifications.
- We demand further training funding, not only for employees in transformation sectors (Chapters 7 and 8).

A good study program for everyone

One in three students in Germany is poor. Only 12.5 percent of students benefit from the Federal Training Assistance Act (BAföG). The needs rates are below the poverty line. The Left Party is calling for BAföG for everyone, that is, independent of parents, age and origin, subsistence level, unlimited and as a full grant. The amount must be regularly adjusted to the cost of living and must not be below the poverty line. People with tolerated status or a residence permit for humanitarian reasons should also have access to BAföG.

- The student unions must be adequately funded so that they can reduce semester fees, cafeteria prices and housing costs for students.
- Open up universities: We want access to university with a technical college entrance qualification, vocational training or comparable qualifications should be sufficient. We are against tuition fees, regardless of passport or length of study.
- We demand unbureaucratic recognition of qualifications and simplified access to university for refugees and other students. To achieve this, additional study places must be created.
- Democratic universities: We want effective, democratically constituted student bodies that organize the students. We want to finance, revitalize and re-politicize them accordingly.

- We want to introduce a mentoring program for students from non-academic families.
- Science and Research in Social Responsibility
- We advocate a cooperative learning and research system that focuses on key social issues such as peace, social equality and ecology. This includes secure employment in science. Mass fixed-term contracts through the Science Temporary Employment Act make socially responsible research more difficult.
- We demand permanent positions for permanent tasks, especially for so-called postdocs who take on central tasks in research and teaching. Academic and non-academic staff should have predictable working conditions.
- Budget-funded doctoral positions should last at least six years and offer doctoral candidates sufficient time to complete their dissertation. We want to lift the tariff freeze contained in the Academic Fixed-Term Contract Act.
- Tax funds for research funding should only be awarded to institutions subject to collective agreements.
- We demand basic funding for universities instead of dependence on third-party funding: In this way, we want to ensure academic freedom and prevent a chain of fixed-term employment contracts.
- The Professorship Programme is to be further developed into a programme for the promotion of women at all career levels.
- Student employees must be protected by collective agreements.
- Development and expansion of digital infrastructures at universities: We call for a university digital pact that provides additional financial resources from the federal and state governments.
- We advocate the establishment and expansion of academic cooperation for civil scientific purposes on an equal footing with universities, educational and cultural institutions all over the world. Scientific cooperation in research should contribute to promoting peace. We want to secure and expand programs for international exchange and, above all, for the protection of politically persecuted and endangered scientists.
- We want to anchor civil clauses at all universities and research institutions and promote peace research.
- We want to promote pluralistic economic approaches more strongly at universities. The current crises of the economic system are also due to the dominance of neoclassical theories in economics.
- Contracts between universities and private companies or foundations must be disclosed. Public research funds must not be misused for the purposes of individual enrichment.
- We oppose any political interference by the Ministry of Education in the allocation of funding to scientists.

11. Agricultural revolution now!

We need a social and ecological agricultural revolution that deserves its name. The Left is fighting for a socially just and common good-oriented agriculture that protects the climate and nature and is compatible with animal welfare.

We stand by the side of farmers. They do work that is essential for society to survive. People who work in agriculture must be able to make a good living from it. To achieve this, we want to protect land from speculation and provide social security for farmers.

We do not want to continue to put large corporations at the center of agricultural policy, but rather the supply of people with good, affordable food. While the food companies are raking in extra profits and fueling inflation, farmers can barely make a living from their produce. A few are getting richer, while the vast majority have to pay higher prices for food.

- Regional processing and marketing structures: This is our counter-strategy to the monopoly-like market power of slaughterhouse, dairy and retail groups. This requires fair supply relationships and strong and effective antitrust law. Monopolies must be unbundled and price watchdogs must be able to take action (see Chapter 1). Where necessary, we want to protect farmers with minimum producer prices.
- Good working conditions and income: We want comprehensive collective agreements in agriculture, forestry and fishing, with a minimum wage and social insurance also for seasonal workers.
- Regional economic cycles: development of regional slaughtering and processing capacities, support for regional marketing initiatives, citizens' councils and fraud-proof state regional seals.
- Agriculture in harmony with nature: This is only possible if the high production standards of the domestic agricultural sector are protected from cheap imports from third countries that do not meet our standards. Free trade agreements are pointing in the wrong direction. There needs to be clear labelling of the origin of food.
- Ban patents on life, prevent the cultivation of genetically modified plants: Even the so-called modern methods of genetic engineering, such as gene scissors, must be subject to the same controls and regulations as the older methods.
- Ban glyphosate and neonicotinoids: By 2030, the use of pesticides should be reduced by at least 50 percent. We want transparency and a strict set of rules for the approval of pesticides. Through an ambitious pesticide reduction strategy and the development of fertilizer alternatives, we support agricultural companies in their ecological conversion. Instead of mega-barns, we want area-based animal husbandry (maximum 1.5 large livestock units per hectare) for the well-being of people and animals, thus reducing the number of livestock in Germany. This reduces over-fertilization and water bodies are less polluted.

- Farmland does not belong in the hands of speculators and investors who do not come from agriculture: We stand for an agricultural structure law that strengthens communal and public ownership of land and protects farmers.
- Socially acceptable restructuring of animal husbandry: for more animal welfare, climate protection and environmental protection. We want high minimum standards for all animal species, an expansion of federal funding for animal welfare-relevant restructuring of husbandry systems, no live animal transports over four hours and decentralized slaughter structures without piecework wages. More frequent unannounced inspections and tougher penalties for violations of animal welfare are necessary. We want to close down large meat factories.
- Simplify reporting and application processes: High environmental and consumer protection standards in agriculture are important to us. They must be checked regularly. The principle of linking agricultural funding to high environmental standards is correct. However, farmers often have to submit unnecessarily complex and sometimes redundant applications for funding and send them to various state, federal and EU authorities. We want to simplify and digitalize the application process for funding across the EU so that farmers have to spend less time at their desks.

Affordable and healthy food for everyone

Good nutrition is a question of social justice. We want agriculture and food production that protects the climate and the environment and provides everyone with high-quality products. The Left wants affordable, healthy and sustainable food to be guaranteed for everyone.

- Public institutions should source their food regionally and in an environmentally friendly manner and adhere to the recommendations of the German Nutrition Society. This requires state subsidies.
- We call for the abolition of VAT on basic foodstuffs and effective controls so that the tax reduction is passed on to consumers (Chapter 1).
- Food in stores needs a uniform state label that takes climate, environment, animal welfare, health and social aspects into account. This must be visible and transparent everywhere. We are calling for more food inspections and the publication of the results on the Internet. In the case of serious violations, these should be published on the shop door.
- We demand a ban on advertising and marketing of unhealthy foods, especially for children and young people. The sugar content, especially in soft drinks, must be regulated and limited without placing a burden on consumers.
- Plant-based alternative foods, such as meat or dairy products, must be recognized as staple foods and thus exempt from VAT (Chapter 1).

