


SPÖ

DIGITALISATION
FEMINISM PROGRESS
SOCIAL AFFAIRS
MOBILITY HEALTH
DEMOCRACY ECOLOGY
FREEDOM
EQUALITY CHANGE
WORK JUSTICE
SOLIDARITY CULTURE
ARTS SECURITY
NETWORK POLICY
EDUCATION
EUROPE RESEARCH
PERSPECTIVES

MANIFESTO

Approved at the 44th ordinary Federal Party Conference in Wels 2018

Published by Karl-Renner-Institut  **Renner**Institut



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THE WORLD DOES NOT STAND STILL

The world does not stand still. It is in a state of accelerating change and is undergoing repeated phases of political and social turmoil. Old patterns live on but we need new answers. Faced with this, social democratic party manifestos must develop the intellectual and visionary power needed to analyse the new reality and formulate goals for the future. In 1978, the SPÖ, then led by Bruno Kreisky, adopted a manifesto that called for a reform of decision-making and ownership structure in the economy. Its aim was to develop political democracy and the welfare state into a "social democracy".

The spirit of that time was one of optimism. Today, 40 years later, many things have indeed improved. Worldwide, absolute poverty has reduced significantly, especially because the developing countries have been catching up.

Technology and medicine have made great progress. Life expectancy is rising in many regions of the world and billions of people are now living more freely and independently. Algorithms and artificial intelligence are revolutionising the working world, and several billion people now have smartphones which give them fingertip access to the world's accumulated knowledge.

However, the "social democracy" which the Kreisky SPÖ called for is as elusive today as it was 40 years ago. During the last few decades, social democracy has been engaged in a moderately successful struggle throughout Europe against neoliberal efforts to dismantle the welfare state and against the erosion of democracy.

The optimism of the 1970s has given way to a different mood. In the highly developed industrialised countries, the post-war consensus in favour of the social market economic model has been and continues to be threatened by post-democratic, finan-

cial-market driven capitalism. Instead of participating in prosperity and in economic and political power, working people now face obstacles which make their social advancement increasingly difficult and existing privileges more entrenched and pervasive.

This development has contributed significantly to the serious instability which we see in the economy today. It is destabilising people's lives. Many people now feel that they cannot control their own destinies and that they are at the mercy of uncontrollable global forces. In addition to this new social issue, we are facing far-reaching changes to our living and working conditions. We are experiencing breath-taking technological changes to our economy and society, rapidly growing inequality between nation states, global warming, environmental destruction, wars and migrations.

Our new party manifesto proposes a clear course. We reject an economic system that focuses only on the pursuit of profit, and not on people or their well-being. We must overcome untrammelled capitalist systems which ignore people's interests, and instead aim to create a social, inclusive and ecological economic system for the future.

We will courageously and confidently face the challenges that social change presents, because we can use the opportunities which technological progress offers to improve our world. And as Social Democrats, we will be leading this progress from the front so that we can turn risks into opportunities.

The SPÖ's new manifesto is therefore more than just a signpost at this historical crossroads of economic, social and political development in the world, in Europe and in Austria: it is a specific political mandate. It is more than an attainable vision of our so-

ciety: it is an invitation to participate in our joint change project. We draw confidence from our history that we can actively shape and improve our life circumstances. There is a broad desire for social justice, equal opportunities and respect for the dignity of all people. But such a future will not come about without help. We must shape it together. We will not just defend our democracy together: we will develop it further. We will not just preserve social achievements together: we will reorganise political, economic and social power relations. The image of social democracy which we have outlined in this manifesto is our blueprint for it.

The social democratic movement must reflect our society and its diversity. We have always been, and still are, the party for working people and those who need support from others. We are not just the party for traditional industrial workers, but also for people who work in the

service sector. We are the party for self-employed and single-person firms, for hard-working employees, and for small and medium-sized enterprises. We are the party for anybody who relies on their own labour for their means of subsistence.



THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME

OUR SHAKEN ECONOMY

The economy has changed over the last 40 years. Privatisation and deregulation of services, goods and the financial markets, growth of public and private debt, weakening of the trade unions and de-democratisation of the economy and society have all accompanied a concentration of income, wealth and power. Economic and social disparities are growing. This is making the world economy prone to crises. The great financial crash of 2008 was the climax of this crisis-ridden development, but it was not something that just happened. Social change is closely linked with a struggle for power.

We want to show that there is an alternative to an economic system that puts competitiveness before everything else. Wealth and power will have to be redistributed, and our democratic community will have to develop new self-understanding, in order to stabilise the economy and society. States have an undisputed role in providing the economic and scientific bases for entrepreneurial success, and this must also be reflected in the community's participation in these successes.

THE SOCIAL CHALLENGE OF GOOD WORK FOR EVERYONE

The social promise that work can provide prosperity for everyone has been replaced by a system in which wealth and privileges are more important than performance. Today, a whole "generation internship" of young people in temporary and poorly paid jobs is finding that motivation and commitment are no longer rewarded. People who do not inherit wealth cannot rely on hard work and performance being worthwhile. It is common to find hard-working people who can hardly keep their heads above water with their earned income, and income levels at which any breakdown of a technical appliance or any unexpected bill will plunge families into a financial crisis.

A lot of people are walking on thin ice financially. The social insecurity which is prevalent in our society also affects people whose social situation is actually good, but who are afraid of a decline in their social status. Right-wing parties are trying to capitalise on this insecurity. They reinterpret questions of social inequality as questions of culture or national identity and try to incite different social classes against each other. Social democracy must now fight more than ever to ensure that hard work and performance are worthwhile. This will require dignified work, with a living wage, for everyone.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY INSTEAD OF POST-DEMOCRACY

Fear breeds an authoritarian spirit and loss of hope poisons societies from within. The social divisions in our society, the uneven distribution of wealth and the abuse of wealth for the exercise of political power all threaten the proper functioning of political democracy.

The political elites are growing in political influence with post-democracy, while other social groups have lost their influence. As a result, some people have ceased to believe that society can be shaped through political participation. Their interests are not being represented. They are experiencing social exclusion and becoming passive. In this situation, there is a danger that authoritarian, anti-democratic movements will find fertile ground for their slogans criticising "the system". They exploit the justified anger that many people have by directing it towards enemy stereotypes and stirring this anger with authoritarian slogans, while letting their model of an "illiberal democracy" become reality step by step.

A functioning democracy requires a well-functioning community in which everyone feels secure and hopes for a better future. People will not become reliable pillars of a democratic system unless they can participate in our society. We therefore see economic, social and democratic issues as being inextricably linked.

FROM TECHNICAL TO SOCIAL PROGRESS - TURNING RISKS INTO OPPORTUNITIES

The rapid development of computer and information technology has fundamentally transformed the economy in recent decades, just as the steam engine heralded the industrial revolution. Digitalisation of the economy is not an abstract vision of the future but has long since become reality.

Over 100 years ago, we Social Democrats welcomed industrialisation, technical innovation and the ongoing development of productive forces as necessary steps for overcoming poverty and exploitation. Progress produces wealth and can free people from laborious toil. Today we also see these great opportunities in a digitalised and automated economy. It changes the way we work, communicate and spend our free time. And it requires corresponding changes in the way the welfare state is financed, in labour law and more.

For many employees, the changes mean a disruption of familiar and trusted processes and routines and an attack on the value of their performance and their dignity at work.

But we Social Democrats have always been a modernising force. We see ourselves as the party of progress and change - in the service of people. We therefore welcome and support the use of new technology when it creates new opportunities for people and makes their work easier. Just as we did over 100 years ago, we must ensure that technological progress serves social progress and not just the profits of a few people.

BREAKING OUT OF GENDER ROLES WHICH RESTRICT MEN AND WOMEN

Social democracy has successfully worked with the women's movement to promote equal rights for women. Since the 1970s, legal equality has been enforced, ranging from marriage law to collective agreements. Many legal measures have been introduced, including the Protection against Violence Act (Gewaltschutzgesetz) and the Equal Treatment Act (Gleichbehandlungsgesetz). All this has had a lot of influence. On average, women today have

better qualifications than men and their participation in the labour force has risen rapidly in recent decades. Many women now have a professional career and are a natural part of public life and politics. However, there are still some patriarchal structures which hold women back. Economic inequalities are both the cause and effect of this. Gender equality is far from being achieved, despite all the progress that has been made.

Social and economic circumstances, inequalities in power, and written and unwritten rules still need to be changed. Only this way can social equality between all genders be achieved, so as to match their legal equality. An equal distribution of paid and unpaid working time between all genders is an important issue.

We Social Democrats are also campaigning resolutely against direct and indirect discrimination. We are committed to transparency of income and equal representation of men and women in key political, social and economic positions. Quotas for women are a necessary means of breaking down de facto male quotas in these areas.

We Social Democrats see feminist movements and the fight for gender equality as being in the interests of all people. The implementation of equal income and life chances for women also makes it possible for men to gain the professional freedom they often want, so that they can devote themselves to children, care and educational work. The women's movement demand for "Half of families for men" is inseparably linked with their demand for "Half of income and power for women". A pro-feminist men's policy aims, as part of social democratic equal opportunities policy, to enable both men and women to participate equally in work and family life through a new working time policy and other measures. Only if everyone can achieve their goals can individuals really be free. That is why this fight frees men as well as women from stereotypical roles.

THE QUESTION OF ECOLOGICAL SURVIVAL

Global warming and the changes associated with it have long ceased to be a theory, and are now tangible reality. They are already destroying the means of subsistence for millions of people worldwide and impairing the quality of life of hundreds of millions more. Tangible effects have long been noticeable in Austria as well. The ecological issue is central and urgent for us Social Democrats, because it is about nothing less than safeguarding humanity's means of subsistence.

We Social Democrats recognise that the social burdens caused by environmental destruction and climate change are unequally distributed. We also consider that changes in economic and social structures are essential if we wish to combat climate change and environmental destruction successfully. A fundamental reorganisation of our means of production and our way of life is not a moral question and cannot be achieved by individual sacrifice alone. Environmental destruction is the result of an economic framework in which purely quantitative growth, the generation of consumer needs and the overexploitation of resources are the bases for maximising short-term profits.

A fundamental transformation of our regional development is needed to achieve a sustainable reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. Our transport organisation, energy production and consumption, and food production must all be reorganised to strengthen the regional production and consumption cycles. This task will require conscious, strategic shaping by politicians and cannot be left to the markets alone. Everyone has an indispensable, basic need for safe and healthy food, clean air and drinking water, and unspoilt green spaces and recreation areas. We therefore see these ecological challenges as part of a social question which needs to be answered comprehensively.

