

Manifesto Analysis

European Green Party (EGP)



1. Summary



Lacking

The manifesto fails to address the urgency of the **health and care workforce** question, even though elements to support workers in general are presented. The shortages, medical deserts, training needs and difficult working conditions are not mentioned. The question of **research in health**, and its funding, is also not mentioned, with only a reference to the need to research the long-term impacts of COVID-19. Finally, while the manifesto does touch upon key current files and promotes measures related to Farm to Fork, Sustainable Food Systems Framework, Europe's Beating Cancer Plan, Ambient Air Quality Directive, or the European Health Data Space, the latter are not mentioned.



Insufficient to meet EU goals and commitments

The manifesto refers to **non-communicable diseases** and their risk factors, however, without concrete proposals and lacking a more comprehensive approach to this growing health burden. A similar comment could be made for **mental health**, with no regulatory measure proposed. Then, **digital transformation** is covered in a general manner but lacks focus on health systems. The **resilience of health systems** is also insufficiently developed in the manifesto.



Addressed

A majority of the analysed topics are well addressed in the manifesto. **Public health** has an important role, particularly through a health in all policies approach, the consideration of health, climate and environment together, and elements calling for a wellbeing economy. **Health equity**, anti-discrimination, and poverty are also well considered throughout the text, as well as **access to care**. The manifesto provides elements on **anti-microbial resistance (AMR)**, and **crisis preparedness**. It also shows strong commitment to **EU engagements on the global stage**, and provides significant inputs on **institutional developments** and a potential treaty change. **Food systems** and their sustainability are well developed. Finally, **climate change** and **environmental policy** are extensively addressed throughout the document.



Addressed (cont.)

Key proposals: Green and Social Deal; Care Deal; EU legislation for a Universal Health Coverage; EU civil society protection mechanism; Digital Fairness Act; EU Health Force; Plant-Based Treaty; Common Food and Agriculture Policy; “Affordable Housing EU” plan; integrated anti-poverty Strategy; EU Right to Disconnect; Right to Remote Work; European Climate Ticket framework; Just Transition Law; framework directive on minimum income; Climate Adaptation Law; revision of the Work Life Balance Directive and the Maternity Leave Directive; update of the Horizontal Anti-discrimination Directive; renewed LGBTQIA+ Equality Strategy; revision of the Green Taxonomy; expanded European Solidarity Fund.

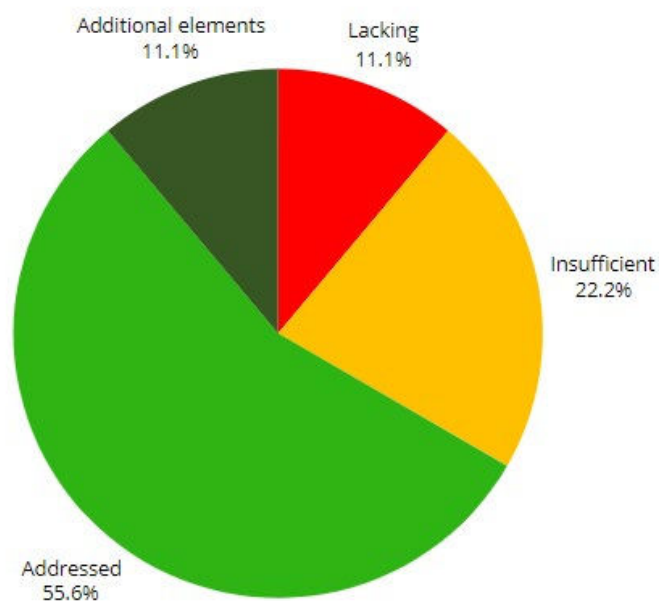


Additional relevant elements to public health

Several elements brought significant relevance for public health. First, the document sets the goal of meeting World Health Organization guidelines on **air quality** by 2030. Overall, the **Green and Social Deal approach** provides a holistic view, integrating a Care Deal, and committing to a Global Green Deal. On crisis response, the proposal to develop an EU Health Force for cooperation in facing **health emergencies** is highly relevant. Finally, the process of **treaty changes**, enlargement, and stronger competences in health for the European Commission is very detailed.

2. Focus¹

Assessing content related to health by number of topics



- Health workforce
Research in health
- Digital transformation
Non-communicable diseases
Resilience of health systems
Mental health
- Public health as a priority
Health equity
Sustainable food systems
Environment and health
Climate change adaptation/mitigation
Access to care
Health crisis preparedness
Global and multilateral initiatives
Antimicrobial resistance
Institutional elements
- Global Green Deal vision
Treaty changes and institutional tools

¹ Disclaimer: this visual reflects the coverage of the 16 topics listed in the analyses. Some of the topics comprise more elements than others.

3. Analysis

Public health as a priority

Public health is quite well addressed in the EGP manifesto, with a statement that “Health is a public good to which everyone has a right”. This is particularly visible through their vision of a **Green and Social Deal**, a plan “for a greener, healthier Europe”, providing a holistic approach, and “combines improving lives with protecting the climate and environment”. The Green and Social Deal will aim at protecting everyone’s “right to life essentials”, including nutritious food and care. There are indeed a number of elements pressing for a health in all policies vision, starting with the fact that “All policies should be looked at from a health perspective”, and that “protecting the climate and environment is about protecting people”. The manifesto also evokes the question of accelerating “the much-needed action” on the green transition, “at the same time as protecting living standards, especially for the most vulnerable”, hinting at a **just transition**. The manifesto shows an understanding that the climate crisis is “a severe threat to human health”. All these elements also bring forward **health promotion** and **prevention**. This was also seen in the sports policy elements, with a mention that sports “promotes health”.

This vision for **public health and wellbeing** can relate to the priorities of the Global Health Strategy², even though the latter is not mentioned explicitly, and to the 3rd Sustainable Development Goal (SDG)³. Indeed, the manifesto commits to “put people and their wellbeing at the centre of Europe’s green transformation and economy”. This is also foreseen within the EU’s economic and fiscal policies, which “need to focus on improving people’s wellbeing and quality of life and maintaining a stable climate and a healthy environment”.