- Food waste should be banned (Chapter 1), as should speculation with food (Chapter 6).
- Containering must finally be decriminalized.

Stop species extinction, protect nature and the oceans

We want to preserve our natural resources and restore destroyed ecosystems: clean, pollutant-free water, soil and air and growing biodiversity. Only an intact natural environment can ensure life for us humans.

- The funds for natural climate protection must be doubled. We are thus investing in the restoration of ecosystems and combining climate protection with nature conservation. International species and nature conservation agreements must be consistently implemented. We want to expand protected areas such as Natura 2000 and wilderness areas: Germany is one of the worst-placed countries in Europe when it comes to strictly protected areas. We are calling for 5 percent of wilderness areas.
- We demand a positive list for keeping pets in order to protect exotic animals from being taken from the wild.

The Left supports the idea of recognizing nature as a legal entity. We demand an enforceable ecological human right to a natural environment without ecological damage and an extension of the existing collective action rights. Every person should be able to represent the interests and concerns of nature in court - as is already the case in practice and in the constitutions of several Latin American countries.

Water is a Human Right

With climate change, conflicts over distribution are becoming more acute. Do we want to use water for growing food and public swimming pools or for golf courses and private swimming pools? The Left is on the side of the majority of people on these issues: the common good before profit interests. Water belongs in the hands of the citizens. The public sector must guarantee access for all at fair prices.

- When planning and implementing large industrial projects such as Tesla in Grünheide, the local and regional water supply must be guaranteed. The long-term supply of drinking water to the population must not be jeopardized.

- We need a near-natural renaturation of water bodies and an action plan for low-water protection in order to guarantee the water supply, but also life in water bodies. The revitalization of moors and the re-establishment of alluvial forests also serve this purpose.

Protecting the Oceans

The world's oceans make up around 73 percent of our planet's surface area. They provide habitats for animals and plants, are sources of food, regulate the climate and produce oxygen. Every year, 8 million tons of garbage end up in the oceans. Oil and gas extraction poisons the water, overfishing and global warming destroy habitats.

- In September 2024, Germany signed the UN High Seas Convention, which protects high seas. The agreement must be ratified quickly. By 2030, 30 percent of the world's marine areas must be protected.
- The Left is committed to ensuring that fishing is effectively regulated and that the protection of the oceans is enforced with binding standards and tough sanctions. Fishing subsidies should be linked to sustainable, social and animal welfare standards.
- The pollution of the oceans through waste disposal and discharges from agriculture and industry must be drastically reduced. We want to ban deep-sea mining internationally.
- Commercial whaling must be stopped. Germany should exert influence on Norway, Iceland and Japan in particular to end the hunt for whales. Violations of the international whaling ban must be punished.

Protecting Animals

The Left stands for a fundamental change in the way humans and animals live together. Animals are not things and not a means of profit, but sentient beings. Animal welfare must be enforced independently of profit interests: from agriculture to research laboratories.

- We are committed to a comprehensive reform of the Animal Welfare Act. The law should be better enforced and provide for harsher penalties.

- We demand the introduction of an independent Federal Animal Welfare Commissioner who will be involved in legislation. We want to strengthen animal welfare associations and organizations.
- We need an ambitious and concrete plan to phase out animal testing. Animal testing that is extremely stressful must be banned immediately.
- The trade in animals must be strictly regulated. Anonymity on the Internet, poaching and the illegal trade in wild animals must be combated. We want to ban the production and import of fur.
- We protect wild animals by connecting biotopes. We reduce wildlife accidents through animal corridors, fences and speed limits.
- The standards of keeping animals in zoos, businesses and households must be adapted to the animals. Social animals must not be kept alone. We want to ban dolphinariums, wild animals in circuses and keeping animals at fairs. We are fighting for a ban on importing animals that cannot be kept in a species-appropriate manner in zoos and aquariums. Animals caught in the wild must not be sold in pet shops.
- We want to ban cruel breeding practices and medically unnecessary interventions in physical integrity.

12. Plannable life and strong communities

In the city as well as in the country, a basic range of public services is essential. You have to be able to rely on the bus running and that you can withdraw money and buy bread on foot or by bike. Nobody wants to drive 30 kilometers to the daycare center or the doctor's office. It's good if there are places nearby where something is happening and where more is possible than just walking and watching Netflix. It's obvious that the market doesn't regulate this. In recent decades, the infrastructure has been systematically cut to pieces. The focus on profit has meant that nothing works anymore. The corner pub stays closed when people can no longer afford to go there. The result: those who can move away, and the services don't come back. In order for public services to work again, privatization and cuts must stop.

The supply of basic things must finally work again! A good, affordable offer in public services must be the minimum. But we want much more: with good public services we create a high quality of life for everyone and not just for a few. At the moment, supply is a question of class: those who drive luxury cars do not need local transport. Those who have a swimming pool do not need public swimming pools. Good public services, on the other hand, benefit everyone. We demand:

- Municipalities must be able to provide the necessary social infrastructure. For this we need an infrastructure guarantee: buses, bakeries, a place to withdraw cash, doctor's offices and meeting places must be available in every town. Swimming pools and sports facilities, youth centers, homeless assistance and school psychologists are an indispensable part of public services. To do this, municipalities must be adequately funded. As an emergency aid program, municipalities in financial crises should be able to receive funds from a federal fund for a minimum level of social infrastructure.