AUSTRIA IN EUROPE - MOVING THE EU FORWARD

We love our country. Our attachment to Austria is not fed by some crude nationalism that places us above other countries and people and thereby devalues them. The love we feel for our country stems from our awareness of what a strong community can achieve in terms of prosperity, solidarity and social cohesion. Our patriotism is not directed against others, but towards promoting our own country. People who love their country want to improve it. We are happy to be Austrian because we belong to a country with a strong welfare state and a high degree of community involvement. Austria has a tradition of social equality and is characterised by solidarity and social cohesion. It is a country in which economic progress has always been associated with increasing prosperity for everyone. We are rightly proud of what works well in our country, because it has been achieved by the efforts of all the men and women who have devoted themselves to it.

But Austria is now facing a lot of political, social and economic problems and challenges, and we know it is too small to deal with them alone. That is why we see a united Europe as a central social democratic idea.

The European Union has partially attained our idea of a united Europe. However, even though it is an unprecedented peace project, a wave of nationalism is threatening to destroy it. Flaws in the European Union's construction and development have been the root cause of this threat. The free movement of capital and goods has been overemphasised and social development goals have been neglected. That is why the European Union needs new priorities. Many citizens believe that the European Union's market-driven policy of cutbacks, and the social upheavals this has caused, have broken the promise of prosperity and security which the European idea had long been associated with.

We Social Democrats are fighting for fundamental political changes in the European Union, precisely because many changes need to be implemented at a European level. We can and will implement or launch many of our demands at the national level. But solutions, from fighting unemployment to establishing tax justice, will have to be at the European level if they are to be sustainable. Our positive image of Austria could only develop by creating a nation of prosperity, solidarity and social justice, and the European Union needs to take similar tangible action to stabilise itself and to develop positively. The European Union will have to keep its promise to create prosperity for all, if it is to win everyone's full support. That is why we are fighting for a Europe of prosperity, solidarity and social justice.

SOLIDARITY IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

The increasingly interconnected global economy has grown strongly over the last few decades, and this has led many people out of bitter poverty and destitution. But not everyone has benefited from globalisation. The world's poorest income groups, especially in Africa, have experienced very little improvement. The industrial countries contribute to this by exporting poverty, for example through their agricultural and trade policies. But even this is not benefitting the hard-working middle classes in the West, as their material prosperity is stagnating. The ones who have benefitted the most are those who already have the most: the top one per cent. Globalisation has caused enormous inequalities, both within nations and between states and entire regions of the world. And it has contributed to the fact that we are straining and destroying our planet's natural borders in many areas. We Social Democrats are part of an internationalist movement. We believe that we can only eliminate global inequality through cooperation and coordination across nation states. We oppose the idea of "every man for himself" within the nation state, and we equally cannot accept that the happiness of one person should be based

on the suffering of another at the international level. International solidarity is therefore one of the guiding principles for our political activity. Our goal is global prosperity, by which we mean an ecologically sustainable, humane, free, autonomous and peaceful life for everyone.

A DIVERSE SOCIETY...

Our society is changing rapidly and completely. Austria is becoming more mixed and diverse. About a fifth of the Austrian population has an immigrant background. The number of older people in Austria is growing, and it will continue to increase in the coming decades. The number of births is also rising sharply in Austria. More and more people are living in patchwork families or alone. More and more people are professing their individual sexualities, although discrimination still exists.

Familiar customs are dwindling and this is leading to conflict about our society's cultural identity, and occasionally also to aggressive resistance to new concepts. Migrants are being treated as scapegoats for undesirable social developments. Social changes, which people find negative or annoying, are being blamed on openly living homosexuals, single mothers and patchwork families. We understand that it can cause strain if familiar customs have to give way to unaccustomed ones and we know how important integration is for functioning coexistence. However, as Social Democrats, we firmly reject attempts to divide our society, especially when they escalate into an "Us against them" confrontation. The important social challenges which our society is facing need fundamental political, economic and social changes, and new ideas about what holds us together, rather than scapegoats. We are guided by the certainty that, even if our society is becoming more mixed and diverse, there is more that unites us than divides us.

The pension issue has been used for many years to play the older and younger generations off against each other. Each generation has exactly the same social interest in the question of pensions, namely a fair distribution of work and income, which guarantees the younger generation opportunities on the labour market and the older generation their hard-earned pension.

... NEEDS NEW ALLIANCES

Social democracy has always been an alliance of different social groups and circles which are linked by common ideals. That makes us a people's party in the best sense of the term. A key part of the social democratic project has always been to assert the common interests of these groups against the interests of the economically and politically privileged and against the power of big money. We are fighting for the social security of all people and for the principle that work must pay off - not origin or inherited wealth. We are fighting for an economic order in which entrepreneurial initiative does not mean maximising corporate power but advancing society as a whole by working out new ideas and spreading innovative concepts. After all, the goal of economic activity should be to safeguard our means of existence in a sustainable way and not to profit at the expense of the environment, social equality and human rights.

This policy will require a fundamental examination of existing wealth and power structures, a redistribution of income and wealth, and democratisation of the economy. Such a policy can only succeed if it is able to mobilise the strength and solidarity of the many against the enormous economic and political privileges of the few. Social democracy recognises the diversity of our society and aims to harness this diversity for a common political project. We can move forward if we work together.



OUR VALUES

We Social Democrats want a social order whose goal is the free development of every individual within the community. Our vision of social democracy is to overcome class differences, to bring democracy to all areas of life, and to distribute the proceeds of social work fairly.

We are fighting for people's freedom and dignity, for full equality, regardless of gender, origin, age, disability and sexual orientation, and for social justice within society. We want to ensure human dignity and the right to good work.

We have always stood on the right side of history. We have always been Austria's freedom movement. We have fought for, and defended, the Republic and democracy at each stage of our history and with all our strength.

We are committed to antifascism and human rights, and we are continuing to fight against oppression and tyranny throughout the world and for the protection and effective enforcement of fundamental rights and liberties in a pluralistic society.

We Social Democrats believe that our entire life circumstances can be shaped and improved. We want a political project of the many to engage the heart and soul of every individual and the knowledge and creativity of all, and to confront the enormous economic and political power of the few. Continued modernisation must go hand in hand with our country's democratisation.

FREEDOM

We Social Democrats firmly advocate freedom. Freedom means the rejection of any form of dictatorship and autocracy. Freedom needs a modern democracy with many options for elections and co-determination, and self-determination for all. The attainment of human freedom requires various material and social preconditions, namely freedom from need, exploitation, paternalism, discrimination and insecurity. We Social Democrats see the free development of every person through safeguarding their means of subsistence as a prerequisite for the freedom of all. A society in which not everyone has the freedom to make something of their lives and their talents can never be a truly free society.

EQUALITY

We Social Democrats advocate equality as an expression of the equal value of all people. It establishes the right that everyone has to develop their personality freely. Equality is the rejection of every form of class or privileged society, and of subtle hierarchies, which lead some people to believe that they are superior and to look down on others. The principle of equality is incompatible with discrimination on the basis of characteristics such as gender, origin, nationality, age, disability or sexual orientation. Freedom and equality are not opposite, but complementary. They are not opponents, but twins. The first step towards inequality is also the first step towards servitude. Only politically, socially, economically, culturally and socially equal people are free.

JUSTICE

We Social Democrats advocate the principle of justice. Justice secures the dignity of people in their relationships with one another by ensuring that they have equal rights and full equality of opportunities. As social justice, it secures for people their share of the prosperity that they have worked together to achieve and it also ensures a social balance between the various groups in society.

SOLIDARITY

We Social Democrats advocate the principle of solidarity. Solidarity means active support for others and working together for the common good. Solidarity is sustained by the knowledge that we are all connected with each other. A sense of responsibility towards the community and oneself, consideration for one's neighbours, and help for the disadvantaged are needed to create the relationships between people that establish a social democracy. Solidarity is also the strongest weapon in the fight against oppression and injustice. International solidarity includes all people, regardless of their origin.

All fundamental values – freedom, equality, justice and solidarity – are of equal importance. They must all be attained in order to guarantee people a fulfilling life in peace and self-determination. They are the four beacons that Social Democrats always follow.

DEMOCRACY

We Social Democrats firmly advocate democracy. We reject any form of dictatorship, both minority dictatorships and authoritari-

an regimes in which minority rights are violated by the majority. We are fighting against the erosion of democracy and against its restriction to formal democratic procedures, while all the important decisions are made by a small elite.

We are resisting the first stages. The social-democratic movement has learned from painful experience how important it is to resist fascism from its first stages. We therefore oppose all attempts to dismantle democratic and liberal rights or to abolish constitutional guarantees, as well as groups that openly defend fascist and anti-Semitic ideas. We defend the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, and the freedom of the press and expression.

Defending freedom. Our fundamental values contrast with all right-wing conservative and radical right-wing movements which have a troubled relationship with democracy and reveal sympathy for authoritarian forms of government, dictatorships and racist policies. Undemocratic, authoritarian methods cannot be used to combat threats to freedom and democracy, such as those posed by terrorist activities. That is why peace, freedom and democracy must be used to defend against all attacks on peace, freedom and democracy.

Democracy is more. Democracy must not be limited to ensuring free elections between equal parties. It is based on the free participation of all. We must therefore attain the principle of democracy in all areas of society.



CHAPTER 1

GLOBAL SOLIDARITY IS POSSIBLE

Globalisation has made the world smaller, but not fairer. It is our job to change that. It is up to us to decide how we want to live together - on a smaller as well as on a larger scale. As a result of global connectivity, many challenges can only be solved internationally and we must therefore act both locally and globally. That is why social democracy's internationalism is more topical than ever.

A global movement. Austria's social democracy is part of a worldwide, international movement whose goal is to achieve peace, freedom, self-determination and a dignified life for all. This international movement needs to be strengthened. In these times of globalised capital, markets and production chains, it is more important than ever to connect the people who are affected by these developments. Together and in solidarity, we will organise the fight against exploitation and inequality and for a fair distribution of resources and opportunities. Together and in solidarity, we will advocate democratic co-determination, peace, comprehensive security, and protection against the destructive consequences of global warming. Cross-border cooperation with progressive parties, social movements, civil society and trade unions will play an important role here.

Solving conflicts and securing peace. Crises and wars are both the expression and the result of political and economic disagreements that have often lain hidden and unresolved for decades. They did not arise overnight, and their causes are not attributable to individual factors, such as religious affiliations. They are instead part of increasingly interconnected, and gradually developing, crisis landscapes. This is precisely why we can and must counter escalation spirals at an early stage - for example through non-military measures, diplomacy and dialogue, and also by promoting democratisation, the rule of law and human rights. The social democratic response can only be that we need an internation-

al system which pursues a strategy of active conflict prevention and involves all affected states and groups. We need to strengthen diplomacy and collective peacekeeping under the aegis of the United Nations. This should include reforming the UN Security Council, significantly improving the financial and political support it provides, and fundamentally developing the UN, with the national parliaments also playing a greater role.

