

IT'S TIME FOR REAL CHANGE

THE LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO 2019

**IT'S TIME FOR
REAL CHANGE**

FOR THE MANY NOT THE FEW

 Labour

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FOREWORD

This election will shape our country for a generation. It is your opportunity to transform our country, so that it works not just for a few, but for all of us. It is a chance to deliver the real change Britain needs. This manifesto sets out how a Labour government will do that.

Some people say this is the Brexit election. But it's also the climate election, the investment election, the NHS election, the living standards election, the education election, the poverty election, the fair taxes election. Above all, it's the change election.

It's time to take on the vested interests holding people back. The last decade has seen a wealth grab by a privileged few, supported by the Conservatives, at the expense of the majority. The big polluters, financial speculators and corporate tax-dodgers have had a free ride for too long.

Labour will build a fairer Britain that cares for all, where wealth and power are shared.

I am not prepared to continue to see more families without a proper home and more people queuing at food banks or sleeping rough on the streets.

I am not prepared to put up with communities blighted by lack of investment, endless cuts to vital services and millions struggling to make ends meet, while tax cuts are handed to the richest.

We can do better than this. How can it be right that in the fifth richest country in the world, people's living standards are going backwards and life expectancy is stalling?

The Conservative Government is failing. It has failed on the economy, on the climate crisis, on investment for the future, on public services and on Brexit. It is simply not working for most people.

A Labour government will unlock the potential of all those held back for too long. Labour will be on your side.

Labour will rewrite the rules of the economy, so that it works for everyone. We will rebuild our public services, by taxing those at the top to properly fund the services we all rely on.

We will launch the largest-scale investment programme in modern times to fund the jobs and industries of the future, so that no one is held back and no community left behind. This is a fully costed programme to upgrade our economy and transform our country.

We will kick-start a Green Industrial Revolution to tackle the climate emergency by shifting to renewable energy, investing in rail and electric cars, and making housing energy-efficient, to reduce fuel poverty and excess winter deaths.



**THE FUTURE IS OURS
TO MAKE.**

**IT'S TIME FOR REAL
CHANGE - FOR THE MANY,
NOT THE FEW. TOGETHER,
WE CAN DELIVER IT.**

We will create a million climate jobs in every region and nation of the UK – good, skilled jobs that will bring prosperity back to parts of our country neglected for too long.

We will bring rail, mail, water and energy into public ownership to end the great privatisation rip-off and save you money on your fares and bills.

We will deliver full-fibre broadband free to everybody in every home in our country by creating a new public service, boosting the economy, connecting communities and putting money back in your pocket.

We will end food bank Britain, and lift children and pensioners out of poverty.

We will bring in a Real Living Wage of at least £10 per hour for all workers – with equal rights at work from day one on the job. We will end insecurity and exploitation by ending zero-hours contracts and strengthening trade union rights.

Labour will create a National Education Service to provide support and opportunity throughout your life: from Sure Start centres to top-quality early years education; well-funded schools with lower class sizes to free university

tuition with no fees; and free lifelong learning, giving you the chance to reskill throughout your life.

Labour will give the NHS the funding it needs, end privatisation, and never let our health service be up for grabs in any trade negotiation. We'll expand our NHS to offer free prescriptions for all and free basic dentistry, building on its founding principles.

We will end the social care crisis that has left 1.5 million elderly people without the care they need. Labour will fund free personal care for older people and extra care packages.

I'm really worried by the rise in crime – and the fact that the most serious violent crime has risen even further. We will reverse a decade of cuts to police and vital public services that have shown you simply can't keep people safe on the cheap.

Labour will protect our security at home and abroad. After years of failed foreign interventions and wars, we will end the 'bomb first, talk later' approach and instead have a foreign policy based on peace, justice and human rights.

And we will get Brexit sorted in six months by giving people the final say – with a choice between a sensible leave deal or remain. We will implement whatever the British people decide.

The choice could not be clearer at this election. Labour will put wealth and

power in the hands of the many. Boris Johnson's Conservatives will look after the privileged few.

This manifesto offers the chance of real change for every generation and every community. When Labour wins, the nurse wins, the pensioner wins, the student wins, the office worker wins, the engineer wins. We all win.

We can and we must do better as a country.

This is our last chance to tackle the climate emergency.

The future is ours to make. It's time for real change – for the many, not the few. Together, we can deliver it.



Jeremy Corbyn
Leader of the Labour Party

This manifesto deals both with Labour's policies which apply across the United Kingdom and, where responsibilities have been devolved, it also sets out our policies for England.

In devolved areas such as health, education and local government, Labour's detailed policies for Scotland and Wales are set out in the manifestos published by our Welsh and Scottish parties.

A large wind turbine with three blades is positioned in the center of the image, set against a background of a cloudy, overcast sky.

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ECONOMY AND ENERGY

This election is about the crisis of living standards and the climate and environmental emergency. Whether we are ready or not, we stand on the brink of unstoppable change.

We must confront this change while dealing with the growing inequality and insecurity in Britain. Labour led the UK Parliament in declaring a climate and environmental emergency. The next Labour government will lead the world in fighting it, with a plan to drive up living standards by transforming our economy into one low in carbon, rich in good jobs, radically fairer and more democratic.

The climate crisis ties us all into a common fate. This election is our best hope to protect future generations from an uninhabitable planet. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has said we need to cut global emissions in half by 2030 to have a chance of keeping global heating within safe limits – that means acting now, and acting decisively.

The Tories wasted a decade serving the interests of big polluters. Labour will use the crucial next decade to act. The Tories slashed support for renewable energy while pushing through dangerous fracking.

Now Britain is decades off course on vital emissions targets.

That's why Labour will kick-start a Green Industrial Revolution that will create one million jobs in the UK to transform our industry, energy, transport, agriculture and our buildings, while restoring nature. Our Green New Deal aims to achieve the substantial majority of our emissions reductions by 2030 in a way that is evidence-based, just and that delivers an economy that serves the interests of the many, not the few.

Just as the original Industrial Revolution brought industry, jobs and pride to our towns, Labour's world-leading Green Industrial Revolution will rebuild them, with more rewarding, well-paid jobs, lower energy bills and whole new industries to revive parts of our country that have been neglected for too long. For some, industrial transition has become a byword for devastation, because successive Conservative governments were content to sit back and leave the fate of whole industries and communities at the mercy of market forces. A Labour government will never let that happen.

We will work in partnership with the workforce and their trade unions in every sector of our economy, so that they lead the transition in their industries, creating new, good-quality jobs and making sure that their

extensive skills are passed on to the next generation of workers.

We will show the world how prioritising sustainability will not only deliver immediate improvements to everyone's lives but also offer humanity a pathway to a more equitable and enlightened economy: one that protects our environment, reins in corporate power, revitalises democracy, unites our communities, builds international solidarity and promises a better quality of life for all. The scale of the challenge requires nothing less.

Tackling the destruction of our planet is a question of justice – for the communities at home and abroad who are most affected by it and for our children who will bear the consequences if we don't. Social justice will define Labour's approach. We will make sure that the costs of the green transition fall fairly and are mostly borne by the wealthy and those most responsible for the problem.

2019 saw the blossoming of a global movement calling on politicians to wake up and act on the climate and environmental emergency. Labour welcomed that movement and, as a government in waiting, we have turned its demands into detailed, credible plans for real change.

Investment

Delivering the far-reaching change needed to tackle the climate and environmental emergency will require a full mobilisation of national resources, both public and private.

Labour will create a Sustainable Investment Board to bring together the Chancellor, Business Secretary and Bank of England Governor to oversee, co-ordinate and bring forward this investment – involving trade unions and business. We will ask the Office for Budget Responsibility to incorporate climate and environmental impacts into its forecasts so that the cost of not acting will be factored into every fiscal decision.

The cost of not acting is far greater than the cost of acting. We will launch a National Transformation Fund of £400 billion and rewrite the Treasury's investment rules to guarantee that every penny spent is compatible with our climate and environmental targets – and that the costs of not acting are fully accounted for too. Of this, £250 billion will directly fund the transition through a Green Transformation Fund dedicated to renewable and low-carbon energy and transport, biodiversity and environmental restoration.

We will create a National Investment Bank, backed up by a network of Regional Development Banks, to provide £250 billion of lending for enterprise, infrastructure and innovation over 10 years. They will

be mandated to lend in line with our mission to decarbonise our economy while increasing productivity and creating good jobs across the country. As well as large-scale national and regional projects, smaller loans will be available through our new Post Bank based in Post Office branches, enabling thousands of bottom-up transformational changes by start-ups, small businesses, local co-operatives and community projects in towns and villages up and down the country.

We will make sure that the UK's financial sector is helping to tackle the emergency rather than fuelling it. We will do this by improving the fitness of our financial authorities to mobilise green investment and by giving them powers to manage the risk to financial stability posed by short-sighted investment in polluting assets.

Just 100 companies globally are responsible for the majority of carbon emissions. We won't be afraid to tackle this wanton corporate destruction by taking on the powerful interests that are causing climate change. We will change the criteria a company must meet to be listed on the London Stock Exchange so that any company that fails to contribute to tackling the climate and environmental emergency is delisted.

Levelling Up Across the Country

Many parts of Britain would need this investment even without a climate and environmental emergency. Years of under-investment and neglect by Westminster have left too many communities feeling powerless and too many areas left behind with low-quality jobs, weak productivity and slow growth.

The climate and environmental emergency is a chance to unite the country to face this common challenge by mobilising all our national resources, both financial and human. But we will only succeed by ensuring that everyone shares in the benefits. Labour will make sure that investment is spread evenly across the whole country and will give powers and funding to every region and nation of the UK.

We will bring about a radical decentralisation of power in Britain so that local people and communities are given far greater control over their own lives and prospects.

A Local Transformation Fund in each English region will be used exclusively to fund infrastructure projects decided at a local level, as will devolved governments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Our Regional Development Banks will be governed by boards made up of key local stakeholders such as local chambers of commerce, trade unions and councillors – with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland empowered to make similar

arrangements. They will set priorities for lending, giving every region and nation a new and powerful lever to rebuild their economy on their own terms.

We will shift the political centre of gravity by placing the National Transformation Fund Unit, a key part of the Treasury, in the North of England and build up the regional offices of government in each of the nine English regions to co-ordinate government policies at the regional level, as well as ensuring a regional voice in Whitehall.

Energy

Energy use in buildings accounts for 56% of the UK's total emissions, making it the single most polluting sector. We will develop the recommendations of our '30 by 2030' report to put the UK on track for a net-zero-carbon energy system within the 2030s – and go faster if credible pathways can be found. We will deliver nearly 90% of electricity and 50% of heat from renewable and low-carbon sources by 2030.

We will build:

- 7,000 new offshore wind turbines
- 2,000 new onshore wind turbines
- Enough solar panels to cover 22,000 football pitches.
- New nuclear power needed for energy security.

We will trial and expand tidal energy and invest to reduce the costs of renewable and low-carbon hydrogen production. We will upgrade almost all of the UK's 27 million homes to the highest energy-efficiency standards, reducing the average household energy bill by £417 per household per year by 2030 and eliminating fuel poverty. We will introduce a zero-carbon homes standard for all new homes.

As part of heat decarbonisation, we will roll out technologies like heat pumps, solar hot water and hydrogen, and invest in district heat networks using waste heat.

To balance the grid, we will expand power storage and invest in grid enhancements and interconnectors.