- Municipal budgets must be relieved of the burden of social benefits. These must be borne in full by the federal government. Costs incurred by the federal government or the states must also be financed by them (connectivity).
- The traffic light coalition promised to relieve the municipalities of their debts, but nothing has happened. In order to make municipalities capable of acting again, they must be freed from budgetary security concepts, budget consolidations and emergency budgets. A nationwide municipal debt relief package is needed. The Left Party is in favor of reforming the trade tax and converting it into a municipal business tax. There should be a higher minimum assessment rate for municipalities (350 percent) in order to avoid tax dumping by individual municipalities at the expense of the general public.
- Funding even without the municipalities' own resources: If municipalities can only access funding if they make their own contributions, the municipalities that most urgently need the funding are excluded. We want to make federal programs for municipalities permanent and reduce bureaucratic hurdles!
- Municipalities must be able to perform their tasks more independently, instead of transferring them to private providers! Local energy suppliers and municipal housing companies should not have to make profits in order to balance municipal budgets. We are calling for a remunicipalization fund from federal funds that municipalities and states can use to bring privatized companies back into public ownership and operate them on a non-profit basis.
- We want to strengthen self-government and local participation and increase the scope for local authorities.
- We are committed to car-free inner cities - of course with exceptions for people with special needs or for delivery traffic. Whether on the way to the next stop or train station or from A to B, it should be pleasant and safe to move around on foot or by bike. Facilities for everyday supplies should be within 15 minutes' walk in all locations. We are committed to more space on the streets, more safe and intact cycle and pedestrian paths and more bicycle parking facilities. Germany needs a comprehensive nationwide cycle network.
- The so-called "smart city" must not remain a business model for large corporations. New technologies belong in the hands of citizens in order to improve their participation in the development of their living environment.
- As global warming increases, we must redesign our cities. The heat in summer becomes unbearable and a threat to health and life. Drinking water shortages are becoming more and more common. This particularly affects people who work outdoors, but also children on playgrounds and the elderly. Climate adaptation and disaster protection must be defined as self-evident tasks of public services.
- We want more public parks and green spaces, allotments and community gardens to combat the heat, public toilets and water dispensers. To achieve this, we need to strengthen the allotment system. We want to expand the greening of buildings and areas, as plants have a cooling effect. We need to push ahead with the removal of surface sealing, cities need to become sponge cities and be protected from flood disasters. We want to improve the exchange of air between the city and the surrounding area through better spatial planning.

- We want to socialize care work! In order to ensure local supplies in the residential area, we want to transfer vacant businesses (especially large commercial areas such as shopping malls or department stores) into municipal or cooperative hands and transform them into care centers. They should relieve people's burdens by offering support for caring relatives and easily accessible social services such as health advice, educational advice and administrative help. There is also a need for places where people can meet without having to buy or consume anything.
- Urban development funding must be based on the model of an inclusive and barrier-free city in which all people with and without disabilities can live together on an equal basis. This includes universal design (design for all or benefit-for-all concept) in accordance with Article 2 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.
- Federal regulations should enable city planners to give greater consideration to open spaces, such as club culture, that are available for participatory and experimental use.

We also demand for all cities and municipalities:

- An education system that fights injustice instead of reinforcing it. We want to push forward the development of an infrastructure that relieves the burden on families and is easily accessible. Good schools and daycare centers must be a matter of course in all parts of the city (Chapter 10).
- Punctual buses and trains that also travel regularly to the surrounding areas and will be free of charge in the future (Chapter 9).
- Access for all to predominantly locally and publicly produced, inexpensive energy at socially staggered prices (Chapters 1 and 8).
- Aligning health care and nursing with the needs of patients and employees rather than with competition, cost pressure and profit. We support model projects for new forms of care such as existing and emerging community health centers and polyclinics (Chapter 5).
- Affordable housing for all (Chapter 2).

13. Justice for East Germany

The people of East Germany have achieved a lot in the last 35 years. After the industrial and social devastation and mass unemployment after reunification, they have built a new life for themselves. But the sell-off by the Treuhand is still having an impact: apart from a few lighthouse regions, the East German states are still the largest contiguous structurally weak region in Germany. Incomes are on average 17 percent lower than in the West, and pensions are 150 euros lower than in West Germany, even after 40 years of insurance. East Germans are significantly less represented in management positions, and the traffic light government has not changed this. East Germans work as hard as everyone else, but they don't get the same in return. That must finally change!

- One in four East Germans has to make do with an income just above the minimum wage. Almost 30 percent of East Germans worked for less than 14 euros per hour. Equal pay for equal work must also apply between East and West! The statutory minimum wage must be raised to at least

15 euros (to 16 euros by 2026 at the latest) and collective bargaining must be strengthened so that everyone can make a good living from their work (Chapter 7).

- Secure pensions and the same pension for the same lifetime achievement! The conversion factor for eastern pensions must be continued until 2030 or until the point at which the average wages in the first eastern state are higher than in a western state. We demand a legal correction of the pension transfer. The lifetime achievements of eastern German pensioners from the affected groups of people and professions must be recognized through one-off compensation payments from a "justice fund" to be set up.
- Reliable investment plans must secure the economic transformation, especially in the automotive regions, and create new jobs in the construction and maintenance of rail vehicles. We are protecting employees with employment companies and income guarantees. Economic and social councils can continue the tradition of round tables in eastern Germany. We want to strengthen and promote cooperative economic forms, company takeovers by the workforce and municipally owned companies, among other things through our investment fund for industry (Chapter 8).
- Municipalities need reliable financing for local public services. We want to create social centers in all communities that offer support and services such as banking and postal services as well as internet access. Health care by local doctors, outpatient clinics and hospitals must be guaranteed across the board and the deforestation must be stopped (Chapter 12). We demand bus and train connections in every village, connections at least every hour and on-call services at night (see Chapter 9).
- With our solidarity training levy (see Chapter 10), we are also strengthening training companies in eastern Germany. This will particularly benefit small and medium-sized companies in rural areas. In this way, we are enabling young people to receive good training close to their home town.

14. Establish gender equality – redistribute work, achieve self-determination

Many women are still denied the right to a self-determined life. On average, they receive less money and are almost twice as likely to work in the low-wage sector. We see ourselves as a socialist and feminist party and strive for comprehensive equality between all genders. Our goal is the fair redistribution of unpaid and paid work, of domestic and paid work, as well as of social, political, cultural and economic power resources between all genders. For us, that means gender equality.

- Promote a reduction in working hours with full pay compensation. There should be enough time in life for paid work, family, caring for children, partners and friends, political engagement, individual further education, leisure and culture. If everyone reduces their working hours to "near-full-time part-time" (mostly men) or increases them (mostly women), everyone benefits. "Near-full-time part-time" must become the "new normal working hours" in the public sector, e.g. in hospitals, nursing homes, garbage collection, public transport or daycare centers. We support the unions in all sectors in their demands for a shorter weekly working time or a four-day week with full pay and necessary staff compensation in all sectors.