Preventing wars at their roots. We firmly believe that crises and conflicts can ultimately only be resolved politically. A comprehensive peace cannot be achieved by military means. Nor will peace last if causes such as the oppression of minorities, inequality, government failure, poverty, competition for resources, negative effects of climate change on food production, and land grabbing are not eliminated. Crises and wars can be prevented. However, specific preconditions and alternative courses will have to be established in order to defuse escalations in good time.

Creating collective security. Today it is more urgent than ever that we should reflect on the civilising achievements that international law has already had and should strengthen it, revive arms control and disarmament policies, and develop the United Nations' operational and decision-making capabilities and make it a forum for international consensus-building. The goal of our international policy is a world in which people can live in peace, freedom and dignity. Every nation has the right to freedom and

self-determination. National security is impossible without European security and European security is impossible without global security. It remains essential that we prevent crises, ensure individual security, and create a stable environment. Social democracy is vitally interested in an effective common security policy for the EU, as well as a viable system of collective security under the aegis of the United Nations. International peace operations and a coherent foreign and development policy that combines our interests with the vital interests of others are key to achieving peace and stability in the world.

Creating peace without weapons. The world is arming itself. Global spending on military equipment is reaching record levels. This is making it harder to find peaceful solutions to conflicts and is aggravating crises. It is also encouraging the growth of an industry which is highly susceptible to corruption and earns its profits at the cost of human life and suffering. We Social Democrats stand for redirecting spending away from weapons and towards providing sufficient financing to meet global challenges. We stand for a ban on all weapons of mass destruction – whether chemical, biological or nuclear. And we support a strict foreign trade law banning arms exports from Austria to war and crisis zones and to states that do not respect human rights.

Fighting the causes of flight, and helping people in need. A lot of people are forced to leave their home countries. There are many causes for forced migration, including flight from war, violence or hunger or – in the sense of the Geneva Refugee Convention – from persecution, e.g. due to religion or political opinion. But a lot of people also leave their home countries because they have lost hope of a dignified life or of social, economic and political security. They often see migration as the only way to secure their means of subsistence and to provide a future for themselves and their children. Global warming will only increase the number of people who can no longer make a living in their own countries. We need to start to address this by doing all we can to fight the causes of forced migration and to improve local living conditions, so that fewer people need to leave their homes.

Shelter is a shared obligation. We are fully committed to the Geneva Refugee Convention and to the humanitarian obligation to offer refugees shelter from terror, violence and war, but we also believe that migrants can best be helped near their home countries. Helping locally involves promoting international refugee institutions in neighbouring regions and countries and supporting assistance and integration programmes in transit and host countries in the Global South. We also believe that migrants

who have reached the European Union should be distributed fairly according to the economic capacity and population of the member states. Austria has done a lot to help in the past, and we can be proud of that. Our goal is a European asylum system with uniform procedures and standardised services, the creation and development of legal and secure routes for refugees coming to Europe, and effective protection of the EU external border.

Strengthening our neutrality, not undermining it. Neutrality is central to Austria's identity as a state with an independent security and peace policy. It is embedded in an overall European structure which relies on solidarity. Austria is a neutral country which is not committed to any military alliances, and this allows it to act as a credible mediator and point of contact in conflicts. Austria has enjoyed a good reputation for this role for decades. We must use the weight this gives us to greater effect. Knowledge of the background to conflicts and of their ramifications is key to performing this role successfully. That is why progressive research into peace and conflict is indispensable and must be expanded further.

For a globalisation that benefits everyone. The globalised economy now faces a political system which remains organised on the basis of nation states but has partially lost the tools to distribute profits in a way that works to the common good. We can therefore only shape social and economic development through intensive international cooperation between states and within civil society, trade unions and political parties. For this we need international cooperation, mutual solidarity and fair rules which apply to everyone.

Fair world trade. We will fight for a policy of international solidarity at the European and global levels and for fair world trade as an alternative to purely profit-oriented free trade. Trade is not an end in itself. We believe that trade in goods and services must also follow values and serve social goals. We do not regard labour, social and health standards, human rights, and environmental and climate protection as troublesome trade barriers but as prerequisites for fair and sustainable trade. That is why we are fighting for a fair world trade regime with clear rules and for a system in which social and ecological goals are more important than the dogma of competition, simplistic growth targets and profit maximisation. We advocate a global regulatory framework which permits poorer countries to adopt protective mechanisms (such as protective duties on cheap imports, so that they can build up their own production capacities) and prohibits tax avoidance and evasion. As a first step, all trade agreements and companies at the Euro-

pean level should be made legally subject to human rights, the core labour standards of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and high environmental standards, and their compliance with these norms should be enforced. The second step will be to implement these principles under international law.

Binding rules for corporations. Today, most of world trade takes place within networks called value chains. These global networks begin with raw materials and turn them into finished consumer goods after many intermediate steps and stages. We get woven into this network of globalisation every day, for example when we buy clothes, cook our food or acquire electronic devices. How and what we consume is therefore directly related to how and where these goods were produced. Low prices are often bought at high costs. Our way of life has costs in the form of damage to the environment and the worst forms of exploitation, such as child and slave labour, which are transferred to the margins of the world economy. As these processes are complex and difficult to perceive, it would be wrong to attribute responsibility for them to consumers' individual purchasing decisions. Instead, a duty should be imposed in Austria, the EU and at the UN level for corporations and their suppliers to protect human rights. Binding rules and fines should be used to make this inhumane form of economic activity unprofitable. Our commitment to these rules is also driven by our solidarity with the workers involved in these cross-border supply chains.

More fairness means fewer problems. Our goal is to ensure a good future for everyone. We therefore advocate internationalising the concept of the welfare state as a necessary counterpart to the internationalisation of the markets. The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) develop a more comprehensive concept of social progress that goes far beyond simple indicators such as economic growth. These goals claim to be universally valid. They are therefore not just another set of objectives for the Global South, but also apply to the countries of the Global North. Austria has committed to achieving these SDGs by 2030 and must therefore introduce a policy change at the national level.

The SDGs are a symbol of hope and an important signpost for the socio-ecological transformation which the world needs. We expressly support these goals. And at the same time we will continue to advocate that Austria should fulfil its obligations in terms of international solidarity. We Social Democrats will use governmental responsibility to expand our country's development research, provide the necessary funds (at least 0.7% of gross national income) for development cooperation and provide rapid and reliable assistance in acute crises and disasters.

A responsible population policy. We believe that safeguarding sexual and reproductive rights, access to contraceptives and improving the social and economic status of women are all key to sustainable development. They also contribute to the prevention of teenage pregnancies and a responsible population policy.



CHAPTER 2

MAKING EUROPE MORE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIAL

Europe is the cradle of democracy, but its most important political project, the European Union, suffers from a democratic deficit. We Social Democrats believe that the people of Europe would like the Union to be more social and that this is currently prevented by its structures and decision-making mechanisms. We will address this as an international movement, because a more democratic Europe will ultimately also be a more social Europe.

About 500 million people, one Union. We are shaping a new European policy for these people and for their hopes and dreams. A policy which is committed to solidarity and social justice and which promotes peaceful and democratic coexistence on our continent.

Acting as a community of values. The European Union must champion the universal values of democracy, rule of law, human rights, women's rights and tolerance. Some countries are showing contempt for these values, and this is jeopardising people's peaceful coexistence within the Union. And it is jeopardising states' peaceful cohesion. The European Union's central responsibility is to avert this danger and to resist these developments. It must be vigilant, must not tolerate any breaches of the rule of law, and must take concerted action both globally and in the member states against any sign of contempt for these universal values.

A European Union of progress and prosperity for all. When it was founded, the European Union was a promise. A promise of prosperity and a good life for everyone. The Union has not kept its promise of prosperity for large parts of the working population. However, we continue to believe that only a European community can provide a high quality of life for the broad population, and social and ecological progress. United and strong European responses are required to deal with the environmen-

tal policy challenges, the impact of a globalised trade policy, and many other issues. We want a Europe for the people, not for the markets. Europe's policy should be based on an economic policy which is designed to increase prosperity and which focuses on quality of life, employment, equitably distributed material prosperity and a sound environment.

For more cohesion. The new European policy should have cooperation as its guiding principle instead of competition. Lowering wages and social standards in the spirit of relentless competition between business locations is the wrong way to proceed. That is the way to make everyone poorer. We want secure jobs, higher wages, fair taxes and targeted investments, which can also benefit the countries in southern and eastern Europe. The EU will only be able to develop its full power if the level of prosperity in Europe as a whole is raised.

Europe's strength lies in the social democratic model of the welfare state. We are determined not only to defend this model but to further develop it in Europe. The open borders within Europe should provide opportunities for all working people, rather than fuelling social and wage dumping. A common market can only function if everyone adheres to the rules with respect to wage levels, labour rights, social standards and tax policy. We must not get into a competition for the lowest wages and the lowest

product standards. Instead, we want European products that are known for their quality, sustainability, safety and innovation. The principle according to which the best and not the cheapest offer wins the contract should in future apply to public contracts in the EU.

The European Union must grow into a social union. Social democracy stands for a Europe which promotes fundamental social rights over the rights of corporations, protects decent wages and labour protection standards, and takes effective measures against tax evasion. We know we will not be able to claim that the Union is fair until the same wage is paid for the same work in the same place throughout Europe. Only a strong European social network can ensure that working people participate in society's prosperity in the long term. This will require solidarity on the part of Europe's working population and close co-ordination between social partners, European trade unions and civil society in shaping Europe politically.

For a common tax policy. We want a tax policy within the EU that takes account of the common economic area. We need a Europe in which large corporations everywhere are prohibited from committing tax evasion, and the member states have harmonised corporate tax systems with minimum rates instead of competing to reduce their taxes. Corporations should pay taxes where their employees are earning profits for them. We should no longer allow the European tax system to be deprived of billions through tax evasion and profit transfers. It is high time to implement the financial transaction tax and fair taxation of multinational and digital corporations. These tax revenues could be used to deal with the challenges of our time sustainably and fairly, and for the benefit of everyone.

Moving the European Union forwards. We believe that investments are needed in Europe in research and development, in social infrastructure, and in childcare, nursing and education. Such investments must also be allowed for countries which have budgetary deficits. We must not allow a one-sided austerity mandate to destroy the social infrastructure in any part of Europe. It is precisely these sorts of investment that have a very positive effect on employment and make Europe especially liveable. We must also invest in the technical infrastructure, i.e. rail, road and broadband. Not least because this would provide a major contribution to cross-border mobility within the EU. We must create the conditions needed to shape and finance these investments. We and our many allies will put an end to the pressure for further liberalisation, especially in the area of public services. Public

transport, water and energy supplies, affordable housing and the health and education sectors all serve the general public, and they should not be sacrificed to the interests of individual companies. A strong state investment policy must be combined with an active labour market policy that safeguards jobs and creates new ones in Europe. It is also important to strengthen local industry in future, because industry secures jobs in the EU and at the same time drives research and innovation.