We will expand distributed and community energy, and immediately and permanently ban fracking.

We will support energy workers through transition and guarantee them retraining and a new, unionised job on equivalent terms and conditions.

We will introduce a windfall tax on oil companies, so that the companies that knowingly damaged our climate will help cover the costs. We will provide a strategy to safeguard the people, jobs and skills that depend on the offshore oil and gas industry.

Ownership

We will not achieve the promise of a fair and sustainable economy if we repeat the mistakes of the carbon era, when the capture of a natural resource for private profit created a vastly unequal and polluting economy dominated by powerful vested interests.

It's not just carbon. From the depletion of fish stocks to the burning of the Amazon, profit has proved a poor regulator for use of our natural resources.

Whether it is the trillions of litres of water lost through leakages, barriers to renewable energy connecting to the grid or the billions of pounds of bill-payers' money being siphoned off in dividends to wealthy shareholders, Tory privatisation of our utilities has been a disaster for both our planet and our wallets.

We will put people and planet before profit by bringing our energy and water systems into democratic public ownership. In public hands, energy and water will be treated as rights rather than commodities, with any surplus reinvested or used to reduce bills. Communities themselves will decide, because utilities won't be run from Whitehall but by service-users and workers.

Public ownership will secure democratic control over nationally strategic infrastructure and provide collective stewardship for key natural resources.

In the case of energy, it will also help deliver Labour's ambitious emissions targets. Whereas private network companies have failed to upgrade the grid at the speed and scale needed, publicly owned networks will accelerate and co-ordinate investment to connect renewable and low-carbon energy while working with energy unions to support energy workers through the transition.

Under Labour's plans:

- A new UK National Energy Agency will own and maintain the national grid infrastructure and oversee the delivery of our decarbonisation targets.
- 14 new Regional Energy Agencies will replace the existing district network operators and hold statutory responsibility for decarbonising electricity and heat and reducing fuel poverty.
- The supply arms of the Big Six energy companies will be brought into public ownership where they will continue to supply households with energy while helping them to reduce their energy demands.

The Conservatives allowed the proceeds of North Sea oil to be squandered on tax cuts for the richest and captured in profits for the few, instead of investing them in our future. We now stand at an even greater crossroads in the development of our national economy. Under Labour, our green future will be owned by all of us.

Whenever public money is invested in an energy generation project, the public sector will take a stake and return profits to the public.

Industry and Innovation

Averting climate catastrophe offers huge economic opportunities. But Britain will only benefit from a Green Industrial Revolution with the right policies.

Over the past three decades, Britain has reduced its emissions at the expense of domestic industry by offshoring production. This is an accounting trick, not a solution. It does not protect the climate, is unfair to other countries and it damages jobs and communities at home.

Labour will take full responsibility for our carbon footprint instead of passing the buck. We will instruct the Committee on Climate Change to assess the emissions the UK imports as well as those it produces, and recommend policies to tackle them, including making UK industry the greenest in the world.

The Conservatives have presided over a lost decade of productivity and allowed Britain to fall behind in the green technologies of the future. Labour will make sure this never happens again.

Targeted science, research and innovation will be crucial to tackling the climate crisis, dealing with the plastic

waste filling our oceans and addressing other societal challenges, such as an ageing population and antibiotic resistance. As part of our plan to usher in a Green Industrial Revolution, Labour will create an innovation nation, setting a target for 3% of GDP to be spent on research and development (R&D) by 2030. We will achieve this target by increasing direct support for R&D and reforming the innovation ecosystem to better ‘crowd in’ private investment.

We will establish a Foundation Industries Sector Council to provide a clean and long-term future for our existing heavy industries like steel and glass and fund R&D into newer technologies like hydrogen and carbon capture and storage.

A thriving steel industry will be vital to the Green Industrial Revolution. Labour will support our steel through public procurement, taking action on industrial energy prices, exempting new capital from business rates, investing in R&D, building three new steel recycling plants and upgrading existing production sites.

We will ensure that new technologies aren’t just invented here, but are engineered, manufactured and exported from here. We will put British innovation at the heart of our procurement to support local sourcing and reshoring, so that every investment we make strengthens our manufacturing and engineering

sectors and supply chains and creates hundreds of thousands of good, unionised jobs here at home.

We will use the power of public procurement to strengthen local jobs and supply chains and will require all companies bidding for public contracts to recognise trade unions, pay suppliers on time and demonstrate equalities best practice.

As we transition, we will ensure the UK’s automotive sector isn’t left behind by the electric revolution by investing in three new gigafactories and four metal reprocessing plants. By supporting UK-made electrical steel we will ensure robust support for an end to end UK supply chain. We’ll also take on the global plastics crisis by investing in a new plastics remanufacturing industry creating thousands of jobs, ending exports of plastic waste and reducing our contribution to ocean pollution.

Labour’s progressive trade strategy will be aligned with our industrial strategy to help develop the industrial base needed to deliver high-quality exports and the decent jobs that go with them. Labour will champion exports from the environmental goods and services sector, building on the 300,000 jobs that the sector already sustains. We will uphold the highest environmental and social regulations in all our trade relations, and will never downgrade standards as ‘barriers’ to trade.

Skills

Our Green Industrial Revolution will create at least one million well-paid, unionised jobs in the UK. We will train people in the skills they need to access these jobs of the future.

Britain's skills crisis has grown under the Tories. The Apprenticeship Levy has been beset by problems, leaving employers paying into a training budget they are unable to spend. And it is not delivering for small businesses. We cannot afford to carry on like this.

Labour will make it easier for employers to spend the levy by allowing it to be used for a wider range of accredited training, in line with guidelines set by the Institute for Apprenticeships and Technical Education and government's wider priorities for the economy.

We will launch a Climate Apprenticeship programme to enable employers to develop the skills needed to lead the world in clean technology.

Under this programme, employers will be expected to allocate 25% of the funds in their Apprenticeship Levy accounts to training Climate Apprentices. These funds can be spent directly or allocated to a ring-fenced Climate Apprenticeship Fund, which

will be topped up with any surplus raised through Inclusive Ownership Funds and made accessible to non-levy-paying businesses.

Targeted bursaries will be available to women, BAME people, care leavers, ex-army personnel, and people with disabilities to encourage them to take up climate apprenticeships – the STEM of the future.

We will further help small businesses by increasing the amount that can be transferred to non-levy-paying employers to 50% and introducing an online matching service to help levy-paying businesses find smaller businesses to transfer their funds to.



TRANSPORT

Labour will build a sustainable, affordable, accessible and integrated transport system, founded on the principle that transport is an essential public service.

Cutting emissions will drive our transport policies. We will review public expenditure on transport to ensure that it promotes environmental sustainability and contributes to decarbonisation.

Bus services have been devastated by the Conservatives, despite carrying more people than any other mode of public transport. Women are especially dependent on buses, which also provide a lifeline for both older and younger people and for many economically disadvantaged groups.

Labour will ensure that councils can improve bus services by regulating and taking public ownership of bus networks, and we will give them resources and full legal powers to achieve this cost-effectively, thereby ending the race to the bottom in working conditions for bus workers. Where councils take control of their buses, Labour will introduce free bus travel for under-25s. We will increase and expand local services,

reinstating the 3,000 routes that have been cut, particularly hitting rural communities.

Labour will deliver improvements for rail passengers by bringing our railways back into public ownership, using options including franchise expiry. This will enable us to make fares simpler and more affordable, rebuild the fragmented railways as a nationally integrated public service, cut the wastage of private profit, improve accessibility for disabled people, ensure safe staffing levels and end driver-only operation.

Our publicly owned rail company will steer network planning and investments. It will co-ordinate mainline upgrades, resignalling, rolling stock replacement and major projects. We will implement a full, rolling programme of electrification. Our model will ensure continuity of skills, jobs and supply chain capacity to reduce costs, improve productivity and support the economic benefits of Labour's Green Industrial Revolution.

We will introduce a long-term investment plan including delivering Crossrail for the North as part of improved connectivity across the northern regions. We will consult with local communities to reopen branch lines. We will also unlock capacity and extend high-speed rail networks nationwide by completing the full HS2 route to Scotland, taking full account of the environmental impacts of different route options. We will

deliver rail electrification and expansion across the whole country, including in Wales. We will ensure that these major infrastructure projects are a model of good employment practice and pay due regard to the environmental impact.

We will promote the use of rail freight in order to reduce carbon emissions, air pollutants and congestion on the roads and expand the provision of publicly owned rail freight services.

We will increase the funding available for cycling and walking. We will bring together transport and land-use planning to create towns and cities in which walking and cycling are the best choice: safe, accessible, healthy, efficient, economical and pollution-free. We will help children's health and well-being by ensuring street designs provide freedom for physically active outdoor play and by introducing measures to ensure the zones around our schools are safer, with cleaner air.

Our transport programme is focused on creating better, publicly accessible local transport systems. By improving public transport, Labour will help people to become less reliant on their cars, for our better health, for a cleaner environment and to improve quality of life in our towns and cities. The Conservatives have committed to ending new sales of combustion engine vehicles by 2040. Labour will aim for 2030.

We will position the UK at the forefront of the development and manufacture

of ultra-low emission vehicles and will support their sale. We will invest in electric vehicle charging infrastructure and in electric community car clubs.

We will accelerate the transition of our public sector car fleets and our public buses to zero-emissions vehicles.

We will reform taxi and private hire services, including a review of licensing authority jurisdictions, setting national minimum standards of safety and accessibility and updating regulations to keep pace with technological change and to close loopholes to ensure a level playing field.

We will adopt an ambitious Vision Zero approach to UK road safety, striving for zero deaths and serious injuries. Labour will invest to make our neglected local roads, pavements and cycleways safer for the everyday journeys of both drivers and vulnerable road users. We will review all tolled crossings.

Labour recognises the Davies Commission's assessment of pressures on airport capacity in the South East. Any expansion of airports must pass our tests on air quality, noise pollution, climate change obligations and countrywide benefits. We will examine fiscal and regulatory options to ensure a response to the climate crisis in a way that is fair to consumers and protects the economy.

We will take action to end nationality-based discrimination in seafarer pay.



ENVIRONMENT

A Labour government's Green Industrial Revolution is complemented by our Plan for Nature. Our commitments to ecosystem repair and environmental protections work hand in hand with sustainable jobs and industries, and social justice.

We are facing a climate and environment emergency, and unlike the Tories we will not trade our environment in pursuit of reckless trade agreements.

Labour will review and improve protected area designations, from National Parks to local nature reserves and urban green spaces.

We will introduce a Climate and Environment Emergency Bill setting out in law robust, binding new standards for decarbonisation, nature recovery, environmental quality and habitats and species protection.

We will maintain and continuously improve the existing EU standards of environmental regulation.

A Healthy Environment

Our polluted air contributes to over 40,000 premature deaths a year and poisons our environment, with

further impacts on children's health. But the Conservatives' air-quality measures are so inadequate they have been found to be illegal.

Labour will introduce a new Clean Air Act, with a vehicle scrappage scheme and clean air zones, complying with World Health Organisation limits for fine particles and nitrous oxides.

We will provide an extra £5.6 billion in funding to improve the standard of flood defences and respond to the increased risk of flooding, prioritising areas at risk in North West England, Yorkshire and the East Midlands that have been neglected by Conservative investments.

Nature Restoration

Our Plan for Nature will set legally binding targets to drive the restoration of species and habitats.

We will embark on an ambitious programme of tree planting, with both forestry and native woodland species.