- We want to make tax policy more gender-equitable and are committed to reforming the tax splitting system for married couples towards individual taxation with a transferable basic allowance. In this way, we counteract old gender roles in tax policy.
- We are committed to the demand for political parity. We are committed to a provision in the electoral law that requires 50 percent of list positions and mandates in public elections to be allocated to women.
- Physical and reproductive self-determination for everyone are key prerequisites for self-determined family and life planning. Therefore, the decision against pregnancy must be possible without constraints, obstacles and stigmatization. Section 218 of the Criminal Code must be deleted without replacement. The care situation for unwanted pregnancies must be improved throughout Germany. Counseling services must be voluntary rather than compulsory. Abortion must be considered a medical procedure that is part of health care.
- All contraceptive methods should be paid for by health insurance companies.
- Self-determination during birth: In some regions, freedom of choice during birth is no longer possible because clinical obstetrics has been centralized or freelance obstetrics have been eliminated. Natural births are less profitable, and the rate of caesarean sections is therefore drastically higher. Without care close to home, children may be born on the way. Due to staff shortages and overload, several births often have to be attended to at the same time. We demand good, comprehensive care in obstetric medicine and obstetrics.
- A basic set of menstrual products should be provided free of charge in all public facilities.
- Self-employed pregnant women need fair financial protection. We are committed to ensuring that maternity protection and maternity benefits for the self-employed are enshrined in law.
- Artificial insemination (fertility treatment) must be available to everyone, regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity, marriage or relationship status, including single people. It must be (partially) financed by statutory health insurance companies.
- The Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence must finally be fully implemented in Germany. To do this, the coordination office for the implementation of the Istanbul Convention must begin its work and the overall strategy for combating and preventing violence against women must be implemented. Women's shelters must be financed in a needs-based, case-independent and reliable manner. Protection and advice must be available to all women and their children everywhere in Germany, free of charge, anonymously, at a flat rate and without barriers. The Violence Protection Act and the regulations on access and custody rights partially contradict each other. It must be made clear here that protection against violence against women and children takes priority over the regulation of access.
- Gender-based violence against women is not a private phenomenon. We demand that the principle "Only yes means yes" be anchored in society and law and that targeted action be taken against networks of sexualized violence. Protection against gender-based violence must be understood as a cross-cutting task that is considered and taken into account in all political areas.
- The law on the elimination of violence and harassment in the workplace must also be implemented in company practice. We therefore want to add the aspects of "violence" and "sexual harassment" to the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

- We want to examine all new laws for their impact on gender equality. The federal government must adopt a cross-departmental and long-term equality strategy.
- We want to make March 8th a national holiday.

Queer Emancipation

Queer struggles have achieved a lot. But hostility, discrimination and violence against queer people continue to exist and are increasing again. Right-wing extremist attacks on queer demonstrations and spaces are increasing. The left is fighting for diversity and freedom. We are fighting for freedom and emancipation not to be tied to one's wallet. Without good social security for everyone, without fully funded queer projects and anti-discrimination work, queer people will not be able to live truly self-determined lives.

- Queer places such as youth centers, projects, bars and clubs must be protected - also from excessive rents and cuts in state subsidies. Queer youth work must become a mandatory municipal task. Queer self-organization must be strengthened - also in rural areas.
- Article 3 of the Basic Law must be expanded to include protection of sexual orientation and gender identity.
- Studies show that queer people are paid less on average. Effective measures are needed, such as the self-organization of queer people in companies, the conclusion of company or service agreements and the work of complaints bodies in accordance with the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG).
- The Self-Determination Act (SBGG) is inadequate in its current form and must be improved. Absurd regulations, such as those relating to war or racist exclusions (such as of refugees), must be removed.
- Anti-queer violence and discrimination must be combated everywhere. This requires a fully funded "Living Queer" action plan. In addition, we want a nationwide anti-discrimination law and an amendment to the General Equal Treatment Act.
- We want there to be comprehensive healthcare for queer people, and for this to be guaranteed by law, especially for trans* people, and also covered by health insurance companies. The quality of care must not depend on where you live. There needs to be comprehensive medical care, and the corresponding facilities and services must also be low-threshold and non-discriminatory. Access options, for example to pre-exposure prophylaxis and hormone preparations, must be expanded. To achieve this, needs-based, local care by specialists must be established.
- Rainbow families must be treated equally to other types of families. The law of descent must be reformed because it discriminates against queer families.

15. For a country in which everyone can have a say

We want a country in which everyone can help shape and have a say and has equal rights. No one should be excluded! We support everyone who is affected by discrimination, agitation and right-wing violence. If enemies of democracy want to restrict our rights, we will counter this with more participation and broad civil society alliances to defend our democracy, cosmopolitanism and social justice. But we will not remain silent when so-called "centre" parties adopt the slogans and rhetoric of the right-wing radicals, but will loudly protest against this normalization of right-wing extremist ideas. We stand against anti-Semitism, anti-feminism and racism in all forms and no matter where it comes from.

Antifascism means putting the radical right in its place at all levels and using all democratic means and fighting the conditions that made the shift to the right possible and continue to promote it. We are committed to more direct democracy, to measures against lobbying and to more transparency. No democracy without free speech! The Left defends freedom of opinion, freedom of the press and freedom of science. This includes the protection of whistleblowers! Without these freedoms there can be no democratic discourse.

- We want to introduce popular initiatives, referendums and popular votes, citizens' initiatives, citizens' petitions and citizens' votes at the federal level. The expansion of co-determination rights also includes the introduction of referendums, i.e. citizens can veto parliamentary decisions. We want to support, strengthen and promote the citizens' councils, an instrument developed by civil society, whereby randomly selected people from the middle of society raise questions and develop solutions to various problems.
- The Left is committed to lowering the voting age to 16 in all democratic decision-making processes at European, federal, state and local levels. The Left is committed to the right to vote at all levels, including for people without German citizenship who have been living in Germany for at least five years.
- The right to demonstrate is a fundamental right in a democracy and must not be restricted. Protests against the climate catastrophe, for peace or against right-wing migration policies receive our support, even if they adopt methods of civil disobedience.

Protection and civil rights instead of surveillance

Many citizens need security in their coexistence, in life planning and in public. The Left supports a broad concept of security that is also based on prevention and social justice. Security concepts - especially in public spaces - must be comprehensive, understandable and effective. They must really protect people instead of suspecting them in general, controlling them and monitoring them without cause and across the board. A one-sided focus on ever more surveillance measures and stricter criminal laws, on the other hand, does not lead to greater security. Freedom must not be played off against security.

We do not want a security policy that intrudes on people's privacy. Instead, the criminal police and public prosecutors must be enabled to keep pace with the dynamic development of crime: from economic crime to cyber attacks to manipulation using AI and algorithms in social media. Security must be appropriate to the district: the police must be approachable and act in a de-escalating manner. Homeless people and addicts will not be helped by being pushed out of inner cities; they need better support services and a strengthening of social work.