Furthermore, the document calls for **Universal Health Coverage**, and states that “society runs on care”, calling for a “caring society”, and mentioning that the Green and Social Deal is also a “Care Deal”. In this, they call for investments in “universal access to early childhood education and care and deinstitutionalized care for disabled people and the elderly”. Particularly, the manifesto provides elements to the **inclusion** of the elderly, and their political participation, referring to the WHO’s Global Network of Age-friendly Cities and Communities.

The manifesto mentions the **lessons from COVID-19**, particularly labelling it as “tragic evidence that underinvestment, privatization, and the neglect of preventative approaches put patients and health workers at risk, physically and mentally”. However, the manifesto fails to mention the need for a **strong health budget** to deliver on the **urgent needs of health systems**, and support the further development of health policy. In the section targeting treaty changes and enlargement, the document refers to, and supports, the calls from the Conference on the Future of Europe, stressing the need for a “larger EU budget and stronger EU competences on key issues such as health, tax and social protection”. The document also recognises that more budget is needed for the EU to face its challenges, and suggests ways forward to raise the budget, particularly through environmental taxes.

This vision is perfectly aligned with the perspectives brought forward in the **EPHA manifesto**. The latter calls for health to remain a priority on the EU agenda, placing wellbeing at the core of the recovery and resilience of health systems, but also in the development of healthier environments, particularly in the permacrisis context. The EPHA manifesto also puts a strong emphasis on health in all policies, and breaking silos to address crises. One difference would be a stronger emphasis in the EPHA manifesto on the need for a strong health budget.

² Deliver better health and well-being of people across the life course

³ SDGs - 3: ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages

Institutional elements

The Greens manifesto provides a strong vision of the future of the **European institutions**, and the related needs that would bring an enlargement, calling for a move towards a federal Europe. This call comes from an observation that the **treaties** need to change to provide the EU with the necessary tools to face current and upcoming challenges. The proposed process includes consultation of citizens and validation through referendum. It also relies on calls from citizens at the Conference on the Future of Europe, with a “deepened European democracy, with more power for the European Parliament, an end to national vetoes, a larger EU budget, and stronger **EU competences** on key issues such as health, tax, and social protection”. The manifesto proposes that the Parliament should have the right to “propose legislation and equal budgetary power”. Furthermore, as mentioned, the Greens are also suggesting revisions to the European Semester tool, and to the mandate of the European Central Bank, with a recommendation to use existing tools to encourage green investments.

However, these institutional elements focus very little on public health, beyond the call for a **European Health Union**, and competences on health. For instance, the SANT committee is not mentioned.

The manifesto provides a significant number of elements supporting the **role of civil society** and for closer collaboration between the EU and civil society, stressing the need for a “vibrant civic space and empowered civil society actors”. Civil society organisations “are at the heart of every democracy”. Calling for a **stronger EU budget**, the manifesto proposes “an expanded role of the European Parliament and civil society in monitoring EU spending”. The manifesto also proposes an EU mechanism to protect civil society against attacks, discrimination and harassment. It also stresses the need for adequate **funding**, and for civil dialogue to be supported through measures, for instance, through a statute for European cross-border associations and non-profit organisations. At the EU level, this civil dialogue should be “modelled on the social dialogue”.

This is quite aligned with the **EPHA manifesto**, as a stronger role would be given to the European Commission especially on health. However, EPHA also calls for a SANT Committee, and a Vice-President of the European Commission that would focus on public health, wellbeing, and social rights. The two manifestos are also well aligned regarding the provisions for civil society organisations.

Sustainable food systems

Although the manifesto does not refer to the **Sustainable Food Systems Framework** nor to **Farm to Fork**, it provides elements supporting them, and an overall strong vision for healthier food systems. The manifesto commits to establishing “the right to food as a principle in EU legislation”, relying on local supply chains. It states that “healthy food should be accessible to all”, but “remains a luxury reserved for the few”. It also states that **healthy food** must be pesticide free, and does not support GMOs as a solution for food- and agriculture-related challenges. It also proposes a Common Food and Agricultural Policy.

However, some elements supporting healthy food are insufficiently developed. The manifesto commits to “empowering people to make informed choices”, but does not support it with a concrete measures. This also places the full burden on the consumers, while measures should also be made to ensure that healthy food is guaranteed. The call to “strengthen the plant-based protein sector and encourage a transition towards more plant-based diets, building on policy proposals including the Plant-Based Treaty” would support this, but further elements are needed, such as addressing **commercial determinants of health**. The manifesto commits to support “small and ecological farming”, to help consumers cope with food prices and ensure that no one goes “without health and sustainably produced food because it is too expensive”. These elements contribute to targets from SDG 2.⁴

⁴ Goals - SDG 2 - End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture; Targets - SDG2 - 2.1: By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round

To make food systems more sustainable, the Greens' manifesto relies on a proposal for a **Common Food and Agricultural Policy**, "to support changes in what we eat, how we produce food, and where we get it from". This vision includes the need to support farmers in facing the double crisis of climate change, biodiversity loss, and the difficulties in receiving fair remuneration. The proposal also seeks to make the food systems more resilient and support local production. This Policy would also condition EU agricultural funding on social and environmental criteria, by dedicating one third of the EU budget to sustainable food systems. These elements support the implementation of SDG 2 and the 8th Environmental Action Plan (EAP).⁵

