



Foundation for the Rights of Future Generations

# Annual Report 2025



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## Foreword

Dear Friends, Supporters and Partners,

2025 was an intensive and productive year for the Foundation for the Rights of Future Generations (FRFG). Our topics were more socially and politically present than they have been in a long time: the future of social security systems (especially pensions), the federal budget (the new €500 billion special debt package and investments), climate and the environment, the conscription law and the debate on mandatory service, voting rights and the participation of young people. On an overarching level, the central question was always how democratic decisions can be thought through more long-term – beyond a single legislative period.

The FRFG was clearly heard across all media formats (TV, radio, print, internet) – in interviews, opinion pieces, podcasts and events. Everywhere, our perspective is increasingly being recognised as an independent and credible voice of younger generations. The FRFG stayed true to its self-understanding as a Think- and Do-Tank: academically grounded, but never merely theoretical. Our publications, position papers and contributions were intended not only to analyse, but to provide orientation and to prompt legislative changes. As a Do-Tank, the FRFG worked through the projects 'Walkshop' and 'Protest Theatre', which are described in detail in this annual report.

The call for a reform of the parliamentary pension system remained a central theme of our work and continued to resonate broadly with the public. The petition on Change.org alone has now been co-signed by more than 175,000 people. But politics is not our only addressee. At the same time, we have continued to advance the idea of a stronger societal awareness for intergenerational justice – among other things, through events such as the Intergenerational Fairness Day.

That the foundation was able to pursue this path is thanks to many people. We would like to expressly thank our dedicated office team, our voluntary board members, ambassadors, members of the board of trustees and the advisory board, as well as our supporters, partners and donors. They all contribute to ensuring that the rights of future generations do not remain abstract but are represented effectively in the public sphere.

Especially at a time when political discussions are often conducted with a short-term focus, our aspiration remains to make long-term perspectives visible – factually and constructively.

We hope you enjoy reading the 2025 annual report!



**Jörg Tremmel, Managing Director**



**Luise Roither, Chairwoman of the Board**

## Who We Are

We are a think tank at the interface between research and politics. Through practical research and consulting, we aim to improve knowledge and awareness of intergenerational justice and sustainability in the political sphere and society more widely. We publish books, studies and blog posts. The FRFG also sees itself as an activist Do-Tank; that is, as an organisation which represents the political interests of a group that cannot represent itself at all, or only in a limited way: children, young people and future generations. We are financially independent and not affiliated with any political party.

## What We Aim to Achieve

Our goal is to anchor intergenerational justice and the protection of long-term interests centrally in politics, the economy, and society.

The decisions made today will determine what the world of tomorrow will look like. At the same time, these decisions are often influenced by the pursuit of short-term benefits. Whenever politicians attempt to prioritise the long-term perspective over short-term thinking, they must fear for their chances of re-election.

Our vision of intergenerational justice includes the complete abandonment of this unsustainable behaviour in politics, the economy, and society. It is immoral to live today at the expense of tomorrow. The young generation and the elderly generation of today must together ensure that future generations inherit intact living conditions.

## What We Do

Our fields of focus include the environment/climate, finances, pensions, education, peacekeeping, the labour market, youth policy, and the future viability of our democracy. We present solutions which demonstrate how intergenerationally fair decisions can benefit all people. These solutions are published in comprehensible and accessible books and position papers.

With our innovative 'Walkshops' that we have developed, as well as traditional campaigns, press appearances, lectures, and projects, we remind politicians and society of their responsibility towards future generations. As a Think-Tank, we stimulate young research, organise symposia, congresses, and conferences, and publish the specialised journal *Intergenerational Justice Review*. As a Do-Tank, we perform creative theatre pieces in front of parliaments to protest against the pension privilege of members of parliament.

## How We Work

The work of the Foundation for the Rights of Future Generations (FRFG) is enabled by a closely interwoven interaction of different bodies and teams, who all advocate for intergenerational justice.

The Board of Directors represents the foundation to external stakeholders, organises projects, initiates campaigns and writes position papers. They are also responsible for managing the foundation's funds and writing the annual report.

A further important part of the organisation is the academic advisory board, which is made up of renowned experts in academia, politics, economics and civil society. These prestigious people support the foundation through valuable subject-specific reports and advice on strategic questions.

The ambassadors of the FRFG – up to ten people aged up to 35 – contribute to our advocacy for intergenerational justice through their voluntary engagement. They support existing

projects, develop new ideas and bring important new impulses into the work of the foundation.

The office team in Stuttgart – the machine room behind the foundation – is responsible for performing the daily tasks that our work requires. In 2025, this team was made up of Jörg Tremmel as managing director and the project managers Lena Winzer, Grace Clover and Ayesha Zafar. The team was supplemented by federal voluntary service employees. In the first half of 2025, Victoria Koß and Carla Engel provided valuable support; in the second half, Laura Fabeck.

Additionally, the FRFG is regularly supported by engaged interns, who bring new perspectives and fresh input into the work of the foundation. This structure enables the FRFG to pursue its goals effectively and to develop innovative approaches for the promotion of intergenerational justice.