- We want to replace the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution with an independent monitoring center for "authoritarianism and group-related misanthropy." As a first step, the domestic secret service's undercover agent system and its entanglements with the extreme right must be uncovered and ended.
- Effectively enforce data protection! We want to secure the right to informational self-determination: against data retention, inventory data disclosure and online searches (state trojans), non-individualized cell tower queries, dragnet searches (including by cell phone), ubiquitous video surveillance, spying and wiretapping. We want to prohibit biometric video surveillance and chat controls.
- Security before security packages! The multitude of new powers for investigative authorities is a gateway for so-called "racial profiling": controls and prosecutions based on racist stereotypes. We reject the idea that external characteristics such as skin color, presumed or actual religious affiliation, language or origin of the people concerned are classified as suspicious and used as a basis for decisions on police measures such as identity checks, investigations and surveillance.
- For large public and private events, we demand that awareness concepts to protect against sexual violence must be used as part of security concepts.
- Stop special criminal law! The anti-terror legislation of the federal governments of the past 30 years needs to be examined in terms of civil rights. Fighting crime and warding off dangers is the job of the law enforcement authorities. There is no need for political special criminal law for this.
- Repressive measures must not be a means for the state to restrict the scope of permissible democratic expression of opinion. We reject professional bans, preventive detention or confession clauses when awarding public funding.

Police in the Constitutional State

Security is a basic social right. Police officers need good working conditions and good, modern training. Modern staff participation is also part of this. Appropriate training also includes imparting knowledge about the nature of group-related misanthropy. The Berlin Participation Act is to be transferred to the federal level in order to increase the proportion of people with a migration background, especially in the federal police.

- Psychological support for police officers is to be improved. Continuing disadvantages for officers from the East are to be eliminated. Pension entitlements acquired after reunification must be fully maintained if pensions and benefits do not reach the general maximum limit.
- De-escalation instead of rearmament! We reject the militarization of the police, their increasing equipment with machine guns and pistols, armored personnel carriers and explosives, as well as the use of "less lethal weapons" such as tasers and rubber bullets. Armed special operations units (SEK) must not be deployed at demonstrations. We want to massively restrict the use of pepper spray by the police. It should be banned in connection with meetings, gatherings in public spaces and events.
- We demand that politicians be required to wear individual identification. It must become a matter of course that police officers confront citizens in an individually recognizable manner. In order to investigate and prevent attacks, operational records and police videos should be kept by trust agencies.

Independence of politics – limiting the power of lobbyists

In the 2021 federal election campaign, the parties received over 100 million euros in party donations. In twelve EU countries, donations from companies or legal entities to parties are prohibited. In another 13 EU countries, such donations are subject to upper limits. Germany is lagging behind. The Left is the only party in the Bundestag that does not accept financial donations from corporations. And that is how it will stay.

- The Federal Government's draft laws must be accompanied by a list of the interest groups and experts whose opinions were taken into account in the drafting and development of the law or who otherwise contributed (legislative footprint).
- Members of parliament must be prohibited from accepting donations. Members of parliament's additional income must be published in detail and promptly. We want to ban corporate donations to parties and tax-deductible party sponsorship (such as corporate stands at party conferences). Donations from private individuals must be limited to 25,000 euros per year. Even subsequent "thank you donations" with the aim of improving the lobbyist's image must be fully punishable as bribery of members of parliament.
- Federal ministers and parliamentary state secretaries must wait at least three years after leaving office, or for the duration of their entitlement to transitional allowance, before moving to companies whose economic interests they were previously politically involved with.
- No lobbying in schools! If research and institutions or even individual studies are paid for by lobbyists, this must be made transparent.

- If MPs hold shares in individual companies, they must disclose these company holdings at the beginning of their mandate in order to ensure transparency with regard to their political work in Parliament.

Strengthening the rights of minorities

There are four recognized minorities living in Germany. We want to strengthen their rights and opportunities for participation and anchor them in the Basic Law. They must all have the right to speak their languages (including in public offices and in court).

- Racism against Sinti and Roma must be effectively combated. To do this, we will need a commissioner for the fight against antiziganism at the federal level in the future. The crimes against Sinti and Roma must be adequately taken into account in the culture of remembrance. The process of coming to terms with the "second persecution" of Sinti and Roma after 1945 must finally begin.
- In addition to members of the Sorbian and Wendish minorities, members of the Danish and Frisian minorities in Germany will also have the right to use their mother tongue in court in the future.

religious freedom

We defend the right to freedom of religion: the right to freedom of belief, conscience and freedom of religious and ideological belief. We defend Jews, Muslims and all other religious minorities when they are discriminated against because of their religion. We advocate the institutional separation of state and religion and the equal treatment of all religions and ideologies. We are against state preference for Christian religious communities and churches.

- The Left supports the struggle of the trade unions and churches for a Sunday without paid work.
- Together with the trade unions, we demand the abolition of special labour laws in the churches as well as in the Diakonie and Caritas.
- The human right to freedom of religion includes the right to publicly profess a religion. The Left defends the right of self-determination of Muslim women, speaks out against a ban on religiously motivated clothing and rejects any restriction of employees' rights on this basis.

- Freedom of religion also includes the right not to believe. We are committed to the equality and freedom of atheists in all states and societies.
- We want ethics classes in which all students with their different ideological, cultural and religious backgrounds can discuss ethical issues together.
- We want to replace military chaplaincy in its current form with a pastoral care contract for all members of the Bundeswehr, which guarantees equal care by all religious and ideological communities.
- In the future, the churches should collect their taxes and contributions independently. We support the constitutional mandate that has existed since 1919 to replace state payments to the churches. In a society that is ideologically and religiously diverse, everyone must have the same opportunities for financing. We support the equal treatment of all religious and ideological communities as equal corporations under public law.
- In the fight against anti-Muslim racism, we demand a Commissioner for Muslim Life.
- We demand the introduction of state-protected holidays for Jewish and Muslim religious communities. The Muslim festival of Eid al-Fitr and the most important Jewish holiday, Yom Kippur, should become public holidays in Germany, because Islam and Judaism belong to Germany.

16. Stop the extreme right!

The political forces that stir up social hatred, advocate inequality and see human life as having different values are growing louder. The fact that the government has given in to right-wing demands on the right to flee and asylum has made the right stronger, not weaker. Instead, we need social policies for all people and massive investments in the public infrastructure that holds society together. All people are equal and have the same basic rights. We will never deviate from this fundamental principle. The extreme right has become broader and more diverse and today draws on a wide variety of ideological sources, networks and echo chambers. Terrorism based on religion or ideology can also never claim legitimacy.