Food security is also well addressed in the Greens' manifesto, particularly with calling for a system that supports "local production in line with food sovereignty". The manifesto also relies on the Common Food and Agricultural Policy proposal to increase food security, with a link to the current permacrisis context. Trade agreements should also reflect those commitments, and not disrupt local production. Imported food must meet EU rules ("phytosanitary requirements, antibiotics, and animal welfare standards"). The manifesto also provides a strong commitment regarding **pesticides**, calling for "a fundamental shift away from subsidies for industrial agriculture based on pesticides, monocultures, and animal suffering and towards massive investment into organic farming and agroecological production". It also commits to a 50% reduction in pesticide use by 2030. These elements contribute to the Farm to Fork and 8th EAP objectives.⁶

Both manifestos are very much aligned regarding food systems, although the Greens' manifesto does not explicitly refer to the Sustainable Food Systems Framework, nor to Farm to Fork. The **EPHA manifesto** contains a priority for healthy and sustainable food systems and food environments which focuses on reinforcing the EU's common food policy with dedicated regulations and budget. It underlines the importance of resilient and sustainable food production at all levels of governance. However, the EPHA manifesto provides a stronger focus in making food options healthier, rather than placing the responsibility and burden of choice on the consumers through solely information.

Non-Communicable Diseases

The Greens' manifesto mentions **non-communicable diseases (NCDs)** but does not sufficiently develop an approach to tackling this growing health burden. Through their call for a European Health Union and Universal Health Coverage, the Greens promise to "guarantee access to affordable medicines and treatment, including for cancer and rare diseases", with a specific focus on vulnerable and marginalised groups. The manifesto refers to NCD **risk factors**, and to the fact that some are dietary. This could be a very light hint to **commercial determinants of health**. There are also several elements related to **prevention**, with the approach on wellbeing. Regarding **drug policy**, the Greens "advocate for an EU approach based on harm reduction, health, and support for people who suffer from drug addiction and that minimizes the negative social impacts of drug use". The document does not call for a specific regulatory measure on NCDs, and does not mention the achievement of the **Beating Cancer Plan**. It also does not refer to **smoke-free environments**.

The **EPHA manifesto** places a central focus on NCDs, as they are the largest burden of ill health and early death in the EU. They are therefore intrinsically linked to healthy environments, sustainable food systems and prevention. EPHA also calls for a NCD Strategy and a Cardiovascular Health Plan.

⁵ Targets - SDG2 - 2.2: By 2030, ensure sustainable food production systems and implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, that help maintain ecosystems, that strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding and other disasters and that progressively improve land and soil quality; Objective - 8th EAP - Art 2.2.f - Promoting environmental aspects of sustainability and significantly reducing key environmental and climate pressures related to the Union's production and consumption, in particular in the areas of energy, industry, buildings and infrastructure, mobility, tourism, international trade and the food system.

⁶ Targets - Farm to Fork - reduce the use and risk of chemical pesticides by 50% and the use of more hazardous pesticides by 50% by 2030; Indicator - 8th EAP - 2.2.f - Area under organic farming (% of utilised agricultural area in km²); Target - 8th EAP - 2.2.f - 25% of EU agricultural land organically farmed by 2030

Mental health

The question of **mental health** is evoked in the manifesto, but insufficiently addressed. Within the vision of a Universal Health Coverage, the document states that the latter “will go beyond physical health and make sure that public healthcare systems include mental health care with no additional costs for individuals”. The manifesto calls for both mental and physical health to be approached with the same importance, a recognises “the need for inclusive and comprehensive preventative and healing strategies that include culture and sport as well as social and creative activities. On the other hand, the document does not mention any call for a dedicated regulatory measure on mental health, nor elements targeting **youth**, or overall **suicide prevention**. However, the emphasis on wellbeing could support further measures targeting mental health in the implementation of this programme.

The **EPHA manifesto** goes further, calling for a Mental Health Strategy to be developed, focusing on strengthening mental health services, developing better mental health indicators, setting awareness campaigns and fighting stigmatisation. It also stresses the need to facilitate access to mental health support for youth and marginalised groups.

Health Equity

Tackling **inequities** is overall well addressed in the Greens’ manifesto, calling for an inclusive Europe. However, on some issues, more information on how the measures would be implemented or the objectives reached would be beneficial.

The manifesto commits to “eliminate health inequities”, from the start of life, with a call for adequate funding for the European Child Guarantee, referring to elements participating in addressing the **social and economic determinants of health**. The document focuses on several aspects of **poverty**, and on ensuring fair wages and decent income, tackling **in-work poverty**. In that regard, the document calls for a framework directive on minimum income, setting “an adequate level of support” in each country, at 60% of the median income. The manifesto also calls for an integrated anti-poverty strategy to end homelessness by 2030, halve child poverty by 2030 and end it in 2040. It also calls for considerations regarding universal basic income. This participates in completing SDGs 1 and 10.⁷

The manifesto provides elements on **energy poverty** and the cost-of-living crisis, through investments “in the essentials we all need and the public services we all deserve”, including affordable **housing** and home renovations. In that regard, the document evokes a renovation programme ensuring “healthy and fossil-free” homes by 2040. Tackling energy poverty is labelled an “essential priority”. The document calls for renewable-based heating and cooling in homes and industries, with supporting measures where needed, to ensure “affordable energy for everybody”. The document supports an Energy Guarantee, in that regard. The manifesto defines housing as a basic right and also calls for public and private investments in affordable housing, as well as rent control measures. It suggests an Affordable Housing EU Plan. These measures participate in SDG 11.⁸

The manifesto presents a **just transition** approach, embodied in the Green and Social Deal. This element is present throughout the text, with commitments to “also answer the injustice and inequality” while building a greener society, and statements that “climate justice and social justice are two sides of the same coin”. While the manifesto does not specifically refer to the **European Pillar of Social Rights**, it calls for “a Europe of Social Rights” to “empower and protect workers and communities in transition and be inclusive to all”. The manifesto calls for “the revision of the Work Life Balance Directive and the

⁷ Goals - SDGs - 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere; Targets - SDG1 - 1.2.: By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions; Targets - SDG1 - 1.4.: By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including microfinance; Targets - SD10 - 10.4: Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality

⁸ Goals - SDG - 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable; Targets - SDG11 - 11.1: By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums

Maternity Leave Directive to advance towards fully paid maternity and paternity leaves of equal length". It also provides elements of **occupational health and safety measures**, to be adapted in light of climate change reality. Objectives are also mentioned in terms of improving working conditions, and social dialogue. Overall, these elements would be comprised in a Just Transition Law. The just transition would also be supported by an increase of the EU Social Climate Fund.