We will fully fund the Environment Agency and other frontline environment agencies, and improve upstream river management.

We will create new National Parks alongside a revised system of other protected area designations, which will guard existing wildlife sites and join up important habitats, while also ensuring more people can enjoy living closer to nature.

We will establish a new environmental tribunal to ensure that administrative decisions are consistent with environmental and nature-recovery obligations.

Land

Land is a public good, but it is not a common asset. In 1979, 20% of land was owned by the public sector. Today, that has halved.

Green Belts protect one tenth of our land and offer conservation of some of our natural environment. Introduced by Labour in 1947 to provide access to the countryside, they are threatened by developments.

A Labour government will maintain agricultural and rural structural funds but repurpose them to support environmental land management and sustainable methods of food production.

We will invest in more county farms to replace those lost, and will work with agricultural organisations to increase access into farming for new entrants.

Food

A quarter of all food purchased is wasted every year, equivalent to over 20 million tonnes of greenhouse gas emissions, costing over £20 billion.

Yet Britain has an epidemic in food-related ill health, obesity, malnutrition

and diabetes, as well as increased food insecurity – with a boom in food bank use and record levels of hunger.

Labour will introduce A Right to Food. We will end ‘food bank Britain’. We will ensure everyone has access to healthy, nutritious, sustainably produced food. We will halve food bank usage within a year and remove the need for them altogether in three years. We will establish a National Food Commission and review the Allotments Act. We will make food security a reason to intervene in the economy and work with local councils to minimise food waste

We will put farmers, fishers, food producers and workers at the heart of our plans for delivering healthy food locally. We will support local food networks, expand access to farm holdings and ensure rights of union representation for all food and agricultural workers. We will re-establish an Agricultural Wages Board in England so every part of the UK is covered.

We will set maximum sustainable yields for all shared fish stocks, redistribute fish quotas along social and environmental criteria and, if people vote to leave the EU, require the majority of fish caught under a UK quota to be landed in UK ports.

We aim to achieve net-zero-carbon food production in Britain by 2040.

Waste and Recycling

Waste, including plastic waste, pollutes our land and seas, killing wildlife and contaminating our food.

We will make producers responsible for the waste they create and for the full cost of recycling or disposal, encouraging more sustainable design and manufacturing. In government in Wales, Labour has transformed the position of recycling, placing them in the top five globally for recycling rates. A UK Labour government will learn from Wales’ example, and will also back bottle-return schemes.

We will invest in three new recyclable steel plants in areas with a proud history of steel manufacturing.



ANIMAL WELFARE

The Conservatives will sacrifice animal welfare standards in trade deals with other countries. They threaten to bring back fox hunting and are pursuing the ineffective badger cull – the largest destruction of a protected species in living memory.

Labour has published an ambitious animal welfare manifesto which reiterates our commitments to prohibit foxhunting and end the cull of badgers.

In England, we will introduce an animal welfare commissioner, prohibit the sale of snares and glue traps, end the badger cull and ban the keeping of primates as pets. We will work internationally to end commercial whaling, ban the importation of hunting trophies of threatened species, and boost police resources to tackle rural and wildlife crime.

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FUNDING

Universal public services, collectively provided through general taxation and free at the point of use for all, are how we guarantee the right to a good life.

Public services do more than make sure everyone has the basics. They create shared experiences and strengthen social bonds. They make our lives richer and more fulfilling.

A decade of Tory cuts has pushed our public services to breaking point. Labour offers real change – we will make Britain's public services the best and most extensive in the world.

We will pay for this by creating a fairer taxation system, asking for a little more from those with the broadest shoulders, and making sure that everyone pays what they owe.

We will reverse some of the Tories' cuts to corporation tax while keeping rates lower than in 2010.

We'll ask those who earn more than £80,000 a year to pay a little more income tax, while freezing National Insurance and income tax rates for everyone else.

We will end the unfairness that sees income from wealth taxed at lower rates than income from work. VAT is a regressive tax that hits the poorest hardest and we guarantee no increases in VAT.

We will launch the biggest ever crackdown on tax avoidance and evasion and reform the inefficient system of tax reliefs.

Public services must also be accountable. Labour will end the current presumption in favour of outsourcing public services and introduce a presumption in favour of insourcing. And we will stop the public getting ripped off by taking back all PFI contracts over time.

When services are procured from the private sector, companies will be assessed against best practice public service criteria, including provisions for collective bargaining, fair wage clauses, adherence to environmental standards, effective equalities policies, full tax compliance and application of pay ratios. In the public sector, we will enforce maximum pay ratios of 20:1.

We will repair the damage the Tories have done to our social fabric, with a £150 billion Social Transformation Fund to replace, upgrade and expand our schools, hospitals, care homes and council houses. Public buildings will be modernised to ensure a reduction in their carbon footprint.

Our most valuable assets are the dedicated people who work in our public services, but under this government their pay has been cut in real terms. Labour will restore public sector pay to at least pre-financial crisis levels (in real terms), by delivering year-on-year above-inflation pay rises, starting with a 5% increase, to reward and retain the people who do so much for us all.



NHS AND SOCIAL CARE

The National Health Service is one of Labour's proudest achievements. The right to free-at-the-point-of-use healthcare, universal and comprehensive in scope, is socialism in action.

A decade of Tory health cuts and privatisations has pushed our greatest institution to the brink. Our hospitals are crumbling, equipment is outdated, IT systems are inadequate and community facilities are neglected.

There are 100,000 staff vacancies in NHS England, including a shortage of 43,000 nurses. There are 15,000 fewer hospital beds. Every winter, bed occupancy rates exceed dangerous levels. Patients now wait far too long to see their GP, for an ambulance or for treatment.

Our immediate task is to repair our health services.

Our urgent priority is to end NHS privatisation.

Our mission is to create the conditions to prevent illness and enable people to live longer, healthier lives.

Quality Care for All

A Labour government will invest in the NHS to give patients the modern, well-resourced services they need. We will increase expenditure across the health sector by an average 4.3% a year. This investment enables us to end patient charges, guarantee the standards of healthcare patients are entitled to receive from NHS England, invest in education for the health workforce and restore public health grants.

Our investments mean we deliver the standards of care enshrined in the NHS. We will stabilise our overstretched A&E departments. We will improve stroke, heart disease and cancer survival rates by providing earlier diagnosis and improved screening rates. We will call a moratorium on bed cuts.

Every penny spent on privatisation and outsourcing is a penny less spent on patient care. Labour will end and reverse privatisation in the NHS in the next Parliament. We will repeal the Health and Social Care Act and reinstate the responsibilities of the Secretary of State to provide a comprehensive and universal healthcare system. We will end the requirement on health authorities to put services out to competitive tender. We will ensure services are delivered in-house and also bring subsidiary companies back in-house. We will halt the fire sale of NHS land and assets.

We will publish an infrastructure plan to return NHS England to the international average level of capital investment

and to ensure future decisions are transparent and balanced fairly between every region. We will complete the confirmed hospital rebuilds and invest more in primary care settings, modern AI, cyber technology and state-of-the-art medical equipment, including more MRI and CT scanners.

We will ensure data protection for NHS and patient information, a highly valuable publicly funded resource that can be used for better diagnosis of conditions and for ground-breaking research. We will ensure NHS data is not exploited by international technology and pharmaceutical corporations.

We will uphold the principle of comprehensive healthcare by providing free annual NHS dental check-ups. We will guarantee universal healthcare by ensuring women's and children's health services are comprehensive, by protecting the rights of EU workers, other migrants and refugees and by ensuring all our services are made accessible to BAME, LGBT+ and disabled patients. We will end mixed-sex wards.

We will ensure our NHS becomes a net-zero-carbon service with an NHS Forest of one million trees, more efficient heating and insulation systems, greater reliance on renewable energy, including more solar panelling and a transition to electric paramedic vehicles, NHS fleet cars and hybrid ambulances.

We will introduce mandatory standards for NHS in-patient food and will provide free hospital parking for patients, staff and visitors.

Joined-up Care

As medical technologies advance, we will live with a wider array of chronic conditions. Health and care must become more joined-up, more accessible, more personal and more preventative.

We will stop Tory plans to further entrench the private sector delivery of health care under the cover of integration plans set out in the NHS Long Term Plan. Instead we will join up, integrate and co-ordinate care through public bodies.

A Labour government will develop a planned model of joined-up community care, enabling people to live longer lives in better health in their own homes. We will ensure the voices of local people and NHS staff are heard in future developments of the health system.

We will allocate a greater proportion of overall funding to close-to-home health services and build interdisciplinary, patient-focused services across primary care, mental health and social care. We will ensure patients in deprived and remote communities will have better access to primary care services.

We will also ensure those living with long-term conditions can access the care they need.

To support our transition to community health care services, we will expand GP training places to provide resources for 27 million more appointments each year and ensure community pharmacy is supported.

Mental Health

A Labour government will provide an additional £1.6 billion a year to ensure new standards for mental health are enshrined in the NHS constitution ensuring access to treatments is on a par with that for physical health conditions.

Our mental health hospitals are not fit for purpose. Over 1,000 people with mental health problems face hospital stays in old, dormitory-style hospital wards, while less than one in four A&E departments have the facilities to deal with people experiencing a mental health crisis. We will invest £2 billion to modernise hospital facilities and end the use of inappropriate, out-of-area placements.

The legislation for detaining people with learning disabilities and mental illnesses is outdated. We will implement in full the recommendations set out in the independent review of the Mental Health Act, so that people are given choice, autonomy and the treatment they need.

We will invest more in eating disorders services and ensure NICE guidelines on eating disorders are implemented.

We will improve access to psychological therapies to ensure they deliver the quality care patients deserve. We will ensure provision of 24/7 crisis services.

Only one in four children and young people are able to receive help from a mental health professional. Our £845 million plan for Healthy Young Minds will more than double the annual spending on children and adolescent mental health services.

We will establish a network of open-access mental health hubs to enable more children to access mental health and recruit almost 3,500 qualified counsellors to guarantee every child access to school counsellors.

Inequalities

Life expectancy is stalling and infant mortality rates are increasing, especially among those living in our most deprived communities.

A Labour government will target a reduction in health inequalities with a comprehensive children's health strategy. We will introduce a Future Generations Well-being Act, enshrining health aims in all policies and a new duty for NHS agencies to collaborate with directors of public health.

We will invest more than £1 billion in public health and recruit 4,500 more health visitors and school nurses. We will increase mandated health visits, ensure new mothers can have access to

breastfeeding support and introduce mental health assessments in a maternal health check six weeks after birth.

We will invest in children's oral health, tackle childhood obesity and extend the sugar tax to milk drinks. We will ban fast-food restaurants near schools and enforce stricter rules around the advertising of junk food and levels of salt in food. We will take actions to significantly reduce infant deaths and ensure families who lose a baby receive appropriate bereavement support as well as protections at work.

The re-emergence of measles is an indictment. We will urgently put in place a vaccination action plan to regain our measles-free status in WHO listings.

We will fully fund sexual health services and roll out PrEP medication.

We will address drug-related deaths, alcohol-related health problems and the adverse impacts of gambling as matters of public health, treated accordingly in expanded addiction-support services. Alcoholic drinks will be labelled with clear health warnings. We will review the evidence on minimum pricing.

We will implement a Tobacco Control Plan and fund smoking cessation services.

Workforce

A Labour government will end the crisis in our health and care services, plan for the future and guarantee real-terms pay rises every year.