- Strengthen the opposing forces in civil society! Protest and education against right-wing extremism are a prerequisite for democracy and must no longer be criminalized. Mobile counseling projects against right-wing extremism, victim counseling and civil society democracy alliances, migrant self-organizations and anti-fascist initiatives must be given greater support and long-term financial security with a real, effective democracy promotion law. We want to strengthen political education.
- We will push ahead with the parliamentary investigation of right-wing terrorism in the Bundestag and put pressure on all secret service files, including those on the Oktoberfest attack and the NSU complex, to finally be released.
- We demand the ban of militant, armed, neo-Nazi organizations and support the demand for an examination of an AfD ban by the Federal Constitutional Court.
- We are committed to an anti-fascist culture of remembrance in order to preserve the memory of all victims of the past and present. This includes the fight for recognition and remembrance of the victims of National Socialism who have been forgotten or denied for decades, such as the millions

of Soviet prisoners of war or those people who were marked with the green or black "triangle" in the concentration camps.

- We want to make Article 139 of the Basic Law against National Socialism and militarism more precise with an anti-fascist clause. The revival of National Socialist ideology and actions undertaken with the intention of disrupting the peaceful coexistence of peoples are unconstitutional.
- Memorials and places of remembrance are important for collective remembrance and for coming to terms with the Nazi dictatorship. We are calling on the federal government to provide stronger and permanent financial support for these institutions as an important part of political education work. Small memorials and satellite camps in particular are at risk of decay and thus the loss of important historical sites.
- May 8th should finally become a nationwide holiday as the day of liberation from fascism.

17. For a fair immigration society, defend the right to asylum

The Left stands for a solidarity-based immigration society in which all people have the same rights and opportunities regardless of passport, origin, skin color, cultural or religious affiliation. We fight against anti-Semitism, anti-gypsyism, anti-Muslim racism, anti-black racism and every other form of racism and for an end to structural and institutional discrimination. Exclusions permeate all areas of life, especially our education system, the job and housing market and public administration. Everyone must have full access to social, political and cultural rights. Our vision is a fair and open society in which equal participation is a matter of course.

The right-wing migration debate makes migrants and refugees into scapegoats for failed policies in the interests of the rich. Instead of a debate between "us" and "the others" that pits people against each other, Die Linke is guided by the model of a democratic and social immigration society that focuses on human dignity. In order to shape this and enable refugees to settle in well, appropriate legal, financial and structural frameworks must be created so that municipalities in particular are not left alone with the tasks of care, accommodation and integrative services.

More investment is needed in public infrastructure and social cohesion, i.e. better equipment, better working conditions and more staff in schools, daycare centres, housing, health, administration, youth and cultural centres (Chapter 12).

- We demand that all refugees receive an unrestricted work permit from the day they arrive in Germany. No one should have to wait to take their life into their own hands.
- We want a fund for welcoming communities. Communities that want to improve the conditions for a welcoming culture can use it to apply for funds for the care and participation of refugees. These investment funds can then be used generally for public services. In addition, the federal government must fully reimburse the accommodation costs for refugees through a flat rate per person.

- We want to accommodate refugees in decentralized housing across the country and offer them free language courses across the board. Instead of discriminatory benefits in kind and payment cards, we want regular cash benefits at the level of the solidarity minimum income for everyone.

No one flees voluntarily

The chaos at the European borders is the result of political failure. We will not accept that thousands of people die at the European borders every year. We want safe, legal ways to enter the EU. This deprives people smugglers of their business basis. The Geneva Refugee Convention, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the European Convention on Human Rights must be observed.

- Save people! The EU's isolation agency Frontex must be dissolved and replaced by a civilian European sea rescue program. We want to use existing instruments for monitoring the Mediterranean and the external borders to support sea rescue. The criminalization of civil society sea rescue must be stopped immediately.
- Pushbacks are illegal and must end.
- Refugee deals with Turkey, with militias and dictators must be terminated (Chapter 6).
- The right to asylum is a human right. We reject all previous tightening of asylum law. Individual access to asylum procedures and legal protection must also be guaranteed for asylum seekers at the EU's external borders. We reject fast-track procedures and the detention of asylum seekers (whether in so-called return, transit, controlled centers or "hotspots"). The European Court of Human Rights has ruled that asylum seekers need access to effective legal protection at the border. In Germany, there must be independent advice on the asylum procedure provided by welfare organizations and associations.
- We want uniform protection standards at a high level. Responsibility must not be shifted using safe third country or country of origin regulations. We reject the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). Persecution because of sexual orientation and of trans* and intersex people (LGBTIQA*) must be recognized in practice as a reason for fleeing. Systematic internal border controls and rejections of people seeking protection at the borders are inadmissible.
- Nobody flees voluntarily! We demand that climate and environmental damage as well as poverty be recognized as reasons for fleeing and that humanitarian visas be issued accordingly. There is a need for comprehensive admission quotas through the UNHCR resettlement program and the lifting of the visa requirement for those seeking protection.
- We want a European refugee levy. Countries, regions and cities that are prepared to take in more refugees and provide them with adequate accommodation and care will receive financial support from EU funds.
- Combating the causes of flight: Instead of continuing to systematically export the causes of flight such as weapons, environmental and climate destruction and poverty, we want to overcome global

injustices, support democracy and social movements from below and effectively help people in need.

We are an immigration society – and we must be.

We will only be able to meet the major challenges of more staff in health, care, education and upbringing, sufficient affordable housing, functioning local transport, and social and ecological restructuring of the economy together. Not by making our neighbours scapegoats for the shortcomings of government policy. For a fair immigration society, the obstacles to a good arrival and full participation in society must be removed. People with a migration background are represented in all areas of society and do valuable work - entire areas of life would immediately collapse without them.

- Therefore, residence and work permits are needed regardless of length of employment and employer, as well as comprehensive controls to enforce the minimum wage. Qualifications and degrees of non-EU citizens must also be recognized more quickly.
- We want active and passive voting rights at all levels for all people living in Germany for a long time. All children and young people born here should receive German citizenship. It is good that the naturalization reform generally allows multiple citizenship, but the high income hurdles have been made more stringent. We want naturalization to no longer depend on your financial situation. After five years of residence in the Federal Republic, everyone should have a legal right to naturalization. We demand legalization options for people without a residence status and effective residence permit regulations for people who have to live with an uncertain residence status or with successive tolerations.
- We reject deportations, especially in times of war, persecution and misery or as a form of double punishment. Regardless of their residence status, criminals must be subject to regular criminal proceedings in the country and, if necessary, serve prison sentences in the country.
- We want a federal participation law to better include people with a migration background and to represent them more in society. This includes a quota to increase the proportion of people with a migration background in public administration in line with their proportion of the population, and a participation council that is involved in important decisions in business, science and politics. Migrant self-organizations must be represented in the participation council.
- In order to ensure equal participation not only in the public service but in all areas of life, there should be quotas for groups of people affected by discrimination, such as people with a migration background and those affected by racism, also in the private labour market, in politics, in culture and the media, and in all publicly funded institutions.
- Anti-racism in law: A clear working definition of institutional and structural racism is needed. We are also calling for a fundamental reform of the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG), which in

particular extends the time limits for filing a lawsuit, provides for a right of collective action, covers the forms of discrimination "nationality", "residence status", "family status" and "social status" and also includes state action. There must continue to be an anti-racism commissioner. There must also be a legal ban on racist police checks ("racial profiling") and the abolition of random police control powers as well as compulsory anti-discrimination training in the entire public service. Responsibility for migration and integration must be withdrawn from the Federal Ministry of the Interior. We are calling for a Federal Ministry for Migration and Participation. A protection and support clause for those affected by racist discrimination should be inserted into Article 3 of the Basic Law.