Making Europe more democratic. We want a democratic Europe in which social partners and civil society have influence and will together provide a counterweight to corporate lobbying. We need a European, not a nation-state, perspective in order to move Europe's politics forward. Politicians must also be aware of their obligations to their constituents at the European level, and their constituents should be able to hold politicians responsible for their decisions. That is why we advocate strengthening the European Parliament with strong European parties and a new procedure that makes transnational elections possible according to the principle "I vote where I live". Within the eurozone, macroeconomic issues such as growth and the fight against unemployment should be given as much consideration as price stability. The eurozone must be shaped democratically.

The European Union has a responsibility towards the world. As a result of our continent's bloody history, the EU has a moral obligation to work for peace and security in the world. The evolving Common Security and Defence Policy takes account of the neutrality of some member states, such as Austria, and provides a suitable framework for this approach. It is very important for the EU's foreign policy that it should pursue an active partnership with its neighbours on the European continent and beyond. It is important for it to establish stable economic, political and cultural links with these neighbours and to ally itself with their working populations. We are committed to protecting stability and human rights in our neighbouring countries, especially through the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). We should actively support the south eastern European countries' integration into the European Union. We should establish stable relations, e.g. privileged partnerships, with states which are not part of the European Union, but we should not only focus on economic co-operation with them.

Making a Europe to fall in love with. We Social Democrats believe that European co-operation, based on solidarity and a commitment to democracy and human rights, is the right way

to ensure fairness and prosperity for all. We want to work with European social democracy, and all the forces in Europe which share our vision, to link Europe with hope for a good future. We want to create a space which gives people access to education, guarantees equal rights for all, and provides secure jobs and social security, and healthy living conditions through a sound environment. Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission for

many years and one of the most important architects of European integration, once said, "Nobody falls in love with an internal market". That is why we are working on a different Europe. A social Europe that consists of people, not balance sheets. A fair Europe that keeps its promise to provide greater prosperity. A strong Europe in which we all move forward together. In other words, a Europe to fall in love with.



CHAPTER 3

TOWARDS A FAIR ECONOMIC ORDER

For us Social Democrats people are at the heart of all economic activity. Human dignity and the survival of humanity should always be given priority over profits. That is why we are advocating a new economic order. An order in which economic processes are designed democratically, in solidarity and in an environmentally friendly way.

Our goal is a good life for everyone. It is important to have a functioning economy, because it provides the material basis for prosperity. But growth is not enough by itself to achieve a high quality of life for everyone. We therefore plan to put more emphasis on quality of life and sustainability indicators, when we measure how successful our policy has been. Social participation, low poverty, the ecological aspects and good health say at least as much about a successful society as its gross domestic product. We want to reduce the differences between "upper" and "lower", and we want a middle class which is as broad as possible, which feels secure, and which can trust in its own welfare. Markets can be useful for economic development, but a radical market society treats people as if they were merely goods. We want stable economic development without crises and an economy that contributes to our welfare.

We are fighting for an effective welfare state. The welfare state is almost every Austrian's principal asset. It is what stops crises in people's lives from automatically condemning them to poverty. And it is the only real tool for redistributing wealth that we have. It offers security, which can only be obtained with substantial personal wealth in some other countries. The welfare state is therefore more than just a final safety net. It provides the base on which people can test themselves, take a risk and develop their individuality. The welfare state is therefore not an obstacle to economic development, but a base on which to build economic success. And it is also the foundation on which all citizens can feel equal in status and birth, and bound by solidarity. That is why we

are not just fighting to preserve this asset for Austrians, but also to develop it further.

Robots should help to pay for the welfare state. The welfare state's funding base needs to be expanded before it can be secured and developed sustainably. Everyone should contribute to financing our community. Using human labour should not be penalised. We therefore also want those branches and companies which profit most from automation to make a fair contribution towards the welfare system's sustainability. In the future, we will need to create a uniform, progressive system to tax income from human labour and from capital and assets.

We are fighting for a fair distribution of personal wealth. The most striking example of inequality is the distribution of personal wealth. Our goal is a wealth taxation system which goes beyond alleviating this situation and actively counteracts it. The first and most important measure is to tax large inheritances, which (as they are unearned income) contribute nothing to the community.

A question of power. Ultimately, the question of fair distribution is not only about the different lifestyles that rich and poor people can afford. It is also a question of the distribution of power. In a society which is torn apart by grossly unequal distribution, economically powerful people and their lobbies are able to exercise an intolerable level of influence on social development. They can gain an audience in public and with decision-makers and use powerful lobbies to buy

political influence. This is why a country's wealth gap should not be allowed to get too wide. Trade unions and chambers of labour play an important role in representing employees' interests within a democratic economic system.

Restraining the financial markets. We Social Democrats will ensure that the lessons of the 2008 credit crisis are never forgotten. The financial markets must never be allowed to get out of control again. They must be pruned back to what they need in order to perform a meaningful role in the real economy. This will require strong supervision and sensible regulations. Banks must be structured and capitalised in such a way that a collapse in the value of their assets will not incur any costs for the general public.

Against wage and tax dumping. Competition for the lowest prices should not dominate international, and especially not European, economic policy. If the member states compete in the EU internal market with low wage costs and company taxes, all of the states will get poorer. Competition for the lowest taxes, wages and labour law standards mainly helps large, export-oriented companies and their owners. This sort of competition harms workers and those smaller companies that depend on their regions' purchasing power and growing prosperity for their livelihoods. That is why we Social Democrats want a productivity-related increase in wages and an end to tax competition. Current account balances must also be balanced within the European Union.

Public investment as a force for innovation and the economy. Modern societies are based on a high-quality infrastructure which includes transport, housing, energy supplies, schools, universities, water supplies, sewage disposal, the internet and telecommunications. We need a good infrastructure for more than just managing our everyday lives well. The private sector also depends on it for its productivity. Public sector investment decisions are a significant instrument for shaping economic development and combating unemployment. Member states must be able to use this instrument strategically. A fiscal policy framework and excessive state aid rules, which restrict the state from using this instrument, are therefore misconceived. The public sector should err on the side of allowing too much rather than too little room for manoeuvre, so as to permit growth, employment, investment and innovation and to mitigate economic downturns. Investments by local authorities play a major role in this, and this is why the state must guarantee the authorities' financial security - including for authorities with weak finances. This is not about spending taxpayers' money carelessly for consumption purposes, but about

investing for the future. If we invest today, future generations will benefit. Our children and grandchildren will have to make up for anything we neglect to do today.

The entrepreneurial state. We stand for a state that takes responsibility for economic progress. The great economic innovations of our time would not have happened without basic state research. Strong public participation in strategically important areas of the economy is a driving force for economic development.

We want strong industry. Industry is a pillar of our economy and our prosperity. Our widespread prosperity and good living standards were created by generations and are not a locational disadvantage, as some would have us believe. Instead, they are the basis of our collective success. Austria would not score many points in a competition between industrial locations for low wages and social standards, as it relies on world-class skilled workers, a strong research environment and protection against unfair dumping competition. Its economic success is sustainable and is based on a well-developed legal system and sensible regulatory conditions. This success ultimately benefits everyone and not just a few.

We will strengthen small and medium-sized enterprises. We Social Democrats advocate reducing bureaucracy to a reasonable level. We want to eliminate unfair competitive disadvantages which SMEs suffer compared to large multinational corporations. We are fighting especially against large-scale international tax avoidance, which only benefits large corporations. We want it to pay off financially to have things repaired instead of throwing them away and buying new ones. We want to take full advantage of procurement law to support Austrian companies with public contracts. We want to improve the social and economic situation of micro-enterprises and single-person businesses, while discouraging false self-employment.

We are making Austria the leading country for business start-ups. We know that start-ups have become an essential factor for a country's economic development. That is why we want to make Austria the prime location in Europe for start-ups. There is more than enough creative potential to achieve this goal: it just needs to be promoted in a targeted way. This will require an active structural policy, not attention-grabbing headlines. We will use clusters to help create a favourable environment for innovative start-ups in our strongest sectors. We also want to establish a culture of giving entrepreneurs a "second chance", so that a business failure does not rule out a new start.

CHAPTER 4

GOOD WORK FOR EVERYONE

Social democracy stands for a democratic, barrier-free and healthy working environment. We will use technological advances to distribute work and working hours fairly. Our goals are full employment and fair wages.

Work for a good life. Safe, meaningful and fairly paid work leads to quality of life and personal development. It contributes to a self-determined and independent, i.e. good, life. Our goal is full employment within the framework of a solidarity-based and ecological economy. Everyone has a right to good work, training and further development, trade union membership and leisure time.

For a humane, fair and solidarity-based working environment. A humane world of work means that everyone is free from coercion and able to pursue meaningful and secure employment. Physical, psychological and social well-being is key. A working environment is designed fairly if all employees can live well on their incomes and benefit from an increase in their productivity or efficiency. A humane and fair working environment strengthens solidarity among employees.

Digitalisation of the working environment brings new opportunities with it. Workflows can be organised more efficiently by using new technology and this can free people from burdensome activities. For example, using intelligent assistance systems can facilitate age-appropriate work. Digitalisation can make an important contribution to inclusion by helping disabled people to participate in working life. Like every technological change, digitalisation does not follow any natural law. It does not automatically increase the quality of work. Economic and political interests influence how technological innovations are applied and who profits from them. This makes it all the more important to focus on people's well-being and interests when shaping the working environment. We are pursuing an ethical approach

that ensures a balance between technological progress and preserving good employment relationships. Social democracy involves all participants in shaping the working environment. It requires companies to permit employees and their representatives to participate in decision-making (i.e. co-determination).

Progress for everyone. We Social Democrats want to influence technological innovation in favour of a humane working environment. This will require a democratic approach to rationalisation decisions which are based on technological progress. Companies should involve their employees at an early stage in the development of technical solutions and new work processes. There is often a polarisation between good, i.e. fairly paid and manageable, work and badly paid and insecure work. Use of modern technology can give companies room to manoeuvre and to introduce more self-organisation, and it is in everyone's interests for companies to do so.

Social security for new ways to work. New technological opportunities enable new ways to work. This leads to new forms of work in terms of labour law and labour organisation, often marked by legal uncertainty, a lack of social security, fragmented structures, isolation in the work process, and poor remuneration. There are entrepreneurial platforms which organise food delivery services and crowdwork platforms on which people offer their services online and often only receive orders for individual steps in a piece of work. People who work in the cloud or who provide their labour online have a right to fair payment, social security and trade union membership. We Social Democrats therefore

advocate the introduction of a legal framework which will apply these safeguards to these new ways to work.

We are strong together. We and the trade unions jointly advocate employees having a fair share of any net profits and a right to co-determination in economic and social life. Only strong and active trade unions, works councils and employee representatives will ensure that there is a balance of power in the competition between the interests of capital and labour, and of boardrooms and employees. Employees' rights to co-determination must be accelerated and expanded, and democratisation of the working environment must be encouraged, to reflect the changing working environment. We are committed to the Austrian model of social partnership and to effective representation of employees' interests through statutory membership in the Chamber for Workers and Employees (Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte).