## At a Glance













 <p><b>Walkshop 2025</b></p> <p>A walkshop took place in Scotland on long-term peacekeeping and nuclear weapons. The walkshop is FRFG's innovative educational project.</p>	 <p><b>Theater Protest</b></p> <p>A creative theater performance in front of parliament. In aristocratic costume before the Bundestag: The pension privilege for members of parliament must go.</p>	 <p><b>Intergenerational Fairness Day</b></p> <p>International networking through the "Intergenerational Fairness Day" (IFD) campaign.</p>	 <p><b>IFD Podcast</b></p> <p>A new episode of the English-language podcast on IFD.</p>
 <p><b>Intergenerational Justice Review</b></p> <p>The two new issues of the academic journal "Intergenerational Justice Review."</p>	 <p><b>Intergenerational Justice Prize 2025/2026</b></p> <p>Two successful academic prizes for early-career researchers on the topics of gerontocracy &amp; presentism and personal carbon footprint.</p>	 <p><b>Petition on change.org</b></p> <p>A petition with approximately 175,000 signatures calling for the inclusion of members of parliament in the statutory pension system.</p>	 <p><b>FRFG's Scientific Podcast</b></p> <p>A new episode of the scientific podcast on intergenerational justice.</p>
 <p><b>New Position Papers and Brief Studies</b></p> <p>4 new position papers and brief studies.</p>	 <p><b>New Blog Posts</b></p> <p>36 new blog posts on the German website and 8 new blog posts on the English website.</p>	 <p><b>New German Website</b></p> <p>A new German website with modernised features.</p>	 <p><b>Media Appearances</b></p> <p>Numerous media appearances by our young ambassador network.</p>

Image 1: A Look Back at 2025

## Our Activities in 2025

### Walkshop 2025:

#### Nuclear Risks and Long-term Peacebuilding

The name 'Walkshop' is a combination of the words 'Walk' and 'Workshop'. Each Walkshop offers 20–30 people between the ages of 18 and 35 the opportunity to further their education on a specific socially relevant topic. A Walkshop fundamentally comprises the following elements: a multi-day 'podcast hike', discussion events with representatives from politics, academia, business and civil society, as well as visits to relevant 'places of learning'. The latter are institutions, facilities, factories, parks, monuments or similar, where participants can expand their knowledge through lectures or guided tours. The underlying idea is to combine intellectual agility with physical movement. This is not an entirely new concept, but one that has so far received too little attention and whose potential needs to be harnessed. Topics, places of learning and hiking routes are determined anew each year. Participation on an equal footing requires a certain amount of preparation – and through its Walkshops, the FRFG trains young people so well that they can subsequently participate competently in societal debates ('empowerment').

In short: the format successfully combines political activism, learning, sport and community. For further information, here are two links:

Website: <https://walk-for-the-future.info/>

Explanatory video of the project: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-hZZv6LzRi4>



Image 2: Walkshop Nuclear Risks/ Long-term Peacekeeping

The Walkshop of 2025 – the fifth Walkshop of the FRFG overall – was entitled: 'Nuclear Risks and Long-term Peacekeeping'. From 26 June to 1 July, an international group of young people set out on a 63.5 km hike through the stunning landscape around Loch Lomond in Scotland. The aim was to reflect together on nuclear risks, peace policy and intergenerational justice. And to do so where politics and protest directly

meet: just a few kilometres from the British nuclear weapons base at Faslane.

The route led from the official start of the West Highland Way in Milngavie via Drymen and Balloch to the coast at Helensburgh, and back to Glasgow, accompanied by daily audio learning units, moderated group discussions and a series of impactful encounters. Topics such as the legitimacy of nuclear deterrence, the democratic deficit in nuclear decision-making processes, nuclear accidents, the ecological and social consequences of nuclear testing, and the interweaving of protest and gender relations were at the centre of the discussions. Additionally, digital discussion rounds with invited experts took place on three evenings. The topics: 'Arms control in an increasingly nationalistic world', 'Nuclear risks for future generations' and 'Scotland and British nuclear policy'. These events opened space for in-depth analysis and also enabled external participants to access expert knowledge and engaged perspectives. The webinars were conceived, organised and moderated by us, with guests from organisations such as ICAN, FAS, Carnegie China, UNIDIR, the Global Catastrophic Risk Institute and the Universities of Nottingham, York and Sciences Po in Paris.

We are proud of how much depth and diversity of voices these discussions enabled – and that they are now also available online on [our YouTube channel](#). On the fourth day, we visited the Faslane Peace Camp, which has served for over forty years as a memorial and place of resistance against British nuclear weapons policy. Activists on site gave us an insight into their daily life, their motivation and the history of the camp.



*Image 3: Visit to the Peace Camp in Faslane*

On the fifth day, we travelled to the [Glasgow Women's Library](#), where we were guided through the exhibition [For Peace!](#). The focus here was on feminist protest movements against nuclear weapons, above all the Greenham Common Peace Camp. The concept of 'nuclear colonialism' – the ongoing consequences of nuclear testing in the Pacific region – was also discussed.

The group was made up of participants from nine different countries, with backgrounds in international law, peace and conflict studies, international politics or history. Despite (or perhaps because of) this diversity, a remarkable culture of dialogue emerged: open, curious, interdisciplinary. It was not uncommon for audio lessons to be discussed for hours over dinner – sometimes on muddy hiking trails, sometimes at sunset on the lakeshore.

The two closing videos of the Walkshop 2025 ([link to 4-min version](#), [link to 10-min version](#)) document the entire five-day journey with impressions from the daily hikes, the audio learning units, group discussions, the three public evening events with international experts and our visits to the three learning stations. In the 10-minute version of the video, some of our participants also share their personal impressions and insights. Additionally, excerpts from the dialogue evenings can also be seen.

A huge thank you goes to our dedicated participants, our external experts, partner organisations and supporters, who brought this project to life – above all the Stiftung Apfelbaum, without whose generous financial support this project could not have taken place.

We are already looking forward to future Walkshops, new routes and fresh ideas. For the path to a better world is long, but it often begins with a first step.

## **Intergenerational Justice Prizes 2025/2026**

Work on the two Intergenerational Justice Prizes 2025/2026 began at the end of 2024. For the first time, there were two separate calls for papers to which entries could be submitted. The topics are 'Gerontocracy and Presentism' and 'The Personal CO<sub>2</sub> Footprint'. The total prize money of 10,000 euros, funded by the Stiftung Apfelbaum, was divided into two prizes



Image 4: Call for Papers IGJ Prize 1

of 5,000 euros each. The aim of the prizes is to promote academic work on intergenerational justice and to show political decision-makers new calls for action.