- We call for the creation of a Commissioner for Muslim Life and Measures Against Anti-Muslim Racism (Chapter 15).
- We want to strengthen and finally permanently promote civil society groups that are committed to fighting racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia and transphobia, antigypsyism, anti-Muslim racism and for more democracy, as well as refugee councils, migrant associations, self-managed counseling services and the self-organization of migrants through a democracy promotion law (Chapter 16)
- We are committed to comprehensive visa liberalization and to an open and solidarity-based immigration law that is no longer based on the criteria of origin or economic viability, but enables inclusion and participation for all.

Migration for social and economic reasons is also a legitimate individual need. When further developing the immigration rules in the Residence Act, we are pushing for improvements from a human rights perspective, for example in the rules on family reunification. We reject migration agreements with countries of origin and transit, which are primarily intended to seal off Europe and facilitate deportations.

18. Inclusion and participation – of course!

In our understanding, inclusion is the alternative to social division, racism, neo-fascism and exclusion: a profound process to reduce social inequalities that relates to all those people who are excluded from participation and pushed to the margins of society - because of their ethnicity, religion, gender identity, sexual orientation or gender, physical condition or special learning needs, but above all because of poverty. We recognize that people with disabilities are still particularly disadvantaged in many areas of life. In 2023, Germany was examined by the United Nations for its implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. In particular, the greatly expanded system of special structures - in school education, employment in workshops and in the form of large residential facilities - was criticized. Such special structures are not necessary; they violate human dignity. We want people with disabilities to be able to participate in all aspects of life as a matter of course.

The term inclusion is often limited to education or misused to cut costs. Instead, we want a society in which all people live together on equal terms and can participate in democratic decisions - regardless of their individual abilities, physical condition, origin and social status, gender, age or sexual orientation.

- We want to ensure accessibility across the board and (also) oblige the private sector to do so. To achieve this, binding regulations must be included in the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) and

the Equal Opportunities for People with Disabilities Act (BGG), which require private providers of publicly accessible goods and services to ensure accessibility. We want to introduce a right of collective action into the AGG so that anti-discrimination associations can also take legal action without the individual victims willing to take legal action.

- Making education inclusive - inclusive learning in all educational institutions: Special needs schools must be restructured, and special education staff should be employed in all regular schools. Most people only develop a disability in the course of their lives. It is therefore important that training, further education and continuing education are inclusive and that inclusive education is possible into old age.
- Making the world of work inclusive: The unemployment rate among people with disabilities is twice as high as that of the general population. The obligation to employ people with disabilities must be raised to six percent again. Companies must not be able to buy their way out of this.
- Better support inclusive companies, as they make a significant contribution to inclusion in the general labour market. They need better public funding.
- Minimum wage also in workshops: The European Minimum Wage Directive stipulates that the minimum wage must also be paid in workshops for people with disabilities. This directive must also be implemented immediately in Germany!
- Everything should be done to ensure that patients and clients receive health and nursing care close to their homes. This should be made a mandatory municipal task.
- We support the call of the "Politics against Segregation" initiative to the German Bundestag to set up an Enquete Commission on "Social Inclusion" in order to ensure democratic social structures for all members of society and to promote the development of a peaceful community.

19. Media and Culture for a Pluralistic Society

A variety of media are needed for democratic negotiation and opinion-forming. But newspapers are dying or are increasingly owned by large corporations. Private platforms have great opinion and market power and are using it. Hate messages and fake news are on the rise. Public broadcasting should be a counterweight. It must be better able to fulfil its democratic function. Journalistic standards in the media landscape must be strengthened.

- The diversity of programs in public broadcasting must be maintained, including Arte, 3-Sat and cultural radio stations. Broad-based sociopolitical information must be strengthened, for which there is hardly any room in the private broadcasters.
- The salary and expenditure structures in public broadcasting must be disclosed, including the consultant structures. Public funds only when finances are transparent!
- To maintain diversity of opinion, media mergers must be more closely monitored. Non-profit journalism must be recognized as a non-profit organization.
- Systematic intimidation lawsuits or warnings against critical research must be punished. Those

affected need free legal and psychosocial support.

- Media workers must be better protected from attacks, persecution and violence. Crimes against media workers should be recorded separately and handled by specialized public prosecutors.
- Confidentiality in editorial offices and in dealing with sources must be protected from state surveillance.
- Media content generated by artificial intelligence must be labeled, and platforms are liable for misinformation and legal violations caused by such content. The use of copyrighted material for training AI models must be remunerated.
- Non-commercial reproduction and use of copyrighted material must not be criminalized. The ancillary copyright for press publishers and the database protection law should be abolished.
- We want to exempt social institutions and people with disabilities from paying the broadcasting fee. Exemptions from fees should be automatic for those entitled to them.

Culture – diverse and accessible to all

Access to culture should not depend on your wallet. We want art and culture to be accessible to everyone and not primarily regulated by the market. In this sense, Die Linke defends the freedom of art enshrined in the constitution. Art and culture must be publicly funded as part of the basic services. Cultural funding should become a mandatory task. States and municipalities must be financially equipped to enable them to promote culture. Non-profit cultural and event venues and people who create cultural offerings on a voluntary basis need reliable and unbureaucratic support. This promotes cultural participation for everyone.

- The ban on cooperation between the federal and state governments must be ended. We need minimum standards for the remuneration of freelance art and cultural work, binding basic fees and legally secured exhibition remuneration for visual artists.
- The artists' social insurance fund must be opened up to other professional groups and the federal subsidy increased.
- When it comes to promoting culture, we need diversity and sensitivity to discrimination. This includes committees and juries with equal representation. We need clear legal regulations for the return of illegally acquired cultural assets in museums and libraries. The history of origin must be researched using public funds.
- Cultural film funding is to be strengthened in order to take the artistic value of films into account more comprehensively. The German Federal Film Board (FFA) is to be given a diversity advisory board to advise it on issues of diversity, gender equality, inclusion and anti-discrimination.