Creating full employment through a right to good work for everyone. Our goal is and remains full employment. We will need a somewhat radical reorientation of our accustomed working environments in order to achieve this goal. We Social Democrats want good work for everyone. We will therefore not accept unemployment, especially long-term unemployment. And we will use public funds, as a last resort, to create jobs in order to ensure that everyone has a right to work. Inclusion, i.e. the guarantee of good working conditions for people with disabilities, is crucial if everyone is to be able to contribute their skills. We Social Democrats are just as firmly opposed to the exclusion of experienced workers from the labour market as we are to youth unemployment in Austria and the rest of Europe and the world. We Social Democrats attach great importance to this fight against systematic discrimination against whole groups on the labour market.

We are fighting for fair wages. A fulfilling job is an important source of purpose and recognition, and fair remuneration is a matter of respect and acceptance. We want a minimum wage which reflects that people spend a great part of their lives doing something for others. We are fighting hard against differences in wages which are attributable to gender, origin or other identity factors.

Taking advantage of progress. We will take advantage of technological progress to give working people more freedom and to distribute working time in a socially fair way. It is now 45 years since the 40-hour week was introduced, and it is time we took new steps to reduce working hours. The number of hours we have to work should reflect our stage of life, our state of health and the way our lives continuously change. In this way, we will enable people to have genuine freedom of choice in their family work and more time for voluntary activities.

Fifty-fifty and no less. We Social Democrats advocate the equal distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women and the enforcement of equal pay for work of equal value.

We want educational opportunities for everyone. Measures for initial and continuing vocational education and training, such as sabbaticals and educational leave, will become increasingly important against the background of rapid changes in the working environment. We therefore support enhancing and expanding these opportunities, and making them easily accessible for all employees.



CHAPTER 5

EDUCATION AS THE KEY TO FREEDOM

We cannot answer tomorrow's questions with the knowledge and thinking that we have today. That is why our society is so dependent on promoting creativity and the acquisition of knowledge. Education has to be inspiring. We will urgently have to break new ground to achieve this.

The best education for everyone. Education is the key to the world. It provides the basis for a self-determined life and a means of emancipation. It equips us to think critically, and to be free and mature people. It gives us access to fulfilling work. Education is the basis for social participation and therefore for a democratic and solidarity-based society. It is the foundation for a good life for everyone and for our society's economic, social and cultural development and prosperity. We Social Democrats are a cultural and educational movement and we are fighting to ensure that everyone can achieve their right to education, and not only during their youth. Social democracy values lifelong learning highly, because it is indispensable for everyone's personal and professional development and is the driving force for social progress.

Education is more. Our educational system should not be limited to teaching basic skills and imparting cognitive knowledge. It should also teach social and cultural skills, such as creativity, empathy, solidarity, tolerance, responsibility, and independent and critical thinking. Adults should guide children like demanding and credible partners, whether they are their parents or their teachers. Every child is worth the same, and no child should be left behind. Our children's future must not depend on their social class, their place of birth, their wealth or their parents' incomes. Education should never be a privilege of the owning class. We are therefore fighting for a public, freely accessible and inclusive education system that guarantees all children equal opportunities and encourages people positively and individually from a young age. From kindergarten to adult education, we stand for inclusive spaces in which people can switch between education and training paths and everyone has more than one chance to pursue their own interests.

Emancipatory elementary education is more important than ever. We want to create living and learning spaces which are suitable for children. Kindergartens are educational institutions in which children learn from each other because their curiosity is stimulated. Children learn basic skills at an early stage and improve their language and social skills. This prevents social disadvantages that would otherwise become engrained as soon as the children start school. Good elementary education is therefore the most important factor in the fight for equal opportunities. We want an expansion programme for the elementary education sector, which will provide comprehensive, high-quality childcare and educational facilities which are open all day and every day (especially during school holidays) and are publicly financed. There is a lot to be done. A nationwide quality framework, training of elementary teachers at university level, appropriate remuneration reflecting that they are skilled workers, smaller class sizes, a legal right to a free childcare place from the first year of life, and two compulsory free kindergarten years will all ensure that our children are able to develop their personalities individually.

For a school in democracy. Neither parents' income and origin, nor their educational level and social prestige, should have any influence on the educational path that their children and youngsters will follow. They should experience encouragement, rather than separation and selection, at times of transition between schools. We want a free, comprehensive, all-day school for 6 to 14 year olds, with internal streaming according to the children's interests, inclinations and abilities. We care deeply about improving schools. There will be no place and no need in our school system for private tutoring. No child will have to carry

a heavy schoolbag home anymore, because the public school is the common place where everyone is supported in the best possible way. This school will not be an isolated place for learning, but an open living space which is also integrated with the social environment, whether in urban districts or in villages. Lessons and leisure education should complement each other in order to make the school day suitable for children. Culture and arts are, like exercise and sport, essential parts of everyday school life that support children and youngsters in their creative and physical development, provide variety and encourage team thinking. We Social Democrats stand for a teaching and learning culture that will allow pupils to organise their work independently and to develop relationships based on solidarity. It should include a democratic school organisation which allows the pupils to directly elect their representatives at all levels. It should also include a subject on "Political Education", which brings political participation, fundamental rights and freedoms and our democratic culture to life, in order to form political self-confidence through this experience. Our ideal is to fight so that everyone can develop their own talents, lead a self-determined life, raise their voices, and be heard.

We are fighting for the apprentices. Good apprenticeship training needs transparent and clearly defined training content, which applies to all training companies. Trainers' standards must improve in content and method. Apprentices should not be exploited by being asked to provide services outside of the subject they are being trained on. We insist that these young people should be financially secure during their apprenticeships. Equal pay for work of equal value should also apply to apprenticeship training. In future, sector funds should provide financing for apprenticeship training. All firms should pay into one pot from which those who provide the training should be reimbursed for their expenses. In this way, firms who do not provide training, but profit in the future by employing well-trained skilled workers, will make a fair contribution. This is also how we will finance our inter-company training workshops. Our commitment to democracy and co-determination also includes training companies and vocational schools. Electing youth consultative councils and school representatives, who have the right to be involved in decision-making, is a fundamental right for young people in training. After all, our apprentices are the skilled workers of the future, and they and school pupils are together responsible for our country's future.

We want the best education - also for adults. People must be exposed to study offers that give them the opportunity to con-

tinue their educations throughout their lives. Employers should also take this into consideration. Offers for people who could not successfully complete their initial training, and whose chances of social participation are therefore severely impaired, are especially important. They should be able to acquire cultural skills and to obtain school and vocational qualifications free of charge.

Acknowledging extracurricular skills. We believe that skills which were not acquired in school or other formal education should obtain more recognition. We want everyone to be able to change their occupation and to have a second education. Adult education empowers learners to acquire knowledge independently. We believe that people will not all be able to achieve life-long learning unless they have an individual legal right to it.

Social democracy requires an expansion of the public education infrastructure. Public libraries, in association with museums, the media, adult education centres and theatres, have a role in enabling public access to science and education for everyone in the country. Public libraries, as cultural centres and places of learning, form an important part of the regional educational infrastructure. Faced with the advance of digitalisation, they have a responsibility to inspire a love of education, science, art and culture everywhere.

We advocate better support for universities, teaching and research. Austria has the potential to be a centre of innovation, a fascinating laboratory of success and of trial and error, but this will require it to do more for education, research and science. Government authorities must ensure that the universities become a place where people, regardless of their origin, age and gender, can learn and research in an international context. Our commitment to open and free access to higher education means that we reject tuition fees and access restrictions. The chronic underfunding of universities must be eliminated, and the necessary resources must be made available for research. The answer to the increasing number of students should not be further schooling, which would only make it more difficult for many to study. A more effective system of study grants is also needed, so that social imbalances do not become engrained. Teachers and students must jointly and democratically organise the universities and the universities of applied sciences. We need and we encourage curious, critical people who are aware of their social responsibility and whose ideas, concepts and research results support the pursuit of a free, equal, fair and solidarity-based society.

CHAPTER 6

SECURITY IS SOCIAL

Social security means freedom from poverty and need. It creates a life of dignity and the possibility of realising one's dreams. We Social Democrats are fighting with conviction and persistence for the welfare state and for a society in which this freedom is a reality for everyone.

We care deeply for the ideal of a free and self-determined life. The true purpose of the social security system is to ensure that each person is free from need and can participate in social, political and cultural life. It is about putting everyone in a position to develop their dreams and to lead fulfilled social relations. That is why we need and are defending a strong social and welfare state that guarantees the social rights of all people. Our unemployment, health, pension and accident insurance schemes are an expression of institutionalised solidarity.

We want first-class health care for everyone. We Social Democrats are committed to the fundamental right of all people to living and working conditions which protect and promote our health. Health is not just the absence of illness: it also means physical and mental well-being. We guarantee equal access for everyone in this country to a public health system which is financed on the basis of solidarity. In Austria, no one's treatment may be delayed because he or she has less income or has no connections. We oppose any class-based form of medicine. We Social Democrats stand for a health care system based on solidarity in which everyone is compulsorily insured and is cared for as effectively as possible according to the principle of benefits in kind, regardless of any additional privately financed benefits they may have. Our health care system must provide needs-based, comprehensive, local and timely services to everyone, and this should be achieved by significantly expanding the primary care centres. The health care system's public ownership and structures must be organi-

sed in such a way as to ensure that patients can make their own decisions about their treatment. We want an efficient structure for the self-governing social insurance agencies and standardised conditions for the insured. We will not use deductibles to finance our health care facilities, because they hit poorer and chronically ill people particularly hard.

We are fighting for ageing in dignity and free from fears of destitution. Care concerns us all. We have no intention of simply shifting the burden, as generally happens, onto the women in families. Many thousands of children and young people also care for their relatives. Although personal care by relatives is very important, we need more professional care and a significant expansion of mobile and local care services. In this country, no one should be left to perform this onerous task alone. Nobody in their old age should feel that they are a physical or financial burden on their family. Everyone in Austria must have a right to high-quality care which is paid out of public funds or taxes on inheritances. Our care system ensures social participation in old age by supporting self-help for people with disabilities. This also means an investment in a comprehensive and sophisticated care package which is open to all and guarantees comprehensive treatment. We advocate a nationwide, uniform, transparent, public care system that will allow nursing staff higher wages and better working conditions. This includes the expansion of palliative and hospice care services.