The manifesto provides **economic proposals**, including an EU-wide wealth tax "to fight inequality and finance the green transition", as well as a European financial transactions tax. The document also calls for "poverty-proof pensions for all seniors". The document also provides elements on how an extended European Solidarity Fund would support climate adaptation and preparedness, calling for synergies between the green transformation and cohesion policy. This can refer to SDG 10.⁹

Antidiscrimination and **antiracism** commitments are strongly present in the document, calling for the EU to "legislate to uphold fundamental rights and protect people from discrimination", and providing insights on rising discriminations and exclusion, particularly towards "people living with disabilities, people living in poverty and other vulnerable groups". Measures also include citizenship education comprising anti-racism, anti-hate and anti-extremism elements. The manifesto also highlights the need to tackle **intersectional forms of discrimination**. The document commits to "fight racism and exclusion in all its forms", including online, but also "that nobody can make decisions you're your body", and asks for a "fair asylum systems" aligned with human rights. The manifesto calls for fundamental rights to be direct EU competences, and for an assessment of the Anti-discrimination framework and a review of the Anti-discrimination Directive, to include intersectionality and ensure equal rights. The Greens also call for a "renewed LGBTQIA+ Equality Strategy" to close "legislative gaps". The document also calls for the end of "intersex genital mutilation", to ban "conversion therapy and forced sterilization of transgender people", as well as ensure "access to trans-specific healthcare".

Specifically on **racism**, the document mentions that it is a "structural and systemic challenge that must be addressed as such", calling for racial justice to be mainstreamed in policies, particularly through participation of communities. The manifesto commits to implementing the EU Action Plan Against Racism, and to renew it in 2025, also calling for mandatory action plans at the national level.

The Greens manifesto mentions the need for the EU to "begin collecting disaggregated data by gender, age, and type of disability to assess the impact of EU policies and monitor progress on the inclusion of people with disabilities generally". Indeed, there is a need for **better data on inequities**, to better tackle discriminations. However, the manifesto does not present any concrete elements on how to develop it.

The Greens also provide a strong **gender perspective**, stating the need to understand diversity among women as "key to fighting inequality and discrimination". The manifesto commits to "fight for equal pay for equal work and equal opportunities for all at work", specifically targeting the gender pay gap "through binding measures". The latter is specified to depend on intersectional factors too, as "different groups of women experience very different gaps in pay". The document also calls for policies ensuring financial independence, tackling discriminatory tax systems and ensuring economic resources benefit all in the same manner. These measures participate in reaching targets of SDGs 5 and 10.¹⁰

Furthermore, the manifesto calls for **sexual and reproductive health and rights**, "including the right to safe abortion" to be fundamental rights, included in the EU treaties and the directly applicable Charter of Fundamental Rights. The document also calls for the provision of free contraceptives for all. Furthermore, the manifesto commits to push for legislation targeting **gender-based violence**, calling for

⁹ SDGs - 10: reduce inequality within and among countries

¹⁰ SDGs - 5: achieve gender equality; Targets - SDG5 - 5.c: Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels; targets - SD10 - 10.2: By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status; targets - SDG10 - 10.3: Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard; Targets - SD10 - 10.4: Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality; Targets - SDG5 - 5.1: End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere; Targets - SDG5 - 5.5: Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life; Targets - SDG5 - 5.a: Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws

the ratification of the Istanbul Convention and for gender-based violence to be considered an EU crime. It also commits to fighting trafficking and labour exploitation. These measures participate to SDG 5.¹¹

Another element regarding gender equality and antidiscrimination is the commitment to **improve women and marginalized groups' participation in policy**, calling for the "political and civic participation of girls, women and marginalized groups" and the promotion of "the economic empowerment of girls, women and marginalized groups", particularly through foreign policy. The document also calls for a binding parity mechanism for the EU elections, and gender balance in EU decision-making.¹²

Finally, regarding people living with **disabilities**, the manifesto calls for their political inclusion, and for the effective enforcement of EU accessibility legislation, as well as an EU Disability Card. The document also calls for improved accessibility of elections, and justice.

The Greens' manifesto is very comprehensive in terms of health equity and antidiscrimination and aligns with the calls from the **EPHA manifesto**. These include tackling intersectional health inequalities, poverty, social exclusion, discrimination and racism to ensure equitable health outcomes. Both manifestos also evoke the need for improved data collection for the implementation and development of anti-discrimination measures.

Access to care

Access to care is quite well addressed in the Greens' manifesto, especially from an equity perspective. Care is deemed one of "life's essentials". However, the manifesto fails to refer to the **Pharma Package**, and insufficiently refers to the **shortage of medicines**, only referring to their **affordability**.

The document makes a significant call for a European Health Union that comprises a **universal health coverage** through European legislation. This refers to the second priority of the Global Health Strategy, strengthen health systems and advance universal health coverage, and to SDG 1¹³. It also commits to guaranteeing "access to affordable medicines and treatment", with inclusivity, i.e., "especially the most vulnerable and racialised communities". The document also touches upon the issue of **unmet healthcare needs** and moving to a different country for that reason, mentioning that "no one in Europe should feel forced" to do so. Furthermore, the document stresses that "whatever their status, people coming to the European union to build a life should enjoy equal social, cultural, economic, and civic rights including freedom of movement, the right to work and social protection, and access to healthcare and education".