Agenda for Change terms and conditions will be put into law alongside safe staffing limits for all staff. We will invest, train and develop NHS staff throughout their careers. We will introduce a training bursary for nurses, midwives and allied health professionals. We will remove the obstacles to ethical international recruitment.

A Labour government will review the tax and pension changes implemented by the Tory government to ensure that the workforce is fairly rewarded and that services are not adversely affected.

We will provide mental health support for staff and create a working environment within the NHS that is safe, flexible and free from harassment, bullying or violence.

The Orkambi cystic fibrosis drug is just the latest example of patients held to ransom by corporations charging extortionate prices for life-saving drugs.

We will establish a generic drug company. If fair prices are rejected for patented drugs we will use the Patents Act provisions, compulsory licences and research exemptions to secure access to generic versions, and we will aim to increase the number of pharmaceutical jobs in the UK.

We will play an active role in the medical innovation model, ensuring rewards and incentives match the areas of greatest health need.

We will ensure that all parts of the NHS, the treatment of patients, the employment of staff and medicine pricing are all fully excluded and protected from any international trade deals.

We will progress clinically appropriate prescription of medical cannabis.

We will abolish prescription charges in England.

Medicine

Under a Labour government the NHS will be at the forefront of the development of genomics and cell therapies so that patients can benefit from new treatments for cancer and dementia, whilst ensuring the UK continues to lead in medical developments.

Social Care

Social care funding cuts have left 1.5 million older people without the care they need.

Almost £8 billion has been lost from social care budgets since 2010. This is having a profound impact on unpaid carers in this country, with 2.6 million

carers quitting their jobs to provide care to family members. The current care system is at risk of collapse.

A Labour government will build a comprehensive National Care Service for England. We will provide community-based, person-centred support, underpinned by the principles of ethical care and independent living. We will provide free personal care, beginning with investments to ensure that older people have their personal care needs met, with the ambition to extend this provision to all working-age adults.

We will develop eligibility criteria that ensures our service works for everyone, including people with complex conditions like dementia. We will ensure no one ever again needs to face catastrophic care costs of more than £100,000 for the care they need in old age, which we will underscore with a lifetime cap on personal contributions to care costs.

We will also invest in other social care packages to reverse the damage done by Conservative cuts and provide additional care packages to support both older people and working-age adults living independently in their own homes.

Our investments in social care services will enable us to more than double the number of people receiving publicly

funded care packages, improve the standard of care provided to them and remove the distinction between health and care needs.

The provision of additional care packages also means we can support autistic people and people with learning disabilities to move out from inappropriate inpatient hospital settings and provide support in their own homes

Our National Care Service will work in partnership with the NHS, ensuring care is delivered for people, not for profit. Contracts for providing care will not be awarded to organisations that do not pay their fair share of taxes and do not meet our high standards of quality care. Our focus will be on the ethical delivery of care that ensures growing public sector provision and providers who meet standards of transparency, compliance and profit capping.

Nearly one and a half million people work in the care sector, but there are over 100,000 vacancies. Labour will invest to end the social care crisis, end 15-minute care visits and provide care workers with paid travel time, access to training and an option to choose regular hours. We will increase the Carer's Allowance for unpaid full-time carers.



NATIONAL EDUCATION SERVICE

Education makes our economy stronger, our society richer and our people more fulfilled. Whether it is businesses finding people with the right skills, a tech start-up making our economy more dynamic or more people in better paid work and able to contribute to public services, we all benefit from an educated society.

But education isn't just vital to our economy – it lets people develop their talents, overcomes injustices and inequalities and helps us understand each other and form social bonds.

The Conservatives have starved our education system of funding, transferring costs onto students, staff and communities. They have lost sight of its value.

From cutting budgets of schools, disproportionately in deprived areas, to closing Sure Start centres and underfunding support for those with special educational needs and disabilities, Conservative policy has meant those in most need have lost out.

That's why our National Education Service will be at the heart of Labour's plan for real change. It will provide free education for everyone throughout their lives and will nurture every child and adult to find a path that's right for them, by promoting all types of learning, skill and knowledge – technical, vocational, academic and creative.

Early Years

Early years education is vital to children's development. Children from disadvantaged backgrounds start falling behind their peers before they even start school. Early years education also helps parents – usually mothers – by providing a bridge between maternity/parental leave and school.

But the current system falls far short of what is needed. One thousand Sure Start centres have closed since 2010, while the Tories' so-called free childcare offer is desperately underfunded and excludes many of the most disadvantaged children.

We will reverse cuts to Sure Start and create a new service, Sure Start Plus, with enough centres to provide a genuinely universal service, available in all communities, focused on the under-2s.

Labour will radically reform early years provision, with a two-term vision to make high-quality early years education available for every child. We will also extend paid maternity leave to 12 months.

Within five years, all 2, 3 and 4-year-olds will be entitled to 30 hours of free preschool education per week and access to additional hours at affordable, subsidised rates staggered with incomes. Labour will also work to extend childcare provision for 1-year-olds

and to ensure that childcare provision accommodates the working patterns of all parents.

We will improve child development by transitioning to a qualified, graduate-led workforce. We value the experience of current early years workers, and will offer free training to the workforce to attain these qualifications on the job.

Achieving this vision will require significant investment. We will increase funding and end the fragmentation of the current system by funding providers directly, making things simpler and more sustainable for both parents and providers.

We will recruit nearly 150,000 additional early years staff, including Special Educational Needs Co-ordinators, and introduce a national pay scale, driving up pay for the overwhelmingly female workforce.

Maintained nursery schools provide a proven, high-quality service but they are under threat from Tory cuts. We will provide sustainable, long-term funding to secure their future.

Schools

Labour will make sure schools are properly resourced with increased long-term funding, while introducing a fairer funding formula that leaves no child worse off. We will invest to upgrade schools that have fallen into disrepair.

Labour's funding settlement will ensure pupils are taught by a qualified teacher, that every school is open for a full five days a week, and maximum class sizes of 30 for all primary school children. We will also fund more non-contact time for teachers to prepare and plan.

Schools have faced years of budget cuts, leaving headteachers forced to beg parents for money for basic equipment. Despite promising to reverse their own cuts, the Tories latest funding announcement leaves 83% of schools still facing cuts next year.

Schools are being subjected to intensified testing, inspection, league tables and competition. These aren't improving pupil achievement or narrowing the attainment gap, but are contributing to a growing teacher recruitment and retention crisis.

The narrowing curriculum is denying many children access to modern languages, arts and music, or technical and engineering skills that will be essential in a world shaped by climate change.

The academies system is over-centralised, inefficient and undemocratic. Parents, communities and even teachers are shut out of decisions about schools and vulnerable children are being let down. And there is no evidence that academies deliver better results.

The Conservatives have failed a generation of children with special

educational needs and disabilities, who have endured years of cuts and chaos. Labour will provide the necessary funding for children with special educational needs and disabilities.

Labour will end the 'high stakes' testing culture of schools by scrapping Key Stage 1 and 2 SATs and baseline assessments, and refocussing assessment on supporting pupil progress.

We will introduce an Arts Pupil Premium to fund arts education for every primary school child. We will review the curriculum to ensure that it enriches students and covers subjects such as black history and continues to teach issues like the Holocaust. Pupils will learn both the science of climate and environmental emergency, and the skills necessary to deal with them.

We will end the fragmentation and marketisation of our school system by bringing free schools and academies back under control of the people who know them best – parents, teachers and local communities.

Under our system:

- Budget and day-to-day decisions will be transferred back to schools, overseen by an accountable governing body with elected representatives.
- Responsibility for delivery of education and support for young people will sit with local authorities, they will manage admissions, and have responsibility for school places, including the power to open schools

- Oversight and coordination, including of continuous, peer-to-peer school improvement modelled on the London Challenge, will be carried out by regional offices of the NES.

- All schools will be subject to a common rulebook, set out in legislation.

We will replace Ofsted and transfer responsibility for inspections to a new body, designed to drive school improvement.

A new teacher supply service will tackle the waste of funds going to private supply teacher agencies thanks to the government's failure to recruit and retain experienced teachers.

We will take action to end 'off-rolling', removing the perverse incentives for schools to let pupils fall out of the system, by making schools accountable for the outcomes of pupils who leave their rolls.

We will properly regulate all education providers and reform alternative provision (AP) to ensure an excellent education is the right of every child, and improve the outcomes and life chances of some of the most vulnerable children in society.

We will 'poverty-proof' schools, introducing free school meals for all primary school children, encouraging breakfast clubs, and tackling the cost of school uniforms.

We will bring back the School Support Staff Negotiating Body and national pay settlements for teachers.

We will close the tax loopholes enjoyed by elite private schools and use that money to improve the lives of all children, and we will ask the Social Justice Commission to advise on integrating private schools and creating a comprehensive education system.

Further Education and Lifelong Learning

With automation and the Green Industrial Revolution bringing major changes to industry, it is more important than ever that people have the opportunity to retrain and upskill throughout their lives.

Under the Tories, adult education has undergone 10 years of managed decline. England already faces a shortage of people with higher-level technical qualifications, and demand for these skills will only grow as we create new green jobs.

Instead of investing in people to prepare them for the jobs of the future, the Conservatives have slashed funding and cut opportunities.

Labour will ensure fairness and sustainability in further education, aligning the base rate of per-pupil funding in post-16 education with Key Stage 4, providing dedicated capital funding to expand provision

and bringing back the Education Maintenance Allowance as the Welsh Labour Government has done.

Labour will make lifelong learning a reality, giving everyone a free lifelong entitlement to:

- Training up to Level 3.
- Six years training at Levels 4–6, with maintenance grants for disadvantaged learners.

We will introduce additional entitlements for workers in industries that are significantly affected by industrial transition.

We will make sure training delivers the right skills by giving employers a role in co-design and co-production of qualifications.

We will restore funding for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) courses and restore and expand the Union Learning Fund, giving workers the right to accrue paid time off for education and training.

Labour will reform existing careers advice, working towards an integrated information, advice and guidance system that covers the entire NES.

We will reverse the fragmentation and privatisation of further and adult education, incorporating it into a single national system of regulation that functions for education as our NHS does for healthcare provision.

Higher Education

Under the Tories, universities are treated as private businesses, left at the mercy of market forces, while top salaries soar and students pay more for less. Tuition fees have trebled and maintenance grants have been scrapped, leaving the poorest graduates with an average debt of £57,000.

Labour will end the failed free-market experiment in higher education, abolish tuition fees and bring back maintenance grants. We will fundamentally rethink the assessment of research and teaching quality, and develop a new funding formula for higher education that:

- Ensures all public HE institutions have adequate funding for teaching and research.
- Widens access to higher education and reverses the decline of part-time learning.
- Ends the casualisation of staff.

We will transform the Office for Students from a market regulator to a body of the National Education Service, acting in the public interest.

We will introduce post-qualification admissions in higher education, and work with universities to ensure contextual admissions are used across the system.



POLICE AND SECURITY

The primary duty of government is to keep people safe. Our communities were endangered when the Conservatives took 21,000 police officers off our streets.

Recorded crime has risen, including violent crimes like knife crime, which has risen to record high levels, up 80% in the last five years. Last year more than 11 million crimes were recorded, and the proportion of offences charged has fallen across all categories: violence, drugs, robbery, burglary, weapons possession and vehicle theft. Prosecutions have fallen to a record low level. Some offences have been decriminalised in practice. Only 1.4% of reported rapes are prosecuted.