We guarantee secure pensions. Reliability, solidarity and fair performance are key values in social democratic pension policy. Our state pension system is supported by a commitment to an insurance community, in which all employed and self-employed people make pension contributions and acquire corresponding rights. This solidarity-based pay-as-you-go pension system has always proved successful as opposed to private pension systems that are dependent on the capital market – not least because our pensions are consequently not vulnerable to the susceptibility of financial markets to crises. Our state pension system is an achievement we are proud of. Developing it further means advocating higher pensions, especially for women. There should be no risk of poverty in old age. Each individual has to decide whether to save for a bigger pension. Government support for this is not necessary and would not be effective. Our pensions are secure when there is sufficient economic growth, high employment and decent salaries, and these are ultimately the sources of pension contributions and therefore of payments. We are therefore also fighting for a labour market policy that will ensure that as many people as possible remain in employment until they reach the statutory retirement age. This requires a consistent employment and investment policy and enough age-friendly jobs. We Social Democrats advocate a fundamental right to old-age protection and a guarantee that pension rights will retain their value.

Securing the minimum. We will only be satisfied when we have completely eradicated poverty in our country. In principle, nobody should have to live on the bare minimum, but at least this minimum must be guaranteed without any ifs or buts. We are committed to effectively eradicating poverty with minimum standards, in order to make a dignified and serene life possible for everyone. The minimum guaranteed resources benefit (the so-called *Mindestsicherung* in Austria) is the most basic social safety net. It is available to everyone just because they are human. We are resolutely opposed at all levels to any attempts by reactionary elements to force even more people to rely on the minimum guaranteed resources benefit by undermining our social insurance schemes, and to establish a low-wage sector by creating a debilitating welfare regime. The minimum guaranteed resources benefit should be standardised nationwide to help put an end to downward competition within Austria. It must be organised transparently. Everyone who is entitled to claim should know how and where to get their rights. With us Social Democrats there will be no return to the time of food tickets and soup kitchens, in which caring for the poor established a degrading system of shame, begging and humiliation. We stand for fighting poverty, not the poor.

Providing security. Security is a basic social democratic topic. Most people rely upon an effective state to provide this security. Only very rich people can buy private security. Of course, the state cannot guarantee absolute security, but it must do everything possible to reduce uncertainties. Freedom and security depend on each other. Throughout its history, social democracy has always stood up for a non-violent society. The SPÖ stands for a society that defines itself through peaceful co-existence in solidarity, and in which people can live together and develop in freedom and security. Any and every form of violence, by anyone and directed at anyone, endangers not just individuals but also fair democracy based on solidarity.

Security is a public task. The state's monopoly on the use of force stands for peace and security. It is one of the foundations of the rule of law and an expression of state sovereignty. Tasks connected with this monopoly may not be outsourced or privatised, and must only be performed by state institutions which have been established for this purpose. We oppose the social phenomenon of crime with a targeted social policy on the one hand and a modern police force on the other. This requires an effective, democratically legitimised police force whose functions must be given special training on fundamental rights, crime prevention and de-escalation. On the other hand, the Austrian army is responsible for protecting the country effectively from possible external threats.

Creating democracy close to the people. The separation of powers and strong representation at all levels are at the heart of our representative democracy. These are legitimised by general, free and secret elections, supplemented, if necessary, by citizens' direct participation in decisions. A stable democracy depends on a living parliamentarism and a high-quality administration. The state's administration must be accessible to everyone and easy to contact using both analogue and digital technology. This also applies to the ability to appeal against decisions quickly. Every action and decision taken by the administration must be as comprehensible and transparent as possible. We want a modern administration to use new technological tools to increase people's participation in all processes and to make publicly collected data accessible.

Equality before and under the law must be guaranteed. Judicial independence is an irrefutable cornerstone of a state under the rule of law. It must be supported by democratic control measures. It requires transparent and fair selection procedures which consider candidates' knowledge of psychology, sense of

social responsibility and understanding of economic and political interrelations, as well as their judicial expertise. We believe it is important for people to participate in the administration of justice through a reformed system of jury service. We also believe that educational and social policy provides the best preventive and security policy, whereas criminal law can only be a way of combating crime. Having given full consideration to people's se-

curity interests, we support alternatives to the conventional penal system.

Improving access to justice. We want to expand both legal aid and suitable legal advice centres. Strong representation structures and the ability to bring class actions are needed in order to protect consumers' rights.



CHAPTER 7 IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

People have more opportunities in towns than in the countryside, and we believe that it would be unfair to let this gap widen. We need an active policy and investment in the social infrastructure if we are to eliminate the disadvantages that rural areas have compared with urban ones. That is what we are advocating.

Equal conditions for everyone. People in rural and urban areas deserve equal opportunities, and the social democratic principle of solidarity requires public supplies to be of the same standard in structurally strong and weak regions. This includes efficient, high-quality facilities in which children can develop and elderly people are assured of ageing in dignity. Rural areas also need reliable, high-quality medical care, an expanded public transport service and the introduction of broadband.

Having somewhere to live is a human right – and it must be affordable. Everyone is entitled to a home which meets their needs, regardless of their financial circumstances. For this, we need new buildings, a strong, non-profit housing sector, public ownership of flats and a transparent, nationwide universal tenancy law. Young people find it especially difficult to afford rents and building land. A good supply of living space only works if we also ensure that enough land is available for new and developed affordable housing. We need a nationwide housing programme to significantly increase the stock of social housing. We must not allow co-operative housing and community buildings to be privatised. We want to reintroduce earmarking of housing subsidies and want returns from housing loans to flow back into the housing cycle.

Speculation on housing and subsidies should be stopped. We will use socially fair regional planning and taxes on empty properties and second homes to make available living space accessible to everyone again. Housing is a basic need and housing

policy is a public task which the market cannot perform. We advocate a housing policy that will develop our communities and towns into good living spaces for everyone, where the living environment is designed to promote communication and solidarity between the residents. Social democratic housing policy ensures that our housing developments, hamlets, villages and districts are inclusive living areas in which nobody is excluded and in which there are neither rich nor poor parts. A lot of people who live in towns are now fighting to preserve their neighbourhoods as friendly and lively living areas and as places of social cohesion and mutual support. We are on their side in these struggles. We vehemently oppose the increasing gentrification of residential areas and support their social mix. Resident populations make an important contribution when they participate in urban and local planning.

We Social Democrats advocate the development of affordable public transport and infrastructure. Planners must ensure that there is adequate mobility in rural areas, so that people can participate in social life. Mobility means being able to manage all areas of daily life with reasonable effort, ranging from going to and from work or educational institutions, through personal business such as shopping and doctor's visits, to leisure activities and social contact through participating in community life. Mobility includes integrated connection opportunities, alternative transport concepts and means, such as carpooling, and increased involvement of the population in transport policy and urban planning. A lack or shortage of public transport is a major obstacle

to independent living for socially or economically disadvantaged groups, such as women, migrants, young people, elderly people, etc, particularly in rural areas. One of our central goals is to create new future prospects for the whole population. High-quality public infrastructure means more freedom and equal opportunities, especially in rural areas.

Enjoying sport more. It is becoming increasingly important for people to organise their leisure, not only for a good work-life balance, but also because of their higher life expectancy and the active retirement period that goes with it. Sport is a very important part of leisure activities, especially because of the part it plays in preserving and promoting good health. Experiencing the community and striving to compete by fair means serve social learning and reduce aggression. We therefore support and promote popular, school and disabled sports in particular, because

they ensure equal access to sport for all social groups and genders. Movement as an educational goal and daily exercise in schools are the first steps, but these have to be followed by activities that raise awareness of the relationship between physical exercise and physical well-being and health.

For an active community life and strong voluntary sector.

Austria is a country in which people do a lot of voluntary work and get involved in a broad range of associations, e.g. voluntary fire brigades, music clubs and sports. These institutions' many achievements and activities frequently benefit the general public and, especially in rural areas, strengthen people's sense of cohesion and togetherness. We Social Democrats therefore advocate recognition and support for this commitment and these voluntary activities.



CHAPTER 8

OUR DUTY TO PROTECT THE PLANET

Austrian social democracy has always placed great importance on environmental issues, but has not always implemented them with the same rigour. When environmental and economic concerns were incompatible with each other, it often favoured economic growth. Our approach of transforming our society towards ecological sustainability in a socially compatible way will continue to distinguish ours from other approaches in this area. But climate change makes it clear that we should give the highest priority to preserving the means of our subsistence, as this is also the basis of social justice.

Accepting the climate catastrophe would not only be fatal for ecological reasons, but also a social injustice. A few people would be able to adjust to the consequences of global warming, but many would be helplessly exposed to them. Even now, socially disadvantaged population groups are disproportionately affected by the consequences of pollution. Air pollution from motorised private transport particularly harms people who live in cheaper residential areas near busy roads. And when towns and cities swelter during the summer months, the people who suffer most are the ones who do not have a weekend home in the country and do not live in air-conditioned flats or in wealthy suburbs with lots of greenery between their mansions. We need an active policy to rectify this situation by encouraging, for example, greening projects for facades, roofs and urban areas, new green spaces for everyone and merging inner courtyards. Environmental and climate policy means making a better and healthier life possible for everyone. This does not necessarily require the current generation to reduce its quality of life in order to leave a high-quality environment for future generations. It may indeed increase the current generation's quality of life, prosperity and employment.

Global responsibility requires local action. Global warming is often seen as a global phenomenon, which requires an equally

global solution. This provides an easy excuse to refrain from national efforts and to blame a lack of international cooperation. But greenhouse gas emissions are largely responsible for local environmental problems, as well as climate change generally. The pollution we emit locally is not just building up to a global climate catastrophe somewhere far away, but is causing serious problems directly and concretely on our own doorsteps. National and regional climate policy measures make sense, because reducing local air pollution contributes to greater environmental justice. We want clear targets for the nation states, as well as at the EU level, for improving energy efficiency, for developing renewable forms of energy and for CO₂ reduction. Austria should take the lead here and become CO₂-neutral by 2040. Environmentally friendly technology should be encouraged, and environmentally harmful technology should be taxed more, in order to protect the environment.

Climate and environmental protection contributes to an equal society. Environmental policy and wealth distribution issues are closely linked, so there is no point in playing the ecological and social questions off against each other. There was similarly no point in playing the struggle for factory safety off against the struggle for higher wages 150 years ago. Prosperity and other po-

litical goals like health and the quality of life have always belonged together for social democrats. We also know that environmental and climate policy should be formulated with the people's interests in mind. Everyone has a right to a sound environment. Rigorous action against environmental pollution and climate change, for example by banning unnecessary plastic, should not be allowed to have negative social effects. We have every hope of achieving more employment, a more equal distribution of income and healthier and longer lives as a result.

Promoting public assets means consuming less. A well-developed public infrastructure plays a key role in reducing the individual consumption of resources. A public transport system that works well strengthens social cohesion, because all social classes share it. It will also lead to a reduction in motorised private transport, especially if it ranges from reliable small-scale networks in transport associations to international rail and waterway connections. Well-developed community services, publicly accessible recreational areas and a strong non-profit, sustainable and public housing sector, which is accessible to a large part of the population, have similar results.

The environment is a public asset. We will fight to protect the environment and against the privatisation of public resources. We are committed to the precautionary principle, according to which new technology should not be put into use until there is proof that it will not harm the environment or health. Environmental and social standards must be considered when inviting tenders in public procurement.