The process began with the choice of topics by the FRFG Board and the circle of ambassadors. Subsequently, two high-calibre juries were sought (and found).

The members of the jury for the first prize (Gerontocracy and Presentism):

- Prof. Juliana Bidadanure: Professor of Philosophy at New York University (USA)
- Prof. Simon Caney: Professor of Political Theory at the University of Warwick (UK)
- Dr. Róbert Iván Gál: Senior Researcher at the Hungarian Demographic Research Institute
- Cat Tully: Founder and Director of the School of International Futures (UK)
- Andrew Lerner: Managing Partner of IA Capital Group (USA)
- Prof. Michael Schefczyk: Professor of Applied Philosophy at the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT)

The members of the jury for the second prize (The Personal CO<sub>2</sub> Footprint):

- Dr. Michael Bilharz: Research Associate at the Federal Environment Agency
- Prof. Dr. Marianne Takle: Research Professor in the Department of Health and Social Studies
- Prof. Dr. Lukas Meyer: University Professor of Philosophy at the University of Graz
- Prof. Dr. Elizabeth Cripps: Lecturer in Political Theory, University of Edinburgh

After the call for papers was formulated in cooperation with the respective jury and two posters were designed for publication, the two calls for papers were announced internationally, e.g. via universities, political education centres and foundations. This time, in addition to universities in Europe and North America, institutions in Africa, East Asia and the Arab world were also increasingly contacted. After the deadline for submissions (31 December 2025), all entries will be checked against formal criteria and subsequently evaluated by the jury members. The prize winners of both prizes will be announced in the next annual report.



Image 5: Call for Papers IGJ Prize 2

## Publications: IGJR, Position Papers and Blog

### Intergenerational Justice Review

Since 2015, the FRFG has published the English-language journal *Intergenerational Justice Review* (IGJR) in collaboration with the London-based Intergenerational Foundation (IF). All issues of the IGJR are available free of charge and without registration on the [igjr.org](http://igjr.org) website. The double issue of 2025 was dedicated, like the Intergenerational Justice Prize 2023/24, to the topic of *Nuclear Risks and Long-term Peacekeeping*. The printed articles analyse the dynamics, causes and consequences of international and civil conflicts. Among the topics addressed are the role of nuclear deterrence in the Ukraine conflict, the prevention of nuclear weapons in Iran, the significance of anti-nuclear movements and the role of defence contractors.



Image 6: IGJR Cover 1/2025

### Ayesha Zafar: Preventing a nuclear escalation in the Ukraine conflict

The first article in IGJR 1/2025, entitled *Preventing a nuclear escalation in the Ukraine conflict*, by Ayesha Zafar, explores the question of whether and, if so, how NATO states were able to maintain the fragile equilibrium which has (so far) prevented a nuclear escalation in the Ukraine war. She sets out the role that nuclear deterrence plays in this war and how Russia attempted to use nuclear sabre-rattling as a deterrent and as a means of achieving its strategic objectives. The impact of Trump's re-election and his 'America First' mantra on the Ukraine conflict is also assessed. In her article, Zafar highlights multilateral cooperation and the resolve of the West to deter Russian aggression as key solutions.

### Tom Sauer: Sustainable nuclear non-proliferation. Case study: Iran

The second essay in issue 1/2025 is by Tom Sauer and is entitled *Sustainable nuclear non-proliferation. Case-study: Iran*. Sauer analyses how the Iranian nuclear programme has developed since the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in 2015. He refers to earlier promises by Iran to limit the scope of its civilian nuclear programme in return for the lifting of US sanctions. Sauer also analyses Trump's withdrawal from this agreement as well as the bombing of Iranian nuclear facilities by Israel and the USA in 2025 and discusses what long-term consequences are to be expected.

### Rhys Crilley: Framing the Bomb: media representations, public perceptions and the future of nuclear weapons in the United Kingdom

The third article in issue 1/2025 is by Rhys Crilley and is entitled *Framing the Bomb: media representations, public perceptions and the future of nuclear weapons in the United Kingdom*. The author examines questions about the perception of nuclear weapons in the context of the 'Third Nuclear Age'. He examines examples of how the national nuclear weapons arsenal in the United Kingdom is represented in the media. Crilley draws on framing theory, discourse analysis and current data on public opinion, and analyses how media representations and public perceptions shape ideas about what nuclear futures are possible for the United Kingdom.

### **Fernando Franco Castro Escobar: Youth anti-nuclear socialisation in Japan: early encounters with the concept of nuclear weapons**

The first article in IGJR 2/2025 is by Fernando Franco Castro Escobar. The title of the article is *Youth antinuclear socialisation in Japan: early encounters with the concept of nuclear weapons*.

Escobar addresses young anti-nuclear activists in Japan and discusses the 'greying effect' of the movement. To do so, he describes in his article early encounters of young people, e.g. in school, with the official Japanese stance on nuclear weapons (which is one of rejection). He discusses what promotes and what hinders youth participation in the anti-nuclear movement. He argues that Japan's peace education, while conveying a unique wealth of materials and historical events related to the atomic bomb, is perceived as insufficient to motivate political action and participation in the movement, and can sometimes even prevent it.



Image 7: IGJR Cover 2/2025

### **Susi Snyder: Defence contractors and the modernisation of nuclear forces in the USA, UK and France**

Susi Snyder examines in her article entitled *Defence Contractors and Nuclear Modernisation: Corporate Roles in Sustaining Nuclear Weapons Programs in the U.S., U.K. and France* in issue 2/2025 the connections between corporations and governments in three nuclear weapons states. Case studies of the USA, the United Kingdom and France are conducted to support her thesis that the deterrence architecture of these countries rests upon industrial partnerships. Companies such as Airbus, Safran, BAE Systems, Babcock International, Boeing and General Dynamics not only provide technical expertise, but also exert influence through lobbying and the financing of policy-oriented think tanks. Rather than suggesting a direct causal relationship, this article highlights how these mechanisms could shape the broader debates on nuclear policy.