Crime rates reflect the society we live in. Conservative cuts to services have eroded the fabric of local communities. The rate of school exclusions has increased, as has social inequality – crime rates are driven by both.

Where the Conservatives have failed, a Labour government will take action to address the causes of crime and end the epidemic. We will invest in our communities and public services to build the stronger,

fairer society that keeps us all safer. Rebuilding our criminal justice services, we will focus on crime prevention and early interventions, giving people the best chance of rehabilitation.

We will rebuild our youth services and guarantee young people's access to youth workers. We will invest in a youth justice system in which schools, local authorities, health authorities and youth services work together to divert young people away from the pathways towards crime.

Police

A Labour government will invest in policing to prevent crime and make our communities safer, and we will enforce the laws protecting police and other emergency workers from violent assault.

We will rebuild the whole police workforce, recruiting more police officers, police community support officers and police staff. We will re-establish neighbourhood policing and recruit 2,000 more frontline officers than have been planned for by the Conservatives. We will work with police forces to invest in a modern workforce to tackle the rise in violent crime and cybercrime under the Tories. To deliver these priorities, Labour will work with police and crime commissioners to reform police funding and share new resources fairly, and to ensure that local needs are met.

The Tory approach to policing has been different: reckless, remote, authoritarian, ineffective policing on the cheap. It has led to what HM Inspectorate of Constabulary described as dangerous, disturbing practices, with investigations shelved, vulnerable victims let down and dangerous suspects remaining at large.

We will retain local democratic accountability for police forces and reform the police funding formula to ensure sufficient, sustainable resources are fairly allocated. We will agree resources with the police authorities to combat crime and restore community policing by consent.

Effective police work requires the police to serve their communities and work collaboratively with youth workers, mental health services, schools, drug rehabilitation programmes and other public agencies. A police force working within our communities, with the capacity to gather local intelligence, is also the frontline of our domestic security – the first eyes and ears of effective counter-terrorism.

We will work to eliminate institutional biases against BAME communities. Proportionate stop-and-search based on intelligence is a needed tool of effective policing, but the use of expanded powers means black and Asian men are still more likely to be stopped and searched, poisoning relations between the police and the local communities they serve.

We will ensure better police training on domestic abuse and offences arising from coercive control, as well as historical abuses and other crimes neglected by the reduced forces operating under Tory austerity.

A Labour government will establish a Royal Commission to develop a public health approach to substance misuse, focusing on harm reduction rather than criminalisation.

We will introduce minimum legal standards of service for all victims of crime.

Security

We will address the failure of the Conservatives to take effective measures against a growing problem of extreme or violent radicalisation. We will ensure closer counter terrorism co-ordination between the police and the security services, combining neighbourhood expertise with international intelligence.

We will ensure the powers exercised by the security services are proportionate and used in accordance with human rights. We will review the circumstances requiring judicial warrant. We will ensure agencies are accountable and strengthen the powers of the Joint Intelligence and Security Committee. We will constrain the right of the Prime Minister to suppress publication of committee reports.

A Labour government will review our security strategies.

We will review the Prevent programme to assess both effectiveness and potential to alienate communities and consider alternatives including safeguarding programmes to protect those vulnerable to the recruitment propaganda and ideologies of the far-right and others who promote terror as a political strategy.

We will review the Protect programme to ensure that public authorities take appropriate security measures, without alienating the communities they serve.

We will evaluate the mobile phone trials with the aim of introducing an emergency alert system.

We will use our diplomatic services, our aid budgets and our international standing to promote peaceful solutions to conflicts and tackle the risks arising from poverty, natural catastrophes and population displacements. Our national security is linked to global threats. We will respect international law and avoid needless military interventions.

Our security co-operation arrangements with EU neighbours are essential for our safety. If the British people confirm their decision to leave, we will prioritise agreement of a new UK-EU Security Treaty.

Cybersecurity

Cybercrime and cyberwarfare are growing, all around the world. Every aspect of our lives, from the NHS to our nuclear facilities, from transport systems to communications networks is vulnerable.

A Labour government, ever more dependent on digital technology, will overhaul our cybersecurity by creating a co-ordinating minister and regular reviews of cyber-readiness.

We will review the role and remit of the National Cyber Security Centre to determine whether it should be given powers as an auditing body, with the ability to issue warnings to private and public sector organisations and designate risk.

We will also review the structures and roles of the National Crime Agency, to strengthen the response to all types of economic crime, including cybercrime and fraud, and ensure a modern, technologically advanced police service that has the capacity and skills to combat online crime, supported by a new national strategy on cybercrime and fraud.

Border Security

Our border security prevents serious crimes including child abduction, people trafficking, smuggling of drugs and guns, terrorism and modern day slavery. The Tories have further weakened our borders, cutting another 200 jobs over the last four years.

They have failed to deliver exit checks. In place of an effective border control they have required landlords, teachers and medical staff to work as unpaid immigration officers, creating a hostile environment.

A Labour government will review our border controls to make them more effective.



JUSTICE

Smarter justice requires cross-government action to reduce the impact of adverse childhood experiences and to break the vicious cycle of poverty, inequality and crime.

We will champion a joined-up approach, fostering close working relationships between criminal justice agencies with education authorities, health services and others by establishing violence-reduction units and ensuring vulnerable people get the support they need by boosting public health, mental health and early years services. Prison is not the best place to address the drug addictions, mental illnesses and debts that lead many people into crime.

The crisis in our criminal justice system has left communities less safe, victims less supported and people less able to defend their rights. Labour will defend the rule of law.

Cutting thousands of prison officers has driven record levels of prison violence. A Labour government will restore total prison officer numbers to 2010 levels, and phase out dangerous lone working. We will bring PFI prisons back in-house and there will be no new

private prisons. We will tackle the prison maintenance backlog and develop a long-term estate strategy.

The Ministry of Justice's own evidence shows tens of thousands of crimes could be prevented if robust community sentences replace short prison sentences. We will set new standards for community sentences and introduce a presumption against prison sentences of six months or less for non-violent and non-sexual offences.

We will invest in proven alternatives to custody, including women's centres, expand problem-solving courts and plug the funding gap in the female offender strategy. We will further consider the evidence for effective alternatives and rehabilitation of prolific offenders.

A Labour government will reunify probation and guarantee a publicly run, locally accountable probation service. Under Labour, probation staff and professional standards will once again be properly valued.

Legal aid cuts mean essential legal help is too often denied. To help people enforce their rights, we will restore all early legal aid advice, including for housing, social security, family and immigration cases.

We will recruit hundreds of new community lawyers, promote public legal education and build an expanded network of law centres.

We will ensure legal aid for inquests into deaths in state custody and the preparation of judicial review cases. We will consult on the civil legal aid means-test levels and act on the criminal legal aid review.

We will defend workers' ability to recover legal representation costs from negligent employers.

We will keep the right for workers to be represented and recover their costs in cases of employer negligence leading to injury at work. We will review the eligibility criteria for the criminal injuries compensation scheme.

A Labour government will halt court closures and cuts to staff, and undertake a review of the courts reform programme. We will facilitate a more representative judiciary while upholding its independence, and review funding for the Crown Prosecution Service.

We will tackle the disproportionate levels of BAME children in custody, review the youth custody estate, strengthen youth courts and build on the Lammy Review.

Violence against women and girls is unacceptable as is many women's experience of criminal justice agencies. We will set new standards for tackling domestic and sexual abuse and violence, and appoint a Commissioner for Violence against Women and Girls. We will establish an independent review into shamefully low rape prosecution rates. We will establish a National

Refuge Fund, ensure financial stability for rape crisis centres and reintroduce a Domestic Abuse Bill.

We will improve the safety of the family court system for domestic violence victims and prohibit their cross-examination by their abuser.

We will introduce protections for victims of so-called revenge porn. Labour will introduce a no-fault divorce procedure.

We will uphold women's reproductive rights and decriminalise abortions.

We will establish public inquiries into historical injustices including blacklisting and Orgreave, and ensure the second phase of the Grenfell Inquiry has the confidence of all those affected, especially the bereaved families and survivors. We will also consider a public inquiry in the case of Zane Gbangbola.

We will require judicial warrants for undercover operations and retain the Mitting Inquiry into undercover policing.

We will release all papers on the Shrewsbury 24 trials and 37 Cammell Laird shipyard workers and introduce a Public Accountability Bill. We will ensure fair compensation for the victims of contaminated blood products across the UK.



COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Labour will reverse the Tory decade of austerity for local government and aim to restore council spending powers to 2010 levels over the lifetime of the Parliament.

While those who make decisions in Whitehall can seem distant and detached, our local councillors live among us, shopping on the same high street, using the same parks and leisure centres and sending their children to the same schools. Thriving local councils are vital to Labour's democratic transformation of the economy.

Councils are the collective voice of local communities and are on the frontline in delivering many essential public services.

Tory cuts, which have been deliberately targeted at the poorest areas of the country, have plunged our councils into crisis and pushed many services to breaking point. Decades of privatisation and outsourcing have hollowed out council capacity, taken money out of communities and undermined democratic accountability.

We will act to bring services – from bin collections to management of local leisure centres – back in-house within the next Parliament, improving service quality, saving money and ensuring the people who deliver vital local services are treated decently.

Rural councils deliver public services differently, and this needs to be reflected in funding allocation mechanisms. We will introduce a ‘rural-proofing’ process so that all our laws, policies and programmes consider their impact on rural communities.

Where local areas experience a sharp rise in demand for services, we will make council funding more reactive, and will work with councils to establish such a fund to meet changing circumstances.

Our high streets are being decimated by store closures and jobs losses. High streets are more than places to shop, they are places we go for culture, company and character. We will revive high streets by stopping bank branch closures, banning ATM charges and giving local government new powers to put empty shops to good use.

Business rates are causing real issues for high-street retailers and others. A Labour government will review the option of a land value tax on commercial landlords as an alternative and develop a retail sector industrial strategy.

We will make sure the rights of consumers are enhanced and

protected, that safety standards are maintained and improved, and that local authority trading standards departments and other consumer protection agencies have the resources to enforce those rights and standards

We will stop Crown Post Office closures and bring Royal Mail back into public ownership at the earliest opportunity, reuniting it with the Post Office and creating a publicly owned Post Bank run through the post office network to ensure every community has easy access to face-to-face, trusted and affordable banking.

A Business Development Agency will be based in the Post Bank, providing free support and advice on how to launch, manage and grow a business.

Pubs are community hubs but 18 are closing each week in Britain. Labour will list pubs as Assets of Community Value so community groups have the first chance to buy local pubs when they are under threat.

We will ensure libraries are preserved for future generations and updated with Wi-Fi and computers. We will reintroduce library standards so that government can assess and guide councils in delivering the best possible service.

As well as the presumption to insource public services, we will build community wealth by giving communities the powers and resources they need to keep public spending circulating in

the local economy, rather than being sucked offshore to corporate tax havens. We will extend community control in the private sector by supporting local and community businesses. We will give a new Co-operative Development Agency a mission to double the size of the co-operative sector.

Labour will put the voices of local people at the heart of planning. We will rebalance power in the planning system by giving local government greater freedom to set planning fees and by requiring the climate and environmental emergency to be factored into all planning decisions.

Young people have been let down by the Conservatives. At least 750 youth centres have closed since 2012. Too many young people now have nowhere to go, nothing to do and no one to help them with their problems. Labour will build a properly funded, professionally staffed National Youth Service, and will guarantee every young person has access to local, high-quality youth work.