Responsible use of energy. The question of energy must be considered as a system and not as a disjointed series of issues, such as fuel, hot water and power generation. Our big opportunity is for digitalisation to enable smart coordination of all the component parts. Austria is able to produce all the electricity it needs itself. We want to use technological progress to ensure that there is a secure supply of energy on the one hand, and to consume much less of it on the other. We advocate the promotion of efficient, green electricity, energy-efficient construction and comprehensive thermal renovation. We are fully committed to political responsibility for the energy infrastructure, including expanding the grid and introducing more efficient technology for generating, transporting and storing energy. Producing energy from nuclear power is hazardous and leaves nuclear waste that will be a burden on many future generations. We will therefore continue to oppose nuclear power plants and to advocate that nuclear power should be phased out globally. The first step in this

direction is to avoid purchasing nuclear power. In the medium term, the Euratom Treaty should be amended to provide for a nuclear phase-out.

Our goal is to switch from fossil combustion engines to alternative climate-friendly forms of propulsion. Austria should join the world leaders in this sector, because it will develop the technology of the future and thereby enable us to secure our ecological foundations at the same time as our future economic welfare. To achieve this, we must pursue a targeted research policy that enables innovative, interdisciplinary breakthroughs. We will at the same time encourage the development of public transport.

We want sustainable food production. Agriculture should contribute to healthy living, should provide high-quality and, as far as possible, regional and affordable food, and should take special care of animal rights and welfare. Organic production, traditional farming methods and small-scale agriculture make important contributions to this. It should also take technological development, especially digitalisation, into account. All of these factors should lead to more sustainable food production. We should also pay attention to seasonal supply in the course of the year. We should use pesticides as little as possible. Like everywhere else, technology in agriculture should be used for the benefit of people, animals and the environment, and not at their expense. Genetically manipulated organisms have no place in our agriculture.

We advocate fair and transparent agricultural development following ecological and social criteria. This development should keep a place for family, part-time and mountain farms. The key funding criterion should not be land ownership but the amount of labour that needs to be employed.

We want an agriculture which, in addition to providing the population with food, serves to preserve biodiversity and an unspoilt nature, to protect against natural hazards and to care for the cultivated landscape. This will require the expansion of protected areas. Maintaining healthy soil is a key concern for future-oriented agriculture. We must minimise the destruction of fertile ground. We should at the same time develop soil-friendly methods of agricultural production. Ensuring that farmers receive fair incomes for their services should make it more attractive to work in agriculture.

We stand for a sustainable change in the way we treat animals. We need to give special attention to the dignity and wel-

fare of animals when conflicting animal rights and financial issues affect our economic and social system and when other political and legal issues that are important to the public are raised. We will

address the central issues of animal protection, in particular the keeping, care and transportation of animals and the consumption of animal products, in social and political debates.



CHAPTER 9

GENDER EQUALITY

Gender equality is a question of justice and human dignity. In our modern and enlightened society, there should be no question about equal participation of the genders in political power, influence and decision-making, or about the basic principle of equal pay for equal work. But there is still a long way to go.

A lot of unfinished work. Although a lot of progress has been made and people's role models have gradually changed, we are still far from achieving gender equality and the income gap between men and women has not yet closed. Women still do most of the domestic and educational work. As a result, poverty affects women more often and more severely than men in old age. This inequality of power and status between the sexes largely explains the terrible fact that a large part of the female population still has to endure physical and psychological violence. For example, sexual assaults are more frequent in areas where men occupy all of the powerful positions.

Legally equal, but not in practice. Social equality has not in practice kept pace with the law. A lot of men claim that they want to contribute more to family work, but are frustrated by labour market developments which give little scope for family-friendly working conditions for either men or women. In this environment, which is exacerbated by the gender pay gap, parents often adopt stereotypical roles even when they begin with completely different intentions. Women with children are often socially excluded from adequately paid work, with negative consequences for their social security, their income development, their independence and, in many cases, their private relationships. This powerfully illustrates how the external political situation can affect people in their private lives.

Halfway there. There has certainly been progress, but we are now stuck halfway. Conservative groups use this objection as part

of an intensified effort to agitate against feminism. They scorn feminism and complain that men need to be re-educated. They reminisce about the "good old days" in which the stereotypical male sole earner provided supposed stability, and they complain that feminism is destroying these values. They use this propaganda to turn reality upside down. They blame the double burden that women suffer on feminism, and then deplore how men are apparently exploited and disadvantaged, for example when partnerships fail. Or they allege discrimination against men, if for once a man does not get the top job. As in other areas of social policy, we Social Democrats are resolutely opposed to any attempts to conceal existing social problems by using retrograde illustrative examples, and to reverse social progress, curtail women's rights and promote inequality. For us, fighting means carrying on. You can only fight antifeminism with more feminism.

We are fighting for gender equality and against discrimination. Gender-fair coexistence includes an equal distribution of power between men and women at all levels in the economy, education and politics. We must achieve further progress in order to secure the progress that we have already achieved in equal opportunities of the sexes. The introduction and implementation of gender quotas will at last ensure that key decision-making positions in politics and the economy are occupied equally by men and women. Men and women must also be paid equally for paid work of equal value.

Fifty-fifty. It is time for a gender-fair division of unpaid home,

care and nursing work. Measures to achieve this include appropriate regulations on child care and a reduction in working hours. We also demand comprehensive, free, high-quality child care. Certain groups of women are especially at risk of poverty. We advocate adequate national advances on maintenance payment in order to reduce the risk of poverty for single parents. The right to sexual self-determination is a fundamental human right which must not be restricted for any reason. Independent access to information about sexuality, contraception, transmission of diseases, pregnancy and abortion, as well as to medical examinations by specialist doctors, must be guaranteed for all.

We are fighting for the complete equality of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders, intersexuals, queers and asexuals. We Social Democrats stand for an extended concept of family, which goes far beyond the heterosexual nuclear family and includes many forms of inter-generational coexistence. We advocate that people should be able to co-determine their body, their

identity and their sexuality independently of role constraints, and that this should also be reflected in the legal system.

A society of mutual respect. Social democracy stands for the protection of and respect for minorities. We oppose every form of discrimination and all forms of contemptuous (including, in particular, patriarchal) behaviour. Our ideal is an open and socially fair society, in which everyone can be as they want, with self-confidence and without fear. Disrespectful behaviour can poison our coexistence. Everyone may follow their own values, whether they are traditional or unconventional. Everyone deserves respect. No one should feel degraded by social patterns. We advocate effective protection against violence, and this should have a preventive effect and should extend to the digital world. Adequate financing of women's shelters and protection facilities for women fleeing from violent relationships must at last be implemented comprehensively throughout Austria.



CHAPTER 10

STRENGTHENING COOPERATION

In recent years, migration and integration have been two key topics of public debate. Both topics are important, but should not be confused. True to the slogan "integration before immigration", the first question is how we can deal with each other as an open, pluralistic society and how we can make everyone who is living here feel that Austria is their own home country. The questions of how we can help those in need of protection, and how we can ensure that immigration is orderly, should be considered separately.

We want a society based on solidarity in which everyone contributes to good coexistence. Everyone should have the opportunity to develop individually and to join in. The prerequisites for this are social security and protection against violence. We need people locally, in politics and in civil society, who are passionate about good community relations and who are given enough time to commit themselves to work on this. This applies to any place in which a reconciliation of interests is necessary, including institutions like schools, universities and companies. Investments in citizen participation, co-determination and voluntary engagement are always also investments in productive and respectful cohesion. We do not accept people being treated in a condescending manner. Everyone deserves respect in all circumstances. Places where there is a lack of respect should therefore not be tolerated, whether in public spaces, on the internet, or behind office doors or factory gates. We want to encourage people to assume their social responsibility to stand up for weaker people and to demonstrate their moral courage.

We stand for full freedom of thought and belief. We respect a declared belief in a religious faith, or a declared lack of religion, as the most personal decision for each individual. Full freedom of thought and belief may not be restricted by the state or in any other way. Social democracy also opposes all old and new attempts

to misuse religion for political purposes and to impose values or ways of life on people. We firmly oppose patriarchal and long outdated role models being reintroduced, or force being used, in the name of religion. While social democracy defends the right of every individual to freely exercise a religious belief, it also insists on each individual showing respect for other religious and non-religious worldviews. People who claim respect for themselves must also respect others and their freedoms.

A comprehensive integration policy. Our social democratic integration policy works actively for everyone's social participation and co-determination, whether they were born here or not. Successful coexistence means that everyone who lives here enjoys the best possible conditions for equal and solidarity-based cohesion. Integration requires measures so that people who arrive in Austria can find their place in society, beginning on the first day.

For a society without discrimination. Access to education and health care, affordable housing and jobs with adequate training, as well as participation in culture, mobility and other aspects of life, must be non-discriminatory and socially just. This requires not only legal regulations to secure the rights of new arrivals and those who have been living here, but also appropriate support (such as free language courses and advice on how to enter the la-

bour market) and committed anti-discrimination work. Our ideal is a society in which everyone who lives here legally can cope with life, no matter where they come from, which religion they belong to, or what their name is. A society which gives everyone the opportunity to integrate, but which also protects them from feeling a loss of identity and community. A society that is proud of the many migrants, and their children, who have achieved something in Austria and who are helping to take our society forward with their achievements.

Common ground. At the same time, successful coexistence requires that everyone who lives here learns the German language. We have fought for decades to embed emancipatory values in society and therefore insist that everyone should accept and respect freedom, democracy and the rule of law. Our social democratic integration policy is based on legal frameworks such as the European Convention on Human Rights, an Austria-wide integration strategy and a dense network of integration policy measures, especially at the local level. Small-scale and inclusive neighbourhood initiatives promote mutual exchange and rapprochement. These require sufficient financial and human resources.

For a broad civic alliance. We see the cooperation between civic initiatives, migrant groups, voluntary workers and public insti-

tutions as the expression of a common striving for a society based on solidarity and equality. Integration depends on everyone understanding themselves as part of a collective group and working towards a common cause. Anyone who is not accepted into this collective group will find it more difficult to integrate. Anyone who feels rejection, perhaps stemming from their childhood, may be driven into a defensive attitude. Since we are an immigration society which is becoming more heterogeneous, we need to start thinking of ourselves as a community which is finding shared common ground, despite all the differences. This is about a duty to be there for one another and to shape our society together. It is also about using available offers for integration and making one's own contribution.

Facing up to our fears. Many of the social challenges and individual fears that people have are rooted in poverty and social inequality, not in immigration. We must counter these fears with information and a policy that provides social security instead of disadvantages and exclusion. We must politically oppose people who want to turn social conflict into ethnic and cultural conflict and thereby play disadvantaged people off against each other.