### **Book reviews**

As usual, the IGJR issues also include book reviews of new and relevant academic literature. In 2025, the following books (publication dates in brackets) were discussed:

- *Showing social solidarity with future generations* by Marianne Takle (2024)
- *Ageing without ageism? Conceptual puzzles and policy proposals* by Greg Bognar and Axel Gosseries (2023)
- *Non-nuclear peace: beyond the nuclear ban treaty* by Tom Sauer, Jorg Kustermans & Barbara Segaeert (2020)
- *Deterrence in the third nuclear age* by Pierre Vandier (2025)

In 2025, as in previous years, the *Intergenerational Justice Review* was a valuable resource for academics and political decision-makers alike.

## Position Papers and Mini-Studies in German

### Position paper on German nuclear waste

The FRFG published a second edition of the German position paper on Germany's nuclear waste in 2025: *After the nuclear phase-out: what's next for the storage of German nuclear waste?*. Dealing with nuclear waste is a profound ethical and intergenerational challenge. In 2017, the Site Selection Act restarted the search for a final storage site in Germany – with the



Image 8: Position paper on Germany's nuclear waste in 2025

aim of finding a suitable final storage site for high-level radioactive waste by 2031. However, new reports predict that this decision-making process could be completed only decades later. This new time horizon raises new and different questions of intergenerational justice. Until all high-level radioactive waste is transferred to a deep geological repository, it poses a major risk to people living today, especially young people with their long remaining life expectancy. In a deep geological repository, nuclear waste

would be safe from aeroplane crashes, terrorism and targeted bombing in the event of war. However, as long as the nuclear waste is stored in the 16 above-ground interim storage facilities, the opposite is true. Concrete, barbed wire and guards cannot offer anywhere near the same level of protection as a repository in deep geological layers. Interim storage facilities are not designed for war or troubled times, but for peace.

Based on the premise that postponing the determination of a repository site is unacceptable, the position paper sets out concrete demands to speed up the process and keep to the original timetable. The latest edition of the German position paper, available here, also incorporates the feedback of numerous experts:

[https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/wp-content/uploads/2026/04/SRzG-PP\\_Atommuell-3.-Auflage\\_v2.pdf](https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/wp-content/uploads/2026/04/SRzG-PP_Atommuell-3.-Auflage_v2.pdf).

### Position paper on pensions

The FRFG also published an updated edition of the German position paper *Pensions* in 2025.

The most well-known and symbolically significant of all generational contracts is the pension system. It is here that it becomes apparent whether young and old can reach fair agreements, or whether society faces a generational conflict. In Germany, the demographic situation is better in the short term, but more problematic in the medium and long term, than in many other ageing countries. This is because the number of contributors is currently high due to the baby boomer bulge, while the number of people in retirement is (still) low. However, the ratios are increasingly shifting. The FRFG is committed to a solidary pension insurance system and sets out demands in the new position paper that are necessary for intergenerationally fair old-age provision in Germany. One of the most important measures is the abolition of the current special systems for MPs and civil servants.



Image 9: Position paper on Pensions

to a solidary pension insurance system and sets out demands in the new position paper that are necessary for intergenerationally fair old-age provision in Germany. One of the most important measures is the abolition of the current special systems for MPs and civil servants.

This would be a first step on the path towards a solidary, transparent and intergenerationally just pension for all in the future. Equally important is the fair and correct counter-financing of non-contribution-covered benefits such as the mothers' pension. Demands such as supplementing our current system with a capital-funded premium pension based on the Swedish model are also contained in this position paper.

The German position paper can be found here: [https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/SRzG-PP\\_Rente-und-Pensionen-Mai-2025.pdf](https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/SRzG-PP_Rente-und-Pensionen-Mai-2025.pdf)

### Position paper on civil and/or military service

The FRFG also updated the German version of the position paper *Civil and/or military service – but intergenerationally just!* in 2025. The



Image 10: Position paper on civil and/or military service

topic of a 'mandatory social service period' has been the subject of intense discussion in Germany – not only since Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier introduced it into the societal debate in June 2022. Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine and the renewed entry of Donald Trump into the White House mark a dramatically changing global situation. Many European countries already have some form of military or civil service. In the FRFG's view, it is unjust to

impose a mandatory service solely on the young cohorts at any given time. Through a dual temporal obligation in two different life phases – namely at the transition into working life and at the transition into retirement – mandatory service should be designed in an intergenerationally just manner. The FRFG model described in the position paper thus pursues the goal of distributing the responsibility for the common good equally between the young and older generations.

The position paper can be found here: [https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/PP-Dienst-2025-2.-Aufl.-Nov-2025\\_3.pdf](https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/PP-Dienst-2025-2.-Aufl.-Nov-2025_3.pdf)

### Position paper on intergenerationally just government debt and investment

The FRFG also published a completely revised new edition of the position paper

*Intergenerationally Just Government Debt and Investment* in 2025. For centuries, the intergenerationally just level of government debt and investment has been the subject of debate. For the FRFG, both a correctly calibrated debt brake and a high investment ratio are central components of an intergenerationally just fiscal and budgetary policy. A low government debt ratio ensures that current generations do not live beyond their means. The debt brake adopted in 2009 was able to reduce the debt ratio to an acceptable level in the following years. At the



Image 11: Position paper on intergenerationally just government debt and investment

same time, it enabled the necessary expansion of debt during the unforeseeable COVID-19 crisis. The FRFG supports this debt brake, but additionally calls for a Basic Law clause to

stipulate that an investment ratio for maintenance investments (excluding special funds) must not fall below 10 per cent. Furthermore, the federal government, states and municipalities should regularly publish balance sheets on the state of infrastructure, so that too little is not re-invested in infrastructure. For significant, multi-year new investments, special funds (= special debt) may be taken on. However, these must not be used for re-investments, and naturally not for consumptive expenditure either.