Vulnerable children have suffered most, with many left waiting until crisis point for support. Councils are having to meet the needs of more at-risk children with lower funding.

Labour will launch a wholesale review of the care system, including kinship care, considering national standards such as a central register

of foster parents and regulation of semi-supported housing, to ensure we meet the needs of every child.

We will rebuild early intervention services and replace the Troubled Families programme with a Stronger Families programme, refocused on long-term support to reduce the risk of children going into care.

We will protect and build on Staying Put for over-18s in care and the Adoption Support Fund.



FIRE AND RESCUE

The Conservatives have cut 11,500 firefighter jobs and closed dozens of fire stations. Response times have got slower and lives have been put at risk.

A Labour government will halt the cuts and further invest in our Fire and Rescue Service, recruiting at least 5,000 new firefighters. We will learn lessons from the public inquiries into Grenfell and earlier disasters. We will establish a broadly based implementation taskforce, but will not wait for final recommendations to make urgently needed changes. We will ensure dedicated fire controls under Fire and Rescue Service governance and provide resources for a public Fire and Rescue College to ensure that necessary training, research and planning is undertaken.

We will conduct a review of the Fire and Rescue Service, evaluating safe staffing levels and consulting on national minimum standards. We will establish in law a standards body for fire prevention, protection and intervention, with trade union representation at all levels. We will reinstate separate governance arrangements for Fire and Rescue Service and police services. We will give fire services the duty to co-ordinate the emergency response to floods locally.



DIGITAL, CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT

Digital

Digital and technological advancements bring challenges, but also huge opportunities. In the age of AI and automation, digital connectivity will underpin our future economy. We will need world-class digital infrastructure in which everyone can share.

Labour will deliver free full-fibre broadband to all by 2030.

We will establish British Broadband, with two arms: British Digital Infrastructure (BDI) and the British Broadband Service (BBS). We will bring the broadband-relevant parts of BT into public ownership, with a jobs guarantee for all workers in existing

broadband infrastructure and retail broadband work.

BDI will roll out the remaining 90–92% of the full-fibre network, and acquire necessary access rights to existing assets. BBS will coordinate the delivery of free broadband in tranches as the full-fibre network is rolled out, beginning with the communities worst served by existing broadband networks. Taxation of multinationals, including tech giants, will pay for the operating costs of the public full-fibre network. The plan will boost jobs, tackle regional inequality and improve quality of life as part of a mission to connect the country.

We will enforce a legal duty of care to protect our children online, impose fines

on companies that fail on online abuse and empower the public with a Charter of Digital Rights.

Culture

Britain's thriving arts, culture and creative industries drive investments and encourage tourism.

A Labour government will open up career opportunities in these industries for everyone and consult on ways to address the gender imbalance in the digital creative industries.

We will introduce an Arts Pupil Premium to every primary school in England – a £160 million annual boost for schools to ensure creative and arts education is embedded in secondary education, and providing a pathway to grow our thriving creative sector.

We will invest in the towns and communities neglected for too long, with a £1 billion Cultural Capital Fund to transform libraries, museums and galleries across the country.

We will make the distribution of National Lottery funding more transparent to help communities get their fair share of project funding.

We will maintain free entry to museums, because everyone should have access to our shared heritage. Building on the success of the UK City of Culture, we will launch a Town of Culture competition.

We will work with trade unions and employers to make creative jobs accessible for all, ensuring diversity in these industries so that everyone sees themselves represented on screen and on stage. We will review the copyright framework to ensure fair remuneration for artists and content creators.

Media

A Labour government will ensure a healthy future for all our public service broadcasters, including BBC Alba and S4C. We will protect free TV licences for over-75s.

A free and fair press is vital to protecting democracy and holding the powerful to account.

We will address misconduct and the unresolved failures of corporate governance raised by the second stage of the abandoned Leveson Inquiry. We will take steps to ensure that Ofcom is better able to safeguard a healthy plurality of media ownership and to put in place clearer rules on who is fit and proper to own or run TV and radio stations. We will take action to address the monopolistic hold the tech giants have on advertising revenues and will support vital local newspapers and media outlets.

We will consult media-sector workers and trade unions to establish an inquiry into the 'fake news' undermining trust in

media, democracy and public debate, and on a legal right of public interest defence for journalists.

Sport

Sport enriches our lives, binds communities together and helps us all to stay healthy.

Sport must be accessible and run in the interests of those who participate in it and love it.

In football, the professional game has become divided between the extremes of the very rich and the very poor with clubs in Bury and Bolton facing collapse. A Labour government will examine the state of the game, its governance and regulation, its ownership rules and the support and funding of the clubs that are vital to local communities. We will review the ‘fit and proper person test’ for club owners and directors and ensure that supporters’ trusts have a proper role so that the professional game is properly run for all its fans and all its clubs.

A Labour government will legislate for accredited football supporters’ trusts to be able to appoint and remove at least two club directors and purchase shares when clubs change hands. We will regulate safe standing in stadiums and ensure that a proportion of the Premier League’s television rights income is spent on grassroots football facilities.

We will add the ICC Cricket World Cup to the list of crown jewel sporting events that are broadcast free-to-air.

We will commission an independent review into discrimination in sport.

Gambling

A Labour government will curb gambling advertising in sports and introduce a new Gambling Act fit for the digital age, establishing gambling limits, a levy for problem gambling funding and mechanisms for consumer compensations.

Civic Society

In the years of austerity it was non-government organisations that often held the social fabric of our society together, protecting our communities from even greater harm and providing precisely targeted support. As we rebuild our public services, we will support and maintain the social capital values of these organisations.

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WORK

Work should provide a decent life for all, guaranteeing not just dignity and respect in the workplace, but also the income and leisure time to allow for a fulfilling life outside it.

Under the Tories, pay has stagnated while insecurity and inequality are rising.

Work no longer guarantees a way out of poverty. Of 14.3 million people in poverty, nine million live in families where at least one adult works. Real wages are still lower than before the financial crisis, while dividends paid to shareholders are up 85%.

Labour will eradicate in-work poverty in our first term by tackling the structural causes of poverty and inequality, such as low pay and high living costs, while raising the floor provided by our social safety net.

Too many people have found themselves in a spiral of debt as wages fell and housing costs rose. Labour will cap the total amount that can be paid in overdraft fees or interest on a loan.

We will rapidly introduce a Real Living Wage of at least £10 per hour for all workers aged 16 and over, and use

savings to public finances to help small businesses manage the extra cost.

We will give workers a stake in the companies they work for – and a share of the profits they help create – by requiring large companies to set up Inclusive Ownership Funds (IOFs). Up to 10% of a company will be owned collectively by employees, with dividend payments distributed equally among all, capped at £500 a year, and the rest being used to top up the Climate Apprenticeship Fund. The cap will rise to ensure that no more than 25% of dividends raised by IOFs are redistributed in this way.

And we will explore other innovative ways of responding to low pay, including a pilot of Universal Basic Income.

Growing numbers of the workforce are self-employed. While for some this brings freedom and autonomy, it can also bring insecurity. Self-employed people will benefit from a broad range of our policies, from free childcare and full-fibre broadband to face-to-face lending and business support through our Post Bank.

We will also seek to develop tailored support and protections for the self-employed, including: collective income protection insurance schemes, annual income assessments for those on Universal Credit, and better access to mortgages and pension schemes.

We will tackle late payments that leave small businesses and the self-employed waiting months to be paid, including banning late payers from public procurement.

Ministry for Employment Rights

Throughout history, working people in Britain have improved their lives by coming together to demand rights and protections. Even after decades in which workers' rights have been cut back and their unions' capacity to defend them have been slashed, the Tories believe that workers' terms and conditions should be dictated by employers on a 'take it or leave it' basis.

We are proud of the trade union movement's historic achievements in giving people a voice at work through collective action. It is not just part of our history; it is also part of our future. Only by shifting the balance of power back towards workers will we achieve decent wages, security and dignity at work.

The next Labour government will transform people's lives for the better through the biggest extension of workers' rights in history.

We will give working people a voice at the Cabinet table by establishing a Ministry for Employment Rights.

We will start to roll out sectoral collective bargaining across the economy, bringing workers and employers together to agree legal

minimum standards on a wide range of issues, such as pay and working hours, that every employer in the sector must follow. Sectoral collective bargaining will increase wages and reduce inequality.

This will also stop good employers being undercut by bad employers.

We will tackle insecurity by:

- Giving everyone full rights from day one on the job.
- Strengthening protections for whistleblowers and rights against unfair dismissal for all workers, with extra protections for pregnant women, those going through the menopause and terminally ill workers.
- Ending bogus self-employment and creating a single status of ‘worker’ for everyone apart from those genuinely self-employed in business on their own account, so that employers can not evade workers’ rights; and banning overseas-only recruitment practices.
- Introducing a legal right to collective consultation on the implementation of new technology in workplaces.
- Banning zero-hour contracts and strengthening the law so that those who work regular hours for more than 12 weeks will have a right to a regular contract, reflecting those hours.

We will help people balance work and family life by:

- Increasing wages through sectoral collective bargaining.
- Requiring breaks during shifts to be paid.
- Requiring cancelled shifts to be paid and proper notice for changes in hours.
- Giving all workers the right to flexible working.
- Extending statutory maternity pay from nine to 12 months.
- Doubling paternity leave from two weeks to four and increasing statutory paternity pay.
- Introducing statutory bereavement leave, guaranteeing workers time off to grieve the loss of close family members or following miscarriage.
- Introducing four new bank holidays celebrating our four patron saints’ days.
- Reviewing family-friendly employment rights, including rights to respond to family emergencies.

We will make sure people are treated equally at work by:

- Requiring employers to devise and implement plans to eradicate the gender pay gap – and pay inequalities underpinned by race and/or disability – or face fines.
- Requiring employers to maintain workplaces free of harassment, including harassment by third parties.

- Increasing protection against redundancy for people wherever they work.
- Giving statutory rights to equalities representatives.
- Setting up a Royal Commission to bring health (including mental health) and safety legislation up to date.
- Ensuring that public-facing workers are protected by toughening the law against abuse and violence.
- Banning unpaid internships.

We will remove unfair and unnecessary restrictions on trade unions, allowing people to come together and speak up on issues that affect them at work.

We will:

- Allow trade unions to use secure electronic and workplace ballots.
- Remove unnecessary restrictions on industrial action.
- Strengthen and enforce trade unions' right of entry to workplaces to organise, meet and represent their members and to recruit.
- Ban union-busting, strengthen protection of trade union representatives against unfair dismissal and union members from intimidation, harassment, threats and blacklisting.
- Repeal anti-trade union legislation including the Trade Union Act 2016 and create new rights and freedoms

for trade unions to help them win a better deal for working people.

- Simplify the law around union recognition.
- Give union reps adequate time off for union duties.

We will develop collective income-protection insurance schemes for the self-employed. We will introduce a maximum workplace temperature to protect workers and require employers to take counteracting measures.

For years, the UK has been in breach of our international obligations. We will bring UK law into line with the International Labour Organisation standards it has ratified, so Britain leads the world, instead of engaging in a race to the bottom.

Working Time

Time off to rest, relax and be with family is essential to a happy and fulfilling life, but workers in the UK put in some of the longest hours in Europe.