The manifesto provides a strong **additional element**, of a **focus on care**, within the Green and Social Deal. As mentioned above, this call for care society comprises elements throughout the different stages of life. Furthermore, the Greens want "strong care services that benefit the wellbeing of people with long-term care needs", calling as well for intergenerational justice.

Both manifestos are quite aligned, particularly on the access of all to health and care and universal health coverage. Care takes a wider place in the Greens manifesto, but the **EPHA** one focuses more on access to medicines, research, and the Pharma Package.

¹¹ Targets - SDG5 - 5.6: Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences; Targets - SDG5 - 5.2: Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation

¹² Targets - SDG5 - 5.1: End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere; Targets - SDG5 - 5.5: Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life

¹³ SDG1 - 1.3. Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable

Digital transformation

The **digital transformation of health systems** is not sufficiently tackled in the manifesto. The document approaches the digital transformation of society quite significantly, but fails to provide elements targeting health and health systems specifically. In particular, the elements from the **European Health Data Space** are not mentioned, nor are **e-Health, telemedicine, and digital divide**. The manifesto does call for a European Data Space overall, with “anonymized social data uses that serve the common good”, hinting at climate justice and medical research. Literacy is hinted only regarding media, and the role of civil society in promoting such literacy.

Then, several elements are put forward regarding **data protection mechanisms**, in a general manner, stressing that digital technologies “should protect the rights of individuals and serve the common good before the interests of private corporations”. The Greens specifically call for “a Digital Fairness Act to protect people from intrusive online advertising practices”. Upholding the principles of GDPR, the manifesto also commits to “push for the right not to be tracked”, calling for “adequate EU legislation” to protect citizens “against the abuse of spyware”.

The manifesto contains elements on **digital inclusion**, identifying particularly the risk of exclusion of older people. It calls for “the same freedoms and protections that exist offline [to] exist in online spaces”. Tackling online hate is put forward as a measure to ensure groups are not excluded from the political debates. Similarly, the manifesto stresses the need to counter disinformation, particularly through the enforcement of the Digital Services Act’s provisions.

Finally, without mentioning the **AI Act**, the document brings strong inputs on AI, calling for the “principle that humans must remain in control of AI systems and that these systems respect human autonomy, dignity, and decision-making authority” to be implemented, with limits for AI, to ensure that it works “for people, society, and planet, not for surveillance states or tech capitalism”. The Greens also want to ensure that non-discrimination laws and data protection should be strengthened in light of AI development, as well as measures to protect workers’ rights.

The Greens do not refer to the digital transformation of health systems, but place elements that could support it, in terms of data protection, inclusion and AI management. This partially aligns with the **EPHA manifesto**, presenting the importance of digital health literacy and digital skills, the ethical use of digital health tools and data, and an inclusive digital transition. Furthermore, the EPHA manifesto contains elements related to the European Health Data Space, particularly regarding the facilitation of epidemiology data collection, and cross-country secure data sharing.

Environment and health

The question of environment, and its relations to health, are extensively addressed in the Greens’ manifesto. It shows a vision based on a **One Health** approach, even though the latter is not mentioned. For instance, it states that “climate action will bring benefits across society”, that “Our societies can only be healthy and secure if we respect planetary boundaries”, and that “Protecting the climate and environment is about protecting people”. It commits to “push to include the right to a healthy and clean environment in the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which must be directly applicable to all EU citizens”. Furthermore, the manifesto relies on a vision corresponding to the **economy of wellbeing**, therefore contributing to the 8th EAP.¹⁴

¹⁴ Objective - 8th EAP - Art 2.1 - The 8th EAP shall have the long-term priority objective that by 2050 at the latest, people live well, within the planetary boundaries in a well-being economy where nothing is wasted, growth is regenerative, climate neutrality in the Union has been achieved and inequalities have been significantly reduced. A healthy environment underpins the well-being of all people and is an environment in which biodiversity is conserved, ecosystems thrive, and nature is protected and restored, leading to increased resilience to climate change, weather- and climate-related disasters and other environmental risks. The Union sets the pace for ensuring the prosperity of present and future generations globally, guided by intergenerational responsibility

Clean air and the phasing out **fossil fuels** are at the core of the Greens' manifesto. Although not referring to the **Ambient Air Quality Directive**, the document aims for the EU to meet the WHO air quality guidelines by 2030. The manifesto also stresses the urgency to achieve clean air objectives by referring to the impact of **fine particulate matter** on the most vulnerable, and on **premature deaths**. This refers to the 8th EAP.¹⁵

To support this, a strong emphasis is given on the **electrification of the fleet**, its affordability, the phase out of internal combustion engines, and the development of **clean transport**. The document calls for investments in "better public transport", and "people-centric urban planning". Measures to support rail travel are also mentioned, as well as a European Ticketing Platform to support cross-border travel. The document stresses the need for public transport to be affordable. These measures support SDG 11, and the implementation of the Green Deal.¹⁶

The manifesto provides strong calls and measures to finance the transition, particularly by removing environmentally harmful **subsidies**, pesticides subsidies, fossil fuel subsidies, and implementing **polluter pays principle** on several accounts. Overall, the Greens aim at reducing tax burden on workers, and increasing taxes "on polluters and the ultra-rich". It calls for a plan to phase out fossil fuel subsidies by 2025, and other environmentally harmful subsidies by 2027. Fairer transport prices will show "the real cost of polluting transport", and introduce a "frequent flyer levy" and a ban on private jets. The carbon border will also be extended to other polluting sectors. The funds from these subsidies should then be redirected into the green transition, renewable energy, energy efficiency and savings. The document also provides several calls for greening industries through **investments**, pushing for a "Green and Social Transition Fund equivalent to at the very least 1% of EU GDP per year, mainly financed by joint borrowing at the EU level". The Greens also call for the revision of the Green Taxonomy "to make sure that gas and nuclear are not greenwashed as "sustainable"". These elements contribute to targets and indicators of the 8th Environmental Action Plan.¹⁷