The position paper can be found here: <https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/wp-content/uploads/2026/04/SRzG-PP-Staatsverschuldung-u.-Investitionen-3.-Auflage.pdf>

## Blog Posts

In 2025, as in previous years, the FRFG blog was a channel for exciting contributions from FRFG board members, ambassadors, interns and external people who had something to say on the topic of intergenerational justice. There are now three such channels: on the German-language website, on the English-language website and on the project website on the pension system for members of parliament. 36 new blog posts were published on the German website in 2025, while 8 new contributions were published on the English website in the same period.

Only a selection of the German contributions is listed for the annual report; the individual texts are reproduced here in abridged form. The full articles can be read online at <https://generationengerechtigkeit.info> and <https://intergenerationaljustice.org/> and <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/>

## Climate crisis, housing shortage and democratic deficits – where do youth delegates at the Council of Europe set their focus?



Image 12: M. Welch, FRFG Ambassador at the Council of Europe

From 25 to 27 March, the first session of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities took place. Included: one youth delegate per member state of the Council of Europe. The task of these youth delegates was to present their own position statements and proposals on the topics being discussed, as well as to actively participate in the debates. The youth delegates addressed issues including climate policy, housing

shortages and democratic participation, highlighting the concerns of many young people in Europe.

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### The debate about the 'Boomer Solidarity Surcharge'

The retirement of the baby boomers is putting increasing financial pressure on the pension system. The coalition agreement nevertheless envisages a stabilisation of the pension level at 48 per cent until 2031. The additional expenditure arising from this stabilisation is to be offset with tax funds, which will cause the federal subsidy to rise sharply – according to the current draft legislation by Labour Minister Bärbel Bas, up to nearly 25 billion euros by 2031. It is not unreasonable to ultimately require a special tax from this generation that would return these approximately 25 billion euros to the federal budget. With a progressive design (above a tax-free allowance), low earners

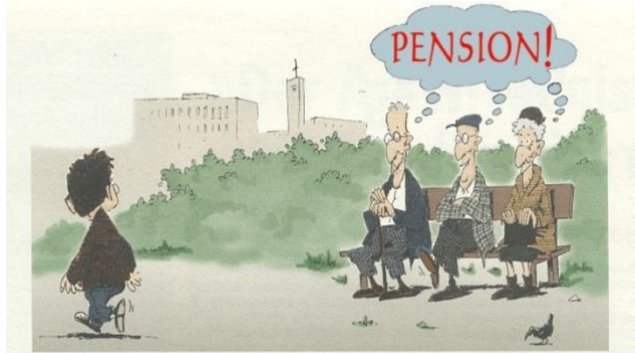


Image 13: Boomer Solidarity Surcharge

would hardly have to pay this special tax, while higher earners would. This would be fair in terms of the design of the tax, because within the baby boomer generation, some are poorer and others wealthier. For the tax authorities, a time-limited solidarity surcharge would pose no administrative problem – they have had experience with this since the solidarity surcharge for the costs of German reunification. The generation responsible for the baby boomer bulge would thus shoulder its responsibility

### What the historic climate advisory opinion of the ICJ means for intergenerational justice



Image 14: ICJ Advisory Opinion on Climate

On 23 July, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) published a landmark advisory opinion on the 'obligations of states under international law with respect to climate change'. The Court clarified that existing international law establishes binding obligations for states. These include the duty to prevent foreseeable climate damage, but also to observe precautionary and strict due diligence obligations (including the regulation of private actors),

to support particularly vulnerable states in adapting, and to treat the 1.5°C target of the Paris Agreement as a legally binding benchmark for state ambition levels. The ICJ unanimously found that a violation of climate protection obligations constitutes an internationally wrongful act and entails state responsibility. Importantly, the mere emission of greenhouse gases does not in itself constitute an internationally wrongful act. Responsibility arises only when states violate specific international legal obligations to prevent or mitigate emissions. The ICJ advisory opinion will not end climate change. But it does something morally and legally significant: it transforms the demand to leave future generations a habitable planet into concrete international legal expectations for states in the here and now.

### Climate targets without obligation: roadmap chaos in Belém



Image 15: Roadmap Chaos in Belém

Despite initial hopes, COP30 failed to generate the necessary momentum for greater climate action. Yet this conference in particular demonstrates why a clear roadmap for the phase-out of fossil fuels is more urgent than ever. Current efforts are insufficiently ambitious to achieve the goal of the Paris Agreement: to limit global warming to well below 2°C and to 1.5°C compared to pre-industrial levels. Fossil fuels cause approximately three quarters

of global greenhouse gas emissions produced by their combustion. As long as fossil fuels remain cheap and politically protected, renewable energies are structurally disadvantaged in the race against time. The phase-out of fossil fuels is therefore not a side issue, but the central lever for climate action. COP30 showed that renewable energies and climate-neutral technologies are gaining momentum worldwide, yet powerful lobbying interests – 1,600 lobbyists from fossil fuel companies were present at COP30 – are slowing the green transformation. Germany's investments in new gas and LNG infrastructure also ensure that it remains dependent on fossil fuels. COP30 was not a breakthrough, but a turning point. The phase-out of fossil fuels has become politically conceivable – and is now negotiable.