- Artistic creation requires infrastructure: from rehearsal and production spaces to studios for creative artists. These places, often created on a voluntary basis, deserve protection, financial support and protection from displacement by profit-oriented people. We want to expand international artistic exchange in order to intensify dialogue and strengthen neighborly relations. To achieve this, funding programs must be made accessible and less bureaucratic.

Sport is not a luxury

Sport is for everyone. The conditions of access must be improved. Being able to do sport should not depend on income or social status. We want to enshrine sport as a national goal in the constitution.

- Sport must be publicly funded as part of the basic public services. This includes the renovation of gyms and sports fields as well as the creation of modern, barrier-free and ecological sports facilities and swimming pools. The federal government is to contribute one billion euros per year to this over the next 15 years.
- We are committed to inclusive, integrated and environmentally friendly school, recreational, health and elite sports. Sports offerings and sports promotion must be gender-equitable and take all age groups into account appropriately.
- All pupils should be given the opportunity to take part in swimming lessons. By the end of primary school, all children should be able to swim safely.
- The commercialisation of sport must be curbed and the transmission of values such as respect and fairness must be promoted.

Empower consumers. End the debt traps

Corporations are exploiting their power over consumers. We want to strengthen consumer rights, which requires more transparency, strong, well-funded consumer protection and clearer rules for corporations.

- No more deceptive packaging and hidden price increases. We demand the abolition of advance payment for travel and protection against airline bankruptcies. All affected consumers should automatically benefit from class action lawsuits.

- A strong consumer information law and stricter transparency standards are needed, as well as liability for online marketplaces and online platforms. Greenwashing and socialwashing must be tackled more actively.
- Consumer assistance in social neighbourhoods and rural areas must be expanded.
- Combating debt traps and those who profit from them: Put an end to usurious interest rates for consumer loans. Contracts made over the phone should only be valid after written confirmation.
- We demand free debt counseling. The debt collection rip-off must be stopped. Schufa should be replaced by an independent public institution.
- Consumer protection for financial products: We want to strengthen independent financial advice from consumer advice centers. Financial and insurance products may not be sold on commission. Everyone has the right to a free basic account.
- Illuminated advertising is not only annoying, it also costs a lot of energy, is distracting and affects people and animals. We want to limit it. In addition, we are calling for advertising bans for products and activities that are particularly harmful to the climate, such as urban SUVs, cruises or air travel.

20. Digitalization for the common good instead of corporate profits

We are committed to ensuring that digitalization is geared to people's needs, strengthens democracy and helps protect the climate. Digitalization should not replace real social encounters, direct communication and cultural participation, but rather complement and promote them. To achieve this, profit interests must be pushed back and state surveillance mania must be put a stop to. Critical debate about technological pseudo-solutions, the power of tech companies and the social and cultural consequences of digitalization must become part of school and adult education.

- Participation in the digital society must be guaranteed for everyone - even in rural areas and for people with limited financial means. That is why we want to promote the municipal and non-profit expansion of fiber optic networks, prevent unnecessary double expansion, increase the right to Internet access to 100 Mbit/s download speed and cap prices so that everyone can afford access.
- It makes no sense for every provider to build its own mobile and fiber optic network. A single network that everyone can use to offer their services saves construction costs, materials and environmental impact and enables a fast, comprehensive network everywhere. The costs of network access and the necessary equipment must be taken into account in basic social security and other social benefits. Public bodies must provide equipment and skilled staff to help on site with filling out online applications.
- Our principle is that what is paid for with taxpayers' money must benefit everyone. Public goods must be created with public money. We want much more open source software - this makes us less dependent on digital monopolies and their high licensing fees. Software that public administrations buy or have developed may only be proprietary in exceptional cases. Once developed, programs can be used in other administrations and municipalities without major

additional costs. We will create a right to open data and a transparency law: data generated by public services and administrations must be made available free of charge and in anonymized form. This applies equally to all private providers of public services. The results of publicly funded research must also be publicly accessible free of charge (open access).

- High IT security standards and protection against digital mass surveillance by the state or corporations are part of the common good. That is why we want to decriminalize IT security research, close security gaps without exception and make the Federal Office for Information Security more independent. It must also support municipalities and small companies with IT security. We reject the use of state Trojans and chat controls. Security gaps must no longer be intentionally left open for surveillance purposes - they can then also be used by criminals. The Federal Network Agency needs sufficient staff to effectively implement consumer protection and the Digital Services Act.
- The electronic identity card and the health card must remain linked to a physical chip card. No data may be stored during identification processes on the Internet.
- In order to prevent abuse of power by digital monopolies, we will exploit legal scope to break up the monopolies, strengthen antitrust law and its implementation, and ban personalized online advertising. We reject the idea of data as property that can be sold. We promote public and cooperative platforms for non-profit services and truly social networks as an alternative to the profit-oriented platforms of the corporate giants.
- The EU laws on artificial intelligence (AI Act) and on digital services (Digital Services Act) must be quickly transposed into national law and further developed in the future.
- We need clear legal requirements to reduce the energy and resource consumption of digitalization. Warranty obligations and minimum update requirements must be significantly extended, software programming and device settings must be energy-saving from the start, and the requirements for data centers must be tightened. The state must use its influence as a major buyer to enforce social and ecological standards in the supply chains. We reject any digital compulsion.
- The federal government must provide greater support for research into the social and ecological impacts of digital technologies so that we can make informed and democratic decisions about which technologies will advance us as a society and which will not be helpful.
- We want to ensure a fair distribution of wealth and profits from automation, AI and robotics in order to exploit the potential of these technologies for the benefit of humanity.

Our coalition partners: That's you

This election manifesto is the offer of the Left Party. We know that millions of people share our goals and our vision of a fairer society. These people across the country are our coalition partners. We are committed to a society based on solidarity, together with all those who are dissatisfied with the prevailing politics or who suffer from it, but who do not rely on hatred, individualization and exclusion.

We offer a solidarity-based alternative that does not end with the Bundestag election. We stand alongside the many opposition forces in society against wage theft, social cuts, social injustice, preparations for war,

racism and climate destruction. We stand alongside the many creative forces that are working to develop humane and solidarity-based alternatives.

Our vision of a better society will emerge when we fight for it together. When we stand up for an alternative to the capitalist system in which we, the people, are at the center. Capitalism must not remain the last word in history. Because we all deserve a good life, a functioning country, recognition for our work and social security!