The manifesto pushes for **zero-pollution**, calling for "a toxic-free Europe by 2030", phasing out the use of the most **harmful chemicals**. The document calls for a stronger chemicals law in that regard. Furthermore, the manifesto provides several calls for the protection of **biodiversity** and the halting of biodiversity loss, with a call to spend 10% of the EU budget on biodiversity objectives from 2026, and a commitment to build a Trans-European Network for Nature. The document also tackles deforestation, however with no specific measure. It also evokes noise pollution and its impact on people. These elements support the implementation of SDG 6, and of the 8th EAP.¹⁸

The manifesto also has a strong vision regarding **sustainable consumption, production, and resource management**. Waste "must become a design flaw", and Europe should become **zero waste**. The manifesto strongly pushes for the implementation of a truly **circular and non-toxic economy**, "by 2040 with clear and binding targets and transition pathways to reduce consumption and resource use by 2030". The document tackles the question of premature obsolescence. The document touches upon

¹⁵ Target - 8th EAP 2.2.d - Reduce premature deaths from air pollution by 55% (from 2005 levels) by 2030; Indicator - 8th EAP 2.2.d - Premature deaths due to exposure to fine particulate matter (PM2.5) (number of premature deaths)

¹⁶ Targets - SDG11 - 11.2: By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons; Targets - Green Deal - reduction of emissions from cars by 55% by 2030; Targets - Green Deal - 0 emissions from new cars by 2035; Target - 8th EAP - 2.2.f - Increase the share of collective transport modes (buses, coaches and trains)

¹⁷ Indicator - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Environmental protection expenditure (EUR billion and % GDP); Indicator - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Green bonds (% of total bonds issued); Target - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Sustainable investments: increase the issuance of green bonds to boost public and private financing for green investments; Indicator - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Share of environmental taxes in total tax revenues (in %); Target - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Making polluters pay: increase the share of environmental taxes in total revenues from taxes and social contributions; Indicator - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Fossil fuel subsidies (EUR million); Target - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Making polluters pay: reduce environmentally harmful subsidies, in particular fossil fuel subsidies, with a view to phasing them out without delay; Target - 8th EAP - Art 3 - Financing the transition: increase spending by households, corporations and governments on preventing, reducing and eliminating pollution and other environmental degradation

¹⁸ Targets - SDG6 - 6.3: By 2030, improve water quality by reducing pollution, eliminating dumping and minimizing release of hazardous chemicals and materials, halving the proportion of untreated wastewater and substantially increasing recycling and safe reuse globally; Objective - 8th EAP - Art 2.2.d - Pursuing zero pollution, including in relation to light and noise pollution, and protecting the health and wellbeing of people, animals and ecosystems from environment-related risks and negative impacts; Objective - 8th EAP - 2.2.e - Protecting, preserving and restoring marine and terrestrial biodiversity and the biodiversity of inland waters inside and outside protected areas by, inter alia, halting and reversing biodiversity loss and improving the state of ecosystems and their functions and the services they provide, and by improving the state of the environment, in particular air, water and soil, as well as by combating desertification and soil degradation

the issue of raw materials, also in a global context. It calls in that regard for a sufficiency approach and prioritizing “the development of processing and recycling capacities for strategic materials” such as metals. Several elements relate to **water management** and tackling **water scarcity**. The document calls for the mainstreaming of water into all relevant EU policies, and for access to clean water to be guaranteed as a basic right. The document states that water should be considered “a natural common and managed by public entities. These elements contribute to SDGs 6 and 12, as well as the 8th EAP¹⁹.

The two manifestos are aligned regarding environment and health, although **EPHA**’s provides a stronger focus on the impact on health. The wellbeing and one health approach can be seen in both documents. Further focus on environmental inequalities could be beneficial.

Climate change adaptation and mitigation

The Greens’ manifesto provides a highly comprehensive and cross-sectoral vision of the Green Deal, in a proposal of an investment plan, a **Green and Social Deal** that also includes a Care Deal, and should aim at pushing for a Global Green Deal, stressing that “the accelerating climate crisis is undermining peace and prosperity the world over”.

As highlighted in previous sections, this Green Deal relies on a strong **just transition** vision, with a proposal for a just transition law, and a focus on strengthening essential public services. **Investments** will be made to “create a healthier environment for us and a liveable future for our children.” The manifesto commits to developing a climate adaptation law to “make people and places less vulnerable to climate impacts”. This can participate in implementing SDG1.²⁰

The document refers, and commits to, the climate objectives of the **Green Deal, Fit for 55**, the **Paris Agreement** and the **8th EAP**.²¹ Indeed, the manifesto states that “Europe can and must take steps to go beyond a 55% reduction in **emissions** by 2030 and achieve full climate neutrality by 2040”, through a revised EU climate law, and adding to the commitment to phase out all **fossil fuels** by 2040, starting with coal (2030). Furthermore, elements participate to SDG 13 and the 8th EAP, in terms of climate change adaptation and mitigation, and cohesion policy in that regard.²² Particularly, the manifesto suggests launching a European Natural Disaster Fund, and strengthening civil protection mechanisms.