### Gerontocracy live: pension vote in the Bundestag

The MPs from CDU/CSU (minus most of those under 35) and the entire SPD passed the Pension Package 2025: pension level stabilisation at 48% until 2031, mothers' pension, active pension. The fixing of the pension level contradicts an income-oriented expenditure policy. When fewer people pay into the pension system, but expenditure is locked in through a minimum pension level, this inevitably leads to an income-expenditure



Image 13: Pension Vote in the Bundestag

imbalance. Politics cannot override mathematics – it must redistribute massively in favour of the older generation: either through greater tax contributions to the statutory pension insurance or through rising pension insurance contributions. It should not be forgotten that this federal government has taken on more debt than any before it, which will massively burden the young generation in the long term. If one wants a fair generational contract, the sustainability factor in the pension formula is non-negotiable for the young generation. It must not be suspended. Whoever undermines the sustainability factor terminates the generational contract in its current form. The vote (and its backstory – namely that courageous young MPs were put under pressure and threatened with losing their positions on party lists) is sad proof that the Bundestag has become a gerontocratic, future-forgetful body.

## Campaign: 'Reform of the MPs' Pension'

### MPs in the Statutory Pension System



Image 16: Theater Protest in front of the Bundestag

In 2023, the FRFG launched a campaign to abolish the pension privilege of members of parliament in the area of retirement provision. Within the maxim 'Fridays for Future, Saturdays for Social Security', this falls within the FRFG's second area of focus.

Simply writing press releases became tedious over time. The FRFG rejects violent protest. As a creative, new form of protest, the FRFG has developed a special type of

theatre performance. A script is written that converts the factual arguments into a dialogical, easily understandable form. The script is then performed by costumed FRFG members where the decision-makers sit – usually in front of parliaments. On 7 October 2025, the Foundation for the Rights of Future Generations (FRFG) performed this creative protest action for the first time in front of the German Bundestag. Two participants dressed in historical costumes and played aristocrats, while two appeared as ordinary citizens. The aim was to draw attention to a privilege that hardly fits into the 21st century: the majority of the working population pays contributions to the statutory pension system, but MPs do not. Without ever having paid in, they receive a retirement allowance that is much higher per month than that of pension insurance contributors. After just one legislative period, members of the Bundestag have a monthly retirement allowance entitlement of nearly €1,200 – to match this, average employees and the working population must work or pay into the pension fund for 29 years.



Image 17: Comparison of the pension system

The action was extensively covered by MDR (14 October 2025):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GE-uo8piCRE>

The video can also be seen on the FRFG's own YouTube channel:

<https://youtu.be/jEJgdLLmgOg> (unfortunately not great sound quality, but with subtitles)

At the same time, the project website <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/> was significantly expanded in 2025. In the *MPs' Opinions* section, you can read how individual federal and state MPs have positioned themselves on the topic. Newly added is Saxony-Anhalt, where the FRFG surveyed all candidates ahead of the 2026 state election. Under *Petitions*, the Change.org petition with its now 176,000 signatures is linked (see below), as is the petition submitted to the Petitions Committee of the Bundestag and, more recently, a petition submitted to the Petitions Committee of the state of Saxony-Anhalt by Christopher Isensee, an FRFG board member residing in Magdeburg. Under *Studies & Legislation*, you will find a growing collection of scientific studies on the topic, as well as exemplary laws that have led to elected representatives and voters being in the same boat when it comes to the

retirement system. And last but not least, new facets of the topic are constantly being highlighted in the *Blog Posts* section. The following articles appeared here in 2025:

- Will the MPs' pension be reformed in the next Bundestag? <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/reform-der-abgeordnetenpension-im-naechsten-bundestag/>
- What can we learn from the pension system in Sweden? <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/altersvorsorge-vorbild-schweden/>
- Lars Klingbeil would like to be in the statutory pension system <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/lars-klingbeil/>
- ARD report shows: civil servants in the pension fund? In Austria it works! <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/ard-beitrag-beamte-in-rentenkasse/>
- Enough theatre: the pension privilege of MPs must go <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/schluss-mit-dem-theater/>
- Please don't only appoint beneficiaries of the civil servant pension to the planned pension commission, dear MPs! <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/geplante-rentenkommission/>
- Happy holidays and news on the pension commission <https://abgeordnete-rein-in-die-grv.de/neuigkeiten-rentenkommission-mitglieder/>

The FRFG petition on the private petitioning platform Change.org continues to be on a successful trajectory: <https://c.org/7vFrHQTtV4>. So far, 175,000 signatures have been collected. It is rare for reforms that the ethically right thing is also the popular thing.

## ‘Intergenerational Fairness Day’

The campaign for an ‘Intergenerational Fairness Day’ (IFD) began in 2023 with the vision of establishing an official UN day of action to raise public awareness of the rights and interests of future generations. The UN has already proclaimed various similar days (e.g. World Children's Day, Human Rights Day, International Women's Day, World Water Day, etc.). A day of intergenerational justice is still missing from this series. In 2025, the focus shifted from the international to the European level. The reason was that the [Intergenerational Fairness Day](#) (i.e. 16 November each year) in 2025 coincided with the closing session of the [European Citizens' Panel on Intergenerational Fairness \(ECP\)](#). Over three months, 150 randomly selected citizens from all



Image 18: Instagram: Intergenerational Fairness Day 2025

27 member states (one third of them under 29) addressed, across generational, linguistic and experiential boundaries, the seemingly simple question: ‘What do we need to do today so that the European Union is fair for all current and future generations?’

The FRFG was on site, observed the closing plenary session, spoke with citizens, experts and EU representatives ([in preparation for an exciting new episode of the IFD Podcast](#)) and was present as the citizens adopted their 24 recommendations.

## New Website and Social Media Presence

In summer 2025, it was finally ready: the foundation's German website was completely redesigned and now shines in a modern design. With the aim of offering our users an improved experience, we overhauled the platform together with web designer Emanuel Rahn, both visually and in terms of content.



Image 19: Header on the new German website

The new site impresses with its clear, user-friendly structure, which makes it easier to find information quickly and efficiently. In addition to intuitive navigation, the range of information has been expanded to include a wide variety of new content.