Labour will tackle excessive working hours. Within a decade we will reduce average full-time weekly working hours to 32 across the economy, with no loss of pay, funded by productivity increases.

We will meet this target by:

- Ending the opt-out provision for the EU Working Time Directive and enforcing working-time regulations.

- Setting up an independent Working Time Commission to advise on raising minimum holiday entitlements and reducing maximum weekly working time.
- Mandating bargaining councils to negotiate reductions in working time.
- Investing to increase productivity and making sure workers share the benefits.

We will keep restrictions on Sunday trading in place and review unpaid overtime.

Enforcement

Rights don't mean anything unless they're enforced, but that is not happening under the Tories.

That doesn't just hurt workers who lose out, it is also bad for employers who follow the law and are undercut by unscrupulous competitors prepared to break it.

Strong trade unions are the best and most effective way to enforce rights at work. Labour will also introduce a new, unified Workers' Protection Agency to enforce workplace rights, including the Real Living Wage. It will be given extensive powers to inspect workplaces and bring prosecutions and civil proceedings on workers' behalf.

We will keep employment tribunals free, extend their powers, and introduce new Labour Courts with a stronger role for people with industrial experience on panels.

Rewriting the Rules

Social justice also means levelling the playing field between small and big business, and ensuring that democracy and accountability are valued across society, including in the private sector.

Businesses are the heartbeat of our economy, creating jobs, wealth and innovations.

But the upper echelons of corporate Britain have been corrupted by a culture in which the long-term health of a company is sacrificed for a quick buck for a few: a short-term culture has seen some treasured companies asset-stripped, leaving workers, small business suppliers and pensioners in the lurch. Too often, the link between reward and long-term performance is broken for short-term greed.

Labour will take on short-termism and corporate greed, making sure good businesses are rewarded, not undercut. We will rewrite the rules of the economy and ensure everyone plays by them.

We will amend the Companies Act, requiring companies to prioritise long-term growth while strengthening protections for stakeholders, including smaller suppliers and pension funds. We will tackle late payments that leave small businesses waiting months to be paid, including banning late payers from public procurement.

For small businesses, we will ensure no quarterly reporting for businesses below the VAT threshold.

We will require one-third of boards to be reserved for elected worker-directors and give them more control over executive pay – because when those who depend on a company have a say in running it, that company generally does better and lasts longer.

We will introduce a broader ‘public interest test’ to prevent hostile takeovers and asset-stripping weakening our industrial base and destroying treasured home-grown companies. And we will give workers a voice on public bodies such as the Competition and Markets Authority.

We will let struggling companies go into protective administration, so they can be sold as a going concern rather than collapsing into insolvency.

Audits are vital to corporate accountability, but the auditing industry is dominated by a few players riddled with conflicts of interest. Labour will separate audit and accounting activities in major firms and impose more robust rules on auditors.

We will tackle regulatory capture and streamline regulation by creating a new Business Commission, responsive to parliamentary select committees.

Social Justice Commission

Labour will usher in a new era of social justice in Britain. Everyone in our society should be allowed to flourish regardless

of what class or postcode they are born into, or the colour of their skin.

But that’s impossible when you cannot meet your most basic needs and have to choose between eating and heating your home. Britain is one of the richest countries in the world, but under the Tories millions of people can’t make ends meet.

They tell us we shouldn’t care about inequality, because social mobility allows those who work hard to get on. But nobody becomes a billionaire through hard work alone, and as inequality has grown, it has become more entrenched.

For Labour, the true measure of fairness is not social mobility but social justice.

Implicit in the notion of social mobility is the idea that poverty and inequality are acceptable provided some people can climb the social ladder.

Social justice, on the other hand, demands that we end poverty, reduce inequality and create a society in which the conditions for a fulfilling life are available to everyone.

Labour will replace the Social Mobility Commission with a Social Justice Commission, based in the Treasury, with wide-ranging powers to hold us, and future governments, to account.



WOMEN AND EQUALITIES

Labour is the party of equality, committed to achieving a world free from all forms of bigotry and discrimination. Whether campaigning on the streets or passing legislation in government, Labour is the only party to consistently stand with women, disabled people, people from ethnic minority backgrounds and LGBT+ communities.

The Conservatives have failed to tackle society's burning injustices. Instead, they have inflicted injustice after injustice on women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and LGBT+ communities and disabled people. Over 85% of the burden of Tory/Lib Dem cuts has fallen on the shoulders of women.

Labour will create a new Department for Women and Equalities, with a full-time Secretary of State, responsible for ensuring all our policies and laws are equality-impact assessed in order to deliver a fairer society for women and all under-represented groups. We will establish a modernised National Women's Commission as an independent advisory body to contribute to a Labour government.

We are guided by our firm commitment to the Human Rights Act and Convention on Human Rights that have been consistently attacked by the Conservatives. We will ratify both the Istanbul Convention on preventing domestic abuse and the ILO Convention on Violence and Harassment at work.

We will put class at the heart of Britain's equality agenda and create a new ground for discrimination on the basis of socio-economic disadvantage.

Women

Labour will put women at the heart of our government and programme. Next year marks the 50th anniversary of the Equal Pay Act, yet women still earn 13% less than men. Labour will take action to close the gender pay gap by 2030.

We will also:

- Deliver gender pay equality by making the state responsible for enforcing equal pay legislation for the first time. The new Workers' Protection Agency working with HMRC will ensure that employers take equal pay seriously and take positive action to close the gender pay gap. Women will no longer be left to take enforcement action by themselves through the courts.
- Require all employers with over 250 employees to obtain government certification on gender equality or face further auditing and fines. By the end of 2020, we will lower the threshold to workplaces with 50 employees, whilst providing the necessary additional support for small businesses.
- Revolutionise parents' rights by increasing paid maternity leave from nine to 12 months, doubling paternity leave to four weeks and extending pregnancy protection. We will ban the dismissal of pregnant women without prior approval of the inspectorate.
- Transform the workplace and require all large employers to have flexible working, including a menopause policy, and consider changes to sickness and absence practices.
- Enable positive action for recruitment to roles where employers can justify the need for more diversity and introduce a right for all workers to request flexibility over their hours from the first day of employment.
- Ensure that the single-sex-based exemptions contained in the Equality Act 2010 are understood and fully enforced in service provision.
- Create a safer society for women and prioritise domestic abuse as a health issue, introduce 10 days of paid leave for survivors of domestic abuse, and ensure women's refuges receive the long-term sustainable funding they need. Misogyny and violence against women and girls will become hate crimes.
- Increase women's representation across parliament by building on the Equality Act, passed by the last Labour government, and enact Section 106 so that all political parties publish diversity data about electoral candidates.

Race Equality

Achieving racial equality is a bedrock Labour value. It has never been more important than in the current climate. We are proud of the way our country has been shaped by the contributions, cultures and values of people from around the world.

The Conservatives have fanned the flames of racism, using difference to divide. They have made BAME people pay the price for their austerity project and scapegoated refugees and migrants. Never was this starker than with their ‘hostile environment’, leading to the scandalous treatment of the Windrush generation. Hate crime has more than doubled in the last five years. This is a wake-up call for all of us.

Labour will ensure a pathway to economic inclusion for all, putting an end to all forms of racism and discrimination in our economy and society. Inclusion will be at the heart of its programme for government.

We will:

- Seek to end the politics of hate and commission an independent review into the threat of far-right extremism and how to tackle it.
- Put wealth and power in the hands of the many, extend pay-gap reporting to BAME groups and tackle pay discrimination on the basis of race.
- Commit our National Investment Bank to addressing discrimination in

access to finance, which many BAME business owners face; and take action to ensure that BAME and women business owners have access to government contracts and spending.

- Implement recommendations of the Lammy Review to address the disparity of treatment and outcomes for BAME people within the criminal justice system.
- Create an Emancipation Educational Trust to educate around migration and colonialism, and to address the legacy of slavery and teach how it interrupted a rich and powerful black history which is also British history.

On religious discrimination, we will:

- Strengthen protection for religious communities and amend the law to include attacks on places of worship (including synagogues, temples, mosques and churches) as a specific aggravated offence.
- Review current levels of funding for and access to the Places of Worship Protective Security Funding Scheme, maintain funding in real terms for the Community Security Trust, and consult on giving it statutory protection to ensure that religious communities have the support they need.

Disability with Dignity

Over the last 10 years, through a catalogue of punitive welfare policies, the dignity of people with

disabilities has been degraded by the Conservatives. Not one, but two UN reports describe the government having committed ‘systematic violations’ of the rights of disabled people – while their families have been ‘driven to breaking point’ by cuts to social care.

More disabled people are now living in poverty, and people have died because of this government’s choice to make the most vulnerable pay for tax cuts for the few. Labour will end this cruelty, restoring the protections that disabled people and their families – many of whom shoulder the cost of their care – should expect in one of the richest countries in the world.

Labour supports the principle of ‘nothing about us without us’.

We will:

- Champion the social model of disability throughout government. Through our new Department for Women and Equalities, we will ensure that disabled people can be independent and equal in society, with choice and control over their own lives.
- Transform the workplace for disabled people by requiring that all employers be trained to better support them, while introducing mandatory disability pay-gap reporting for companies with over 250 employees.
- End disability discrimination and update the Equality Act to introduce new specific duties including disability

leave, paid and recorded separately from sick leave.

- Recommend that the Equality and Human Rights Commission prepare a specific code of practice on reasonable adjustments to supplement existing codes. This will provide an appropriate balance between flexibility and clarity on how ‘reasonable’ cost is determined. The code will also set timescales for implementation of reasonable adjustments to end the long and distressing delays experienced by disabled workers.
- Reinstate the Access to Elected Office Fund to enable disabled people to run for elected office.
- Adopt a British Sign Language Act, giving BSL full legal recognition in law.

We will work with employers, trade unions and public services to improve awareness of neurodiversity in the workplace and in society.

LGBT+ Equality

Labour has a proud history of standing shoulder to shoulder with LGBT+ people. We abolished Section 28, equalised the age of consent, created civil partnerships, and only with Labour votes could equal marriage become law. Labour is committed to reforming the Gender Recognition Act 2004 to introduce self-declaration for transgender people, but we are not

complacent about the culture shift required to make LGBT+ inclusivity a reality. The Conservatives have been slow to understand the scale of abuse and discrimination LGBT+ people continue to face in our society.

Labour will eliminate remaining areas of discrimination in law, ensuring that LGBT+ people can live in safety and dignity.

We will:

- Respond fast and firmly wherever LGBT+ people face violence or persecution internationally and appoint a dedicated global ambassador to the Foreign Office on LGBT+ issues.
- Labour will work with organisations and charities already making the UK a more equal and fairer society and together we will build a country for the many, not the few.
- Put LGBT+ equality at the heart of government, ensuring our public services are LGBT+ inclusive and delivering on the national LGBT Action Plan.
- Take steps to safeguard LGBT+ rights inside or outside the EU, such as retaining and promoting the Human Rights Act.
- Tackle the homelessness and rough sleeping crisis in the UK, ensuring that all strategies and services are tailored to understand needs unique to LGBT+ homeless people, particularly young people who make up a disproportionate number of our currently homeless people.
- Provide sufficient funding for schools to deliver mandatory LGBT+ inclusive relationships and sex education.
- Fully fund sexual health services and roll out PrEP medication.



Migration

A Labour government will establish a humane immigration system and end the ‘hostile environment’ that caused the Windrush scandal of British citizens being deported. Instead, our system will be built on human rights and aimed at meeting the skills and labour shortages that exist in our economy and public services.