The manifesto provides strong commitments regarding the **energy transition**. Access to **renewable energy** will be considered a “right to life’s essentials”. The manifesto seeks to push for energy-saving measures, as well as measures impacting demand. Aside from achievements in **energy efficiency**, the manifesto suggests using incentives for behavioural changes. However, concrete measures in that regard are insufficiently presented, aside from the measures previously mentioned in public transport. A strong focus is then placed on the use of renewable energy, to be made affordable, through the building of “an energy system for all, based fully on renewables, that connects and powers the continent”. By phasing

¹⁹ Goals - SDGs - 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all; Targets - SDG6 - 6.1: By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all; Goals - SDGs - 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; Targets - SDG12 - 12.3: By 2030, halve per capita global food waste at the retail and consumer levels and reduce food losses along production and supply chains, including post-harvest losses; Target - 8th EAP - 2.1 - Reduce water scarcity; Targets - SDG12 - 12.2: By 2030, achieve the sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources; Targets - SDG12 - 12.5: By 2030, substantially reduce waste generation through prevention, reduction, recycling and reuse

²⁰ Targets - SDG1 - 1.5: By 2030, build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters

²¹ Targets - Paris Agreement - keeping a global temperature rise this century well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5 degrees Celsius - i.e., reducing emissions by 45% by 2030 and reaching net zero by 2050; Targets - Fit for 55 - reducing net greenhouse gas emissions by at least 55% by 2030; Targets - Green Deal - no net emission of greenhouse gases by 2050; Target - 8th EAP 2.2.a - Reduce net GHG emissions by at least 55% by 2030 from 1990 levels; Objective - 8th EAP - Art 2.2.a - Swift and predictable reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and, at the same time, enhancement of removals by natural sinks in the Union to attain the 2030 greenhouse gas emission reduction target as laid down in Regulation (EU) 2021/1119, in line with the Union’s climate and environment objectives, whilst ensuring a just transition that leaves no one behind

²² Goal - SDGs - 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts; Targets - SDG13 - 13.1: Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards and natural disasters in all countries; Targets - SDG13 - 13.2: Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning; Targets - SDG13 - 13.3: Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning; Objective - 8th EAP - Art 2.2.b: continuous progress in enhancing and mainstreaming adaptive capacity, including on the basis of ecosystem approaches, strengthening resilience and adaptation and reducing the vulnerability of the environment, society and all sectors of the economy to climate change, while improving prevention of, and preparedness for, weather- and climate-related disasters

out fossil energy, this system would rely “100% on solar, water, wind and geothermal”. The document puts forward local solutions, such as the use of solar panels on houses, district heating systems, and calls for the development of a “robust electricity grid”. There is also an emphasis on citizens’ participation in the energy transition and projects. These participate in Green Deal targets, SDG 7 and the 8th EAP.²³

The Greens’ and **EPHA**’s manifestos are very aligned in terms of climate change mitigation and adaptation. Common elements include the energy transition and the implementation of the Green Deal. However, the EPHA manifesto makes an explicit link to One Health, provides a stronger focus on the impact of climate change on health, and the need for health systems to adapt.

Commitment to global and multilateral initiatives

The Greens’ manifesto refers to **global and multilateral initiatives relevant to health**. While not referring to the **pandemic treaty**, the manifesto provides elements on the post-pandemic recovery. Similarly, the **Global Health Strategy** is not explicitly mentioned, but its priorities are addressed throughout the text. The manifesto refers to the role that the EU should have on climate diplomacy and cooperation, as well as global justice, particularly regarding trade. Specifically, the manifesto envisages a “secure and peaceful world where Europe works with partners to put people and the planet before war and exploitation”. Through AMR, the risk of **future pandemics** and zoonotic diseases is evoked. The COP focusing on Biodiversity (**COP 15**) and its commitments are also highlighted, regarding biodiversity and restoration, referring to the Nature Restoration Law.

The manifesto provides significant elements referring to the **Paris Agreement** and the **SDGs**, placing climate at the core of the EU’s external relations. The document particularly refers to the Paris Agreement’s commitments “to providing international climate finance for mitigation and adaptation”. In addition, new trade deals should only be made with signatories of the Agreement, and those deals should contain “binding and sanctionable sustainability provisions”, and be aligned with SDGs, the COP 15 agreement and ILO core conventions. Specifically on the SDGs, the document promises to “fight for policy coherence across all internal policies to reflect their global implications with a legislative check for how they will help reach the Sustainable Development Goals and avoid any negative impact on third countries’ ability to achieve them”.

This corresponds fully to the **EPHA manifesto** recommendations, with strong commitments towards the SDGs and the Paris Agreement. EPHA also addresses the question of cross-border health threats, which are overall hinted at regarding pandemic preparedness and AMR in the EGP manifesto. Finally, EPHA’s manifesto refers to the WHO draft pandemic treaty.

Health crisis preparedness

The manifesto presents a thorough vision of the “multiple **crises** of our time” that the EU is facing, including the lingering impacts of the pandemic. The document also refers to the climate crisis and inaction and their impact on food security, the war of aggression on Ukraine, natural disasters, the collapse of ecosystems, the race for resources, energy poverty and the cost-of-living crisis, and growing attacks on the rights of “women, LGBTI communities and racialised groups”. The manifesto stresses the need for a global just transition, and for the EU to be a global leader on peace and universal values.

Furthermore, it also draws **lessons from the COVID-19 pandemic**. It also provides insights on future (health) and **preparedness** elements. A significant proposed measure is the creation of “an EU Health

²³ Targets - Green Deal - 11.7% improvement in energy efficiency by 2030; Goals - SDG - 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all; Targets - SDG7 - 7.2: By 2030, increase substantially the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix; Targets - SDG7 - 7.a: By 2030, enhance international cooperation to facilitate access to clean energy research and technology, including renewable energy, energy efficiency and advanced and cleaner fossil-fuel technology, and promote investment in energy infrastructure and clean energy technology; Objective - 8th EAP - Art 2.2.f - Promoting environmental aspects of sustainability and significantly reducing key environmental and climate pressures related to the Union’s production and consumption, in particular in the areas of energy, industry, buildings and infrastructure, mobility, tourism, international trade and the food system; Indicator - 8th EAP - 2.2.f - Share of renewable energy in gross final energy consumption (in %); Target - 8th EAP - 2.2.f - At least 42.5% of energy from renewable sources in gross final energy consumption by 2030

Force for cooperation on health emergencies and disaster response". However, this point lacks elements on the recovery and preparedness of health systems specifically, even though the document highlights the issues of underinvestment, privatisation, and neglecting prevention as a lesson from the pandemic.