The FRFG is active on Instagram [@gengerecht](#) and on [LinkedIn](#). This is where we share everything worth knowing about our work: from exciting blog posts and podcast episodes to news about our projects, events and initiatives.

Until early 2025, the FRFG was also represented on X (formerly Twitter). However, we then decided to leave the platform due to the new direction under Elon Musk. Instead, we are increasingly relying on Instagram and LinkedIn to engage with you and further advance the discussion on intergenerational justice. Follow us to stay up to date and become part of the movement for a fair world for all generations!

## Podcasts

### IFD Podcast



Image 20: IFD Podcast, Episode 7

In 2025, the FRFG successfully continued its English-language podcast [Intergenerational Fairness Day Podcast](#), which was launched on 16 November 2023 at the premiere of the first 'IFD'. Host and project manager Lena Winzer has been publishing new episodes regularly since the premiere of the podcast. With a wide range of topics and top-class guests, the English-language podcast sheds light on the central questions of intergenerational justice and offers an international perspective on pressing global challenges. In 2025, the seventh episode, *Inside the European Commission's Citizens' Panel on Intergenerational Fairness*, was released in parallel with the European Commission's Citizens' Forum

on Intergenerational Fairness. In 2025, the Intergenerational Fairness Day – 16 November 2025 – coincided with the final session weekend of this citizens' forum (ECP, see p. 18 of the annual report) in Brussels. Lena accompanied this on site and observed the adoption of the 24 recommendations to the Commission. For the podcast, she spoke with Béla Kuslits (environmental scientist and coordinator of the Future Generations Initiative), Petranka Malcheva (Policy Lead for long-term thinking in the Office of the Future Generations

Commissioner for Wales) and Deša Srsen (member of the cabinet of Commissioner Glenn Micallef and responsible for the development of the new EU strategy). The podcast explores what goals the forum pursued, what unexpected insights emerged and what is needed to anchor long-term responsibility firmly in European policymaking.

The Intergenerational Fairness Day is not addressed solely to politics. Rather, the idea of a stronger awareness for intergenerational justice should also be anchored in society at large. The *Intergenerational Fairness Day Podcast* continues to be an integral part of the initiative for the Intergenerational Fairness Day and will also engage in the future with topics that are crucial for the well-being of younger generations.

## Generationengerechtigkeit – Der Podcast (Intergenerational Justice – The Podcast)

In August 2024, the first episode of the new German-language academic podcast [Generationengerechtigkeit – der Podcast](#) (Intergenerational Justice – The Podcast) was published. The host is Jörg Tremmel, managing director of the foundation and adjunct professor at the Institute of Political Science at the University of Tübingen. In this format, he conducts in-depth conversations with leading thinkers and scientists who have dealt intensively with the concept of intergenerational justice in their work. Each episode highlights the intellectual works of the guests as well as their personal backgrounds and research interests. This not only enriches the professional discourse but also provides a look at the people who shape the discussion on intergenerational justice with their theories and publications.

Originally, a biannual publication schedule was planned, but this proved too ambitious. Nevertheless, one episode was published in 2025. The guest of this second episode was Prof. Dr. Lukas Meyer, who heads the Department of Practical Philosophy at the University of Graz (Austria). Meyer, born in 1968, studied philosophy, political science, history and public international law at the universities of Tübingen, Berlin, St. Louis, Oxford and Yale. Meyer is a leading expert in the field of 'justice in time and space', and thus also of intergenerational justice. In addition, he was one of the first philosophers to be involved in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). With Jörg Tremmel, he discusses a wide range of topics: the sufficiency theory of justice he advocates, which he sees as securing basic needs; the question of the rights of future generations; and the significance that projects reaching into the future (and beyond our own lifetime) have for us ourselves. The role of cultural capital and its transmission to future generations was also discussed in depth:

<https://www.buzzsprout.com/2302445/episodes/16501592-folge-2-lukas-meyers-suffizienz-theorie-der-generationengerechtigkeit>



Image 21: 'Generationengerechtigkeit der Podcast' Episode 2

## Media Appearances and Lectures

In 2025, the FRFG was regularly represented in the media to present its positions. With contributions in, among others, the Tagesthemen, ZDFheute, WDR, MDR and 3Sat, it reached a broad television audience. The FRFG was also frequently heard on the radio. Longer written contributions or detailed interviews were also published in print media (e.g. Die Welt). Thematically, the focus was on pensions, the federal budget, gerontocracy, climate, voting rights, conscription – the entire range of FRFG topics.

This media presence underscores the importance of intergenerational justice in the public debate.

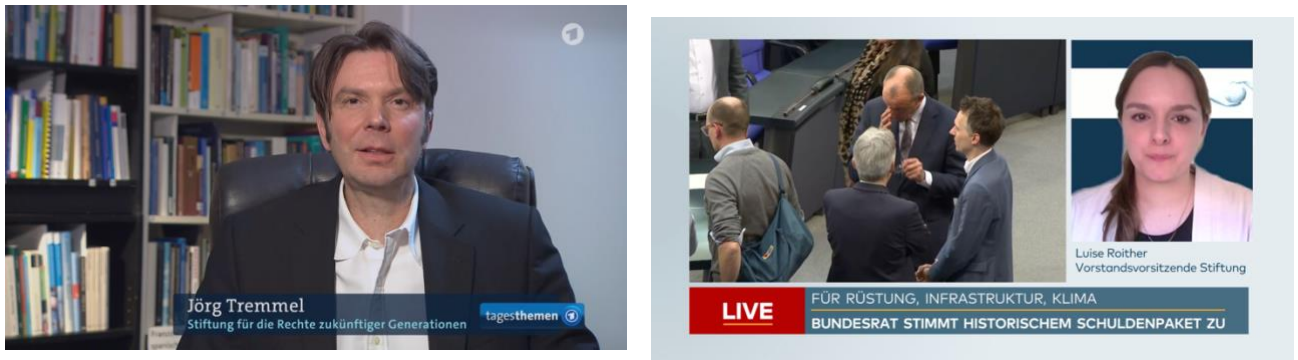


Image 22: Left: Scientific Director Jörg Tremmel at the 'tagesthemen'. Right: Chairwoman Luise Roither at 'Welt TV'.