CHAPTER 11

THE OPEN DIGITAL SOCIETY AND ARTISTIC FREEDOM

New digital technology, the arts and culture offer huge opportunities. They can help make our society more open, democratic and fair. And help people develop their creative potential. However, we must set a new course in order to achieve our goals of ensuring that the arts and media are free, of providing social security to artists, and of implementing an artistic and cultural policy which is open to all and promotes respect and mutual understanding.

Using digitalisation. Digital technology makes it possible for us to gain more freedom at work and in our leisure time. The new opportunities it offers should increase our participation in social coexistence and in the prosperity generated by community life. We recognise the potential for open and freely accessible knowledge, and for opportunities for cooperative design and participation that result from digitalisation, and we advocate democratic development of this potential. That includes promoting concepts like free and open source software, and open government and open data, especially in public institutions and the administration.

Securing democracy in the digital age. It is important for freedom of opinion, equal opportunities, communication and innovation to be able to move freely in digital space. A new public has been created and this can advance our democracy. However, we must protect this new public from manipulation and censorship. We must protect fundamental democratic freedoms, such as the prohibition of censorship, freedom of speech and assembly, and protection of the secrecy of correspondence, on the internet as well. This also applies to journalistic freedom and editorial secrecy. On the other hand, deliberate distribution of fake news, defamation and smears must be contained and prosecuted. Digital platform providers use algorithms to control what billions of people see and read every day. We advocate transparency in this area: these algorithms should be disclosed and platform providers should be held accountable for compliance with democratic rules and standards.

Broadband for everyone. We Social Democrats regard access to information as a human right. We therefore want people to have a right to access the internet. High-performance, high-speed networks should therefore be available to everyone. This applies to both urban and rural regions. Access to broadband internet is indispensable in a digital society. It follows that people should receive broad education and support so that they can use digital media independently and critically, from when they are in kindergarten or school to when they are in an old age home. Schools should also teach children skills for dealing with violence and other risks on the internet.

We are fighting for self-determination and the right to privacy. We stand for modern and self-determined data protection. Protection of privacy is more important than economic interests. The transparent citizen is a risk to freedom, and we therefore advocate a strong, uniform and rigorously enforced European data protection regime and a digital catalogue of fundamental rights. Everyone should have the right to decide for themselves how their data may be used. Users should be able to access digital services without having to agree to comprehensive storage of their data. The "right to erasure" should be made a fundamental right. Excessive surveillance is now threatening our democracy and our freedom. We therefore groundless oppose mass personal surveillance, because this does not make us safer and instead facilitates economically and politically motivated misuse of data.

Against new monopolies. We need a new competition and data regulation regime to avert the risk of digital mega-corporations monopolising and misusing our data. This must prevent monopolies, create effective competition and regulate dominant platform providers.

Ensuring internet neutrality. We Social Democrats support the preservation and safeguarding of internet neutrality. We oppose internet service providers blocking internet pages without judicial control, blocking internet access, or throttling internet speed as a punitive measure. Criminal content should be attacked at its root by applying the maxim "Delete instead of block" ("Löschen statt Sperren").

Fighting the dark side of digitalisation. Malicious use of the internet must be counteracted. In particular, precautions must be taken against internet crime, hate messages, cyber bullying, cyber espionage and cyber attacks on sensitive infrastructure. The internet must not be used as a place of violence or to post discriminatory, racist or misogynistic hate messages. It should be possible to simply name criminal behaviour as such and to report it to the relevant authorities. Platform providers have a special responsibility in the fight against internet crime. Any legal loopholes in this fight must be closed at both the national and the European level. Information and advisory services to consumers should be improved in order to prevent fraud, for example when shopping online, and the conclusion of illegal contracts.

We advocate free information. Freedom of the media and freedom of expression are cornerstones of democracy, and we firmly oppose any attempts to restrict these freedoms by defaming and attacking journalists. Schools should teach children the importance of these freedoms and how to handle the media competently and critically.

The ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) is an indispensable public law broadcaster. In this age of "alternative" facts, public service, licence-fee financed broadcasting is especially important as a high-quality, objective source of information. Since user behaviour has changed hugely, public-law contents must also be freely accessible to users via the internet, social media and other newly emerging channels.

Promoting media diversity. To maintain and expand media diversity, there is a need for media support which will promote the independent production of editorial content, will be open to web-based media and will support the profession of journalism.

Financial incentives should be created for being member of the Austrian Press Council. Non-commercial radio and TV stations enrich the media landscape and should be supported accordingly. Fair conditions must also be created to enable Austrian private media companies to compete with foreign stations, and especially with large multinational media companies which earn advertising money in Austria without paying anything like fair taxes on it.

Up-to-date copyright law. In this digital age, copyright law needs to be updated to provide a fair balance between the interests of authors, commercial exploiters and users.

The arts and culture strengthen freedom and help us to understand the world. Cultural politics is always also social politics. Cultural movements are important bearers of social progress, criticism and emancipation. We want to advance an open and diverse arts and cultural policy which is not limited to the promotion of so-called high culture and does not degrade cultural activities to commercial services. It should support understanding and experience of the world, respect for others and mutual understanding.

Cultural education and mediation from the beginning. Everyone has the right to participate in cultural life, regardless of their social position or origin. We believe that this is a necessary component of social justice. Cultural education and mediation play a central role here. We advocate that educational institutions' programmes should include culture in its active and passive forms. This should include involving artists in schools, providing teachers with good training in artistic subjects and developing co-operation between educational and cultural institutions.

We are promoting artistic creation and public engagement with the arts. We are committed to public funding of culture. Our aim is to create a reliable framework for critical, innovative and diverse arts and to enable active engagement with our cultural heritage. Cultural policy should not interfere with artistic creation. It must contribute to the free development of the arts. We pay special attention to gender equality and the promotion of women, as these are often structurally disadvantaged. Beyond that we stand for the targeted promotion of contemporary and experimental art, as well as young artists.

Social security for artists and cultural workers. Many artists, cultural workers, and people who work as one-person enterprises in the creative industry, work under precarious conditions. Lack of social security, irregular working hours, multiple jobs, and



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times without work or orders are all part of their daily routine. Creative workers often no longer fit into existing social security systems. For social democracy, social justice requires that work in

the arts, culture and creative industry should be properly paid for. Our task is to create a suitable framework for creative workers and to provide social security for artists.



CHANGING AUSTRIA

The first step. The approval of this manifesto is the Social Democratic movement's first step to achieving new self-understanding. This first step is important, but it is really only the beginning of a much bigger project which will change Austria, namely the creation of a social democracy.

A compass for the future. This manifesto offers a compass for political orientation. A compass shows the direction to go, but not necessarily the way. We must first renew our understanding of political activity, before we can make a breakthrough with our ideas about a better future. After all, a manifesto is just an idea which only comes to life in political activity. Day by day, in the smallest details of political action.

What unites us. Our manifesto explains the values which unite us. It conveys guidelines which are valid for the long term, because they demonstrate our idea of society. Behind it is an ideal. We Social Democrats do not regard our fellow human beings, however close or far they are, as dangerous rivals in a free-for-all. They are people who are endowed with dignity and rights, and want to make something of their lives, and this makes them potential partners with us in a common effort to achieve a better life. We can only coexist well, if we create the circumstances that will guarantee everyone the chance of a good life.

Fighting for freedom. Austrian social democracy sees itself as a liberation movement. We are consumed by the ideal of a free and self-determined life. That is why we Social Democrats are fighting side by side with the many, who have too little to be really free. We are convinced that the most effective weapon against discrimination is greater participation. That is why the spread of democracy (including active co-determination of the many) is the path by which we will reach our goals.

A break with paternalism. This self-understanding must also be reflected in our dealings with the citizens. For this reason, this new manifesto breaks with the paternalism which parts of our movement represented for a long time, not least because of their experiences before and during the last world war. Social de-

mocracy is not about a strong protector of socially weak people, because these people are not weak: they just have too little money. We are not here to provide people with something, but to empower them to achieve independence. The party does not stand above the population, but serves it. That is why we Social Democrats are not only fighting for the disadvantaged but with them.

Do not leave politics to the elites. Our strongest opponent is the feeling that we cannot change anything. We can and must overcome this feeling of impotence by demonstrating in our own lives that politics is a responsibility which we all share together. Too many people see politics as something which is reserved only for a chosen elite. But that is wrong. Deciding how we want to live and deal with one another is neither the privilege of a few powerful people nor the exclusive task of parties - even if they are equipped with governmental power.

Everything is political. With their slogan "The private is political" the second women's movement summed up just how wide the field of politics is. It is not a narrow area of responsibilities, but a large number of fields of action. And if every part of life is political, there are countless possibilities to engage in politics - both within and outside social democracy. This also means that there are many places in which we can and must successfully persuade people to play their part. We can do this through conversations at the kitchen table or in the canteen, in our sometimes serious discussions at family celebrations, at meetings, at scientific conferences or, indeed, through involvement in the SPÖ.

Governing is not enough. We cannot achieve and secure social progress just by participating in government or in a parliamentary majority. Politics is not dictated unilaterally by the legislature, but must be anchored in society. We can only make progress if everyone strives for the best possible results in their own life situations, without asking others to carry the social democracy project by themselves.

Whether we are a mayor or an activist, we all share responsibility for social democracy. All of our activities are

required and none is dispensable. Our breadth is our strength, and diverse political styles are therefore necessary as well as permissible.

An alliance of progress. The strong social democracy of the future must represent a broad alliance of progress. It will be a diverse mixture of party structures with open doors and social movements, as well as many committed groups and social milieus, which all want something similar and pull in the same direction. However, effectiveness will not come only from exchanges between like-minded people, but above all from contact with everyone else. "Pure doctrine" is indeed beautiful, but it generally only commands a small following. We must succeed in addressing and challenging the whole population through our activities in such a way that change becomes possible.

Living openness. Openness is a prerequisite for this alliance of progress. Openness towards developments in our world and especially in our responses to other opinions and points of view. If we want to communicate our convictions, we should begin with people who may not immediately agree with us. But that will only work if we show an honest interest in other points of view and beliefs, and if we challenge them seriously and also allow

ourselves to be challenged. This will, of course, require us to be willing to adapt our own positions. We do not just want to tell people what they already know, and to persist in our own view of the world, untouched by other opinions.

Shaping political culture. We are all responsible for our country's political culture. The quality of public discussion currently suffers from many negative influences. Austria is a centrepiece of democracy, and we cannot allow it to deteriorate further. We will therefore make our contribution to renewing Austria's culture of debating. It will have a fundamentally positive style, which will be characterised by trust in our own strengths and not defined by the weaknesses of others. It will also use clear and easily understandable language and will adopt a respectful attitude by always emphasising what we have in common with the other party, instead of divisively emphasising what separates us from them.

We're not waiting for better times. In this spirit, we invite everyone to participate in our project of liberation and change. Another, better, freer world is possible and our role as Social Democrats is to pave the way to it. This hope for change must live wherever we are. We are not just waiting for better times. We are making them.