Both the EGP and the **EPHA** manifestos make the same observations on the dire context of permacrisis, and are therefore quite aligned. EPHA also stresses the need for stronger cross-border cooperation to face health crises, and the need to foster healthier environments and strengthen health systems. EPHA adds that preparedness policies need to take into account the risk of further inequities, calling for policies that leave no one behind.

Resilience of health systems

While the manifesto provides a good overview on the **lessons drawn from COVID-19**, few elements are provided regarding building the **resilience of health systems**. The document underlines that health systems have been underfunded, but no specific measures are put forward for strong **investments** in that regard.

However, the manifesto provides a strong **wellbeing economy** vision, which could support health systems in their resilience. Indeed, the document stresses that "we are working towards a better living environment and well-paid safe jobs in the heart of our economies", calling for investments for "a better future". Investments foreseen in the Green and Social Deal include a "plan to build a prosperous and dynamic society based on climate neutrality, green industries and technologies, and sustainable digitalization." The manifesto also envisages revising the Maastricht Criteria and the Stability and Growth Pact, that "and led to cuts in public services in several countries and limited public investments". This would be replaced by "a new wellbeing-based macroeconomic governance that prioritizes quality investment in public goods and the green transition" and could support preventing future crises. Reforms are also foreseen in that regard in the European Semester, and in the mandate of the European Central Bank.

The **EPHA manifesto** also provides elements on the wellbeing economy, but more steered towards the resilience of health systems than what is mentioned in the EGP manifesto. EPHA calls in particular for a dedicated and ambitious EU health budget, stressing that health is an investment, not a cost. The EPHA manifesto also stresses that investing in prevention, in the health and care workforce, and in developing health-enabling environments will develop healthier and more resilient societies and economies.

Health workforce

The challenges faced by the healthcare workforce are not addressed in the EGP manifesto. There is one mention of **health workers**, in relation to lessons learnt from the pandemic, stating that "underinvestment, privatization, and the neglect of preventative approaches put patients and health workers at risk, physically and mentally". However, the document makes no reference to the **shortages**, or to the **medical deserts** issue. While the document calls for the improvement of "**working conditions** for care workers", no specific measures related to healthcare workforce are put forward. However, concrete measures are put forward for workers in general, that could support the healthcare workforce in facing those challenges. These include **education** investments, "to give everybody the chance to learn and provide the **skills** we need for the future", as well as a Lifelong Learning Directive. On working conditions, the document calls for people to be "properly treated and paid for their work, especially the essential workers who keep society running and everyone building the infrastructure necessary for a green tomorrow." On **mobility**, the manifesto calls for fair mobility to be enabled and protected for all, and for easier recognition of professional qualifications. Finally, there is a call for workers to be included in **decision making**.

It is however essential that the EU takes urgent and tailored action on tackling the healthcare workforce crisis, labelled a 'ticking time bomb'. The last few years have seen a number of initiatives placing the issue on the agenda, such as the Bucharest Declaration, and the current Belgian Presidency of the EU. This could lead to further EU action, if the future mandate makes sure that it is still on the agenda.

The **EPHA manifesto** has provided recommendations, particularly regarding the shortages and medical deserts, asking for it to be placed as a priority. Measures could range from guidelines on labour mobility of the workforce, improving working conditions, to long-term planning tools and investments in education and training.

Antimicrobial resistance

The question of **antimicrobial resistance (AMR)** is evoked in the Greens' manifesto, especially in the perspective of avoiding further pandemics. Indeed, the document stresses that "Zoonotic spillover and anti-microbial resistance risk another devastating pandemic", which provides a relevant hint at **One Health**. The issue is also approached regarding animal welfare, and a related reform of agricultural policy, calling for "stricter rules on animal husbandry conditions, use of antibiotics, and animal transportation". However, the text does not refer to the AMR-related targets of Farm to Fork²⁴.

Furthermore, more developments would be needed, and could be linked to the rest of the Greens' proposals. Indeed, the EU could take a global leading role on the issue, which could take part in the development of the proposed Global Green Deal. Research, funding, and improved data collection would also be needed, to develop new antibiotics, and assess the impacts of AMR. These elements are comprised in the **EPHA manifesto**, that also stresses the need for cross-sectoral collaboration, and approaching the issue through a One Health approach.

Research in health

The issue of **research in and for health** is overall missing in the Greens' manifesto. The document does call for the promotion of research "into the long-term consequences of COVID-19 infection". It also hints at medical research in the framework of a European Data Space. However, this is not linked to any target, measure or concrete proposal.

Even on a general level, the manifesto does not really address the topic of research. It refers to the importance of "European support for research and development", which can "contribute towards scientific and technological development, as well as other societal goals" and suggests increasing it. Furthermore, the manifesto does not refer to **funding** for research, nor to the **Horizon Europe** programme.

Research in health would be key in supporting developments in many upcoming challenges, and in many of the analysed topics above, such as AMR, NCDs, or medicines shortages. In comparison, the **EPHA manifesto** has called for stronger support to research on several aspects, particularly through its call for a comprehensive European Health Strategy. Priority 5 of the manifesto focuses on the need to secure capacity for resilience, which, here can relate to the call for research on the long-term impacts of COVID-19 on health. This priority also stresses the role of research in developing healthy environments. This can also be done through funding, particularly in areas such as AMR to mitigate its impacts, and developing new antibiotics.

4. Conclusions

The EGP manifesto provides a strong vision combining climate, environment, social, health policies being addressed through the framework of their proposed Green and Social Deal. This includes a perspective of breaking policy silos, implementing a wellbeing economy, and the health in all policies principle. It provides a thorough analysis of the permacrisis context and how to face it, with institutional developments and a global EU role. However, the manifesto insufficiently addresses the key health emergencies of non-communicable diseases, health and care workforce shortages, and mental health, which are also to be seen as great challenges for the EU and the health and wellbeing of citizens.

²⁴ Farm to Fork - reduce overall EU sales of antimicrobials for farmed animals and in aquaculture by 50% by 2030.



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