Image 23: Left: Ambassador Ben Jagasia at the Körber-Stiftung. Right: Ambassador Christoph Maier at 3sat Kulturzeit.

All media appearances can be found in the media echo section on the website: <https://generationengerechtigkeit.info/presse/medienecho/>

Whilst in television and radio, interviews (i.e. dialogues) were generally conducted, the usual format at congresses and events was for an FRFG representative to deliver a lecture. The lecture manuscripts were then often published subsequently in conference proceedings or journals. The FRFG delivered lectures at, among others, the Academy for Political Education, the Bavarian Demographics Congress, the VGH Staff Council Insurance Congress, the Schwerin State Parliament (Commission of Enquiry), the Interdisciplinary Studies Society, the Family Association Berlin and at various formats of centrist political parties.

## Preview: Walkshop 2027 ‘Youth Engagement’

Following the successful Walkshop 2025 on the topic of *Nuclear Risks and Long-term Peacekeeping* (see p. 6), preparations are already underway for the next Walkshop, planned for 2027. The topic is youth engagement, particularly against the backdrop of the current introduction of the new conscription law at the end of 2025 and the new debate on mandatory service (only) for young people. As so often, the FRFG views things from a new angle. While society seems to take it for granted that young people are required to perform military or civil service, we call this into question – as long as it does not also apply to the older generation (see also the position paper on service, p. 12).



Image 24: Preview Walkshop 2027

Furthermore, the Walkshop on youth engagement will address youth participation and youth voting rights. The Walkshop will provide space for reflection, information and discussion. In addition to hikes from Kempten to Füssen, visits to selected places of learning are planned – including a youth commission, the mountain rescue service, the city youth council and the



Image 25: Project image for youth engagement.

Allgäu Barracks Füssen of the German armed forces. Evening discussion rounds are another important element of the overall project. The planning – from routes to audio materials to accommodation – is already well advanced. Initial funding requests, e.g. to the Federal Agency for Civic Education, will be submitted soon. Through the FRFG's Walkshops, young people should acquire specialist knowledge and be empowered to participate competently in decision-making processes.

For background reading on the topic, the following FRFG position papers are recommended:

- [‘Civil and/or military service – but intergenerationally just!’](#)
- [‘Voting rights for young people and older children’](#)

## Board of Directors, Board of Trustees, and Advisory Board

### Board of Directors



#### **Luise Roither (Chairwoman and Spokesperson)**

Luise Roither is a health economist and works full-time in the R&D of medical technology innovations. In 2016, she founded her own initiative for the young generation in the healthcare sector, the Health Think Tank (Denkschmiede Gesundheit). Luise has dedicated her professional and part of her private life to the health care system and is constantly looking for people and organisations who share this enthusiasm and want to follow the path towards a sustainable health and care system.



#### **Christopher Isensee**

Christopher Isensee is a political scientist. His studies at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, the Harz University of Applied Sciences in Halberstadt and the Masarykova Univerzita in Brno (Czech Republic) focused on political participation and theories of political change. Professionally, Christopher is active in the field of development policy information and education work. At the FRFG, he is particularly involved in the field of 'Walkshops'.



#### **Linda Kunz**

Linda Kunz attends the graduating class of the Jakob-Brucker-Gymnasium and is simultaneously participating in early university studies in law at the University of Augsburg. She is gaining practical experience through a long-term internship with a criminal defence lawyer. Alongside school, she is involved in voluntary social work in her city. Her particular interests lie in questions of law, justice, and political and journalistic topics.



#### **Jörg Tremmel (Managing Director)**

Jörg Tremmel founded the FRFG and is now its managing director. Within the foundation, he is in charge of the Walkshops, the concept of which he developed, the Intergenerational Justice Prize and the journal *Intergenerational Justice Review*, which the FRFG runs together with the London-based partner foundation Intergenerational Foundation.

At the University of Tübingen, Tremmel is an adjunct professor and teaches on the topic of political utopias.

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## **Support and Donate!**

The Foundation for the Rights of Future Generations is registered as a charitable foundation. The majority of our work is funded through donations. The central pillar of our financing comes from contributions from our support circle and private donations. These funds are mainly used to cover general administrative costs (such as the salary of our research assistant and office rent).

### **Here's how you can support the FRFG:**

**By becoming a member of our support circle, you enable our projects.**

The support circle brings together friends of the FRFG. We warmly invite you to become part of our network – whether as an individual, an institution, or a company. By doing so, you contribute to ensuring the quality and independence of the FRFG in the long term. As a member of the support circle, you pay an annual fee of 50 euros, and those under 30 pay 25 euros. With your contributions, we implement projects in Germany on the topic of intergenerational justice and engage young people. The FRFG is largely driven by its young voluntary board members and ambassadors. You help us achieve our goals, carry out our projects, and further develop our work. Our small office team coordinates our voluntary helpers and interns, our fundraising, and our press and public relations work, and manages our website.

With your donation, you help maintain our modest office. Because without our office team, there would be no FRFG and none of our projects.

### **And what do you get out of it?**

Whenever possible, the projects are made accessible to you – with invitations to events and discussions, and calls to participate and get involved. You will receive the newsletter with current information about the foundation's activities and invitations to special events where board members or management are also available for exchange. And you have the opportunity to actively contribute as an idea generator to foundation projects. We also look forward to your expertise!

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