Our immigration system must allow us to recruit the people we need, and to welcome them and their families. Our work visa system must fill any skills or labour shortages that arise. The movement of people around the world has enriched our society, our economy and our culture.

We will take decisive action to regulate the labour market to stop the undercutting of wages and conditions, and the exploitation of all workers including migrant workers. It is the actions of bad bosses and successive Conservative governments that have driven down wages and working terms and conditions. Labour will ensure all workers have full and equal rights from day one, with a Real Living Wage for all.

The Conservative policy of pursuing net migration targets has undermined our economy and our public services, refusing entry to essential key workers including nurses. It has created a hostile environment

within our communities, encouraged the demonisation of migrants and enabled the callous use of three million residents as bargaining chips in our negotiations over EU withdrawal.

Moreover, the Tories have not once met their own targets. Their migration policies are a complete and damaging failure, whichever way they are looked at.

We will scrap the 2014 Immigration Act introduced by the Tories with their Liberal Democrat coalition partners.

We are for a levelling up of rights, not a race to the bottom. We will not tolerate a two-tier system for those entitled to be here.

The Windrush scandal continues to create new victims. We will end its injustices and provide fair compensation to those who have unfairly suffered.

We will end indefinite detention, review the alternatives to the inhumane conditions of detention centres, and close Yarl's Wood and Brook House, from which immediate savings would contribute towards a fund of £20 million to support the survivors of modern slavery, people trafficking and domestic violence. We will ensure justice for migrant domestic workers and restore the overseas domestic workers' visa.

If we remain in the EU, freedom of movement would continue. If we leave, it will be subject to negotiations, but we recognise the social and economic

benefits that free movement has brought both in terms of EU citizens here and UK citizens abroad – and we will seek to protect those rights.

In accordance with our values and domestic laws, we will uphold the right to a family life for British, EU and non-EU residents alike. We will end the deportation of family members of people entitled to be here and end the minimum income requirements which separate families.

Refugees

Refugees are victims of wars, environmental catastrophes, famine or persecution.

This government has failed its international legal obligations to refugees and to allow people to exercise their rights to seek asylum.

A Labour government will uphold those rights and meet those obligations. We will work with others to resume rescue missions in the Mediterranean, co-operate with the French authorities to put an end to the horrific camps, and establish safe and legal routes for asylum seekers.

Once here, refugees will have the right to work, access to public services and will be treated humanely by government at all levels.



SOCIAL SECURITY

Labour holds social security in the same esteem as our health and education systems. It is there to help each of us in times of need. If someone falls on hard times – because they lose their job, get sick or lose a loved one – Labour will help them live with dignity and provide support to get them back on their feet.

While Labour wants a society in which people care for one another, the Tories are trying to pitch us against each other.

Under the Tories, the social security system has lost sight of its purpose. Poverty has become endemic, the glue that binds our society together has come unstuck and, in the words of the United Nations, the UK's social safety net 'has been deliberately removed and replaced with a harsh and uncaring ethos'.

The cruelty and heartlessness of the Tories has made the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) a symbol of fear. When people feel the DWP is more about harassment than a helping hand, something has gone seriously wrong. Labour will completely change this culture, replacing the DWP on day one with a Department for Social Security, which will be there to help and support people, not punish and police them.

We will put children at the heart of everything we do, developing a cross-governmental National Strategy for Childhood focusing on health, security, well-being and poverty. We will give effect to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Universal Credit

The Tories' flagship social security programme, Universal Credit (UC), has been a catastrophe. It has pushed thousands of people into poverty, caused families to lose their homes and forced parents to visit food banks in order to feed their children.

Labour will scrap UC. We will immediately stop moving people onto it and design an alternative system that treats people with dignity and respect. Our ambition in designing this system will be to end poverty by guaranteeing a minimum standard of living.

We will start developing this system immediately. But we have learned the lessons from Tory failure: major policy change can't be delivered overnight, especially when people's lives depend on it. So we will also implement an emergency package of reforms to mitigate some of the worst features of UC while we develop our replacement system.

We will end the five-week wait by introducing an interim payment based on half an estimated monthly entitlement. We will immediately suspend the Tories' vicious sanction regime and ensure that employment support is positive not punitive.

We will stop 300,000 children from being in poverty by scrapping the benefit cap and the two child limit, so ending the immoral and outrageous 'rape clause'. We will pay childcare costs up front so that parents aren't forced to turn down work or get into debt to pay for childcare.

Labour will protect women in abusive relationships by splitting payments and paying the child element to the primary carer. We will make it easier for people to manage their living costs by introducing fortnightly payments and paying the housing element directly to landlords.

The Conservative's 'digital only' approach is excluding vulnerable people. Labour will end the digital barrier and offer telephone, face-to-face and outreach support. We will recruit 5,000 additional advisors to deliver this.

Tory cuts are pushing people into rent arrears and leaving them at risk of homelessness. We will stop housing costs running away from benefits by scrapping the bedroom tax and increasing the Local Housing Allowance.

Disabled People

Labour stands with and for disabled people. We will always challenge stigma and discrimination wherever it is found and support the right of disabled people to live independently and be treated with respect.

The Tories' rhetoric of 'scroungers' and 'skivers' has whipped up hatred of disabled people, with disability hate crime skyrocketing, up 37% in the last year alone. Labour will never demonise disabled people or the unemployed.

Labour follows the social model of disability – it is not people's condition or impairment that disables them, but society's failure to adapt to those conditions and impairments. We are committed to removing the barriers constructed by society and ensuring that disabled people can participate fully and equally in our society.

The Conservatives have created a hostile environment for disabled people, who have borne the brunt of Tory cuts. The United Nations has said that the Tories have systematically and gravely violated disabled people's rights by denying them the support they are entitled to.

Labour will end this hostile environment.

We will give effect to the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and amend the Equality Act to reflect the social model of disability.

We will stop the dehumanising Work Capability and PIP Assessments, which repeatedly and falsely find ill or disabled people fit to work, and make sure all assessments are done in-house.

Social security is meant to help disabled people cope with the additional costs and disadvantages they face. But the Tories have cut back that support to inadequate levels. Time and again disabled people have had to fight through the courts to receive the support they are entitled to.

Labour will make sure people who are ill and disabled receive the support they need to lead full, independent lives.

We will:

- Increase Employment and Support Allowance by £30 per week for those in the work-related activity group.
- Raise the basic rate of support for children with disabilities to the level of Child Tax Credits.
- Ensure that severely disabled people without a formal carer receive extra support to enable them to meet the extra costs they inevitably face.

We will support those who look after others, increasing the Carer's Allowance to the level of the Jobseeker's Allowance.

We will help disabled people who want to work by bringing back specialist employment advisors, introducing a government-backed Reasonable Adjustments Passport scheme to help people move between jobs more easily, and reviewing support for disabled people at work, including the Access to Work scheme.

Pensions

People work hard for most of their lives and deserve a decent retirement free of financial stress and insecurity.

Under the Tories, 400,000 pensioners have been pushed into poverty and a generation of women born in the 1950s have had their pension age changed without fair notification. This betrayal left millions of women with no time to make alternative plans – with sometimes devastating personal consequences.

Labour recognises this injustice, and will work with these women to design a system of recompense for the losses and insecurity they have suffered.

We will ensure that such an injustice can never happen again by legislating to prevent accrued rights to the state pension from being changed.

The Conservatives have repeatedly raised the state pension age despite overseeing a decline in life expectancy. Labour will abandon the Tories' plans

to raise the State Pension Age, leaving it at 66. We will review retirement ages for physically arduous and stressful occupations, including shift workers, in the public and private sectors.

We will maintain the 'triple lock' and guarantee the Winter Fuel Payment, free TV licences and free bus passes as universal benefits.

Thanks to automatic enrolment, which was introduced by the last Labour government, record numbers of employees are now in workplace pension schemes. But too many people are still not saving enough for a comfortable retirement.

We will stop people being auto-enrolled into rip-off schemes and seek to widen and expand access for more low-income and self-employed workers. We will establish an independent Pensions' Commission, modelled on the Low Pay Commission, to recommend target levels for workplace pensions.

We will create a single, comprehensive and publicly run pensions dashboard that is fully transparent, including information about costs and charges.

We will legislate to allow the CWU-Royal Mail agreement for a collective pension scheme to proceed and allow similar schemes.

Labour has listened to the NUM and in government will end the injustice of the state taking 50% of the surplus in the Mineworkers' Pension Scheme and

introduce new sharing arrangements so that 10% goes to government and 90% stays with scheme members.

This new sharing arrangement will also apply to the British Coal Staff Superannuation Scheme.

We will ensure that the pensions of UK citizens living overseas rise in line with pensions in Britain.



HOUSING

Everyone has the right to a decent, secure home. In 1945, Labour promised to 'proceed with a housing programme with the maximum practical speed until every family in this island has a good standard of accommodation'. In 2019, we renew that pledge. But too many people are being denied their right to a good home by our housing system that treats homes as financial assets rather than places to live.

There is no starker symbol of the failing housing system than the horror of the Grenfell Tower fire. A Labour government will bring system-wide change, so that a tragedy like Grenfell never happens again. We will introduce a £1 billion Fire Safety Fund to fit sprinklers and other fire safety measures in all high-rise council and housing association tower blocks, enforce the replacement of dangerous Grenfell-style cladding on all high-rise homes and buildings, while introducing mandatory building standards and guidance, inspected and enforced by fully trained Fire and Rescue Service fire safety officers.

Grenfell Tower was the confirmation of a more far-reaching crisis. Everyone knows of someone affected by the housing crisis: younger people unable to buy a first home, renters trapped in damp flats, families stuck on council waiting lists, leasehold home-owners hit by unfair fees, people who are homeless living and dying on our streets. The gap between the housing

haves and have-nots is at the heart of the injustice in our country today.

Since 2010, the Conservatives have slashed funding for new homes, refused to regulate for higher standards and given a free hand to commercial property developers. There are fewer new homes for social rent, a million more households stuck renting from a private landlord, 900,000 fewer young people owning a home and more than twice as many people sleeping on our streets.

Only Labour has a plan to fix the housing crisis. We will act on every front to bring the cost of housing down and standards up, so that everyone has a decent, affordable place to call home.

Labour will create a new Department for Housing, make Homes England a more accountable national housing agency and put councils in the driving seat. We will set out a strategy for a flourishing construction sector with a skilled workforce and full rights at work.

Labour will set up a new English Sovereign Land Trust, with powers to buy land more cheaply for low-cost housing. We will use public land to build this housing, not sell it off to the highest bidder. Developers will face new ‘use it or lose it’ taxes on stalled housing developments. We will keep the Land Registry in public hands, and make ownership of land more transparent. We will make brownfield sites the priority for development and protect the green belt.

Labour will tackle the climate crisis and cut energy bills by introducing a tough, new zero-carbon homes standard for all new homes, and upgrading millions of existing homes to make them more energy efficient. We will review the planning guidance for developments in flood risk areas.

Council and Social Homes

The only way to deliver on everyone’s right to a good home is to build publicly funded social housing.

Labour will deliver a new social housebuilding programme of more than a million homes over a decade, with council housing at its heart. By the end of the Parliament we will be building at an annual rate of at least 150,000 council and social homes, with 100,000 of these built by councils for social rent in the biggest council housebuilding programme in more than a generation. We will establish a new duty on councils to plan and build these homes in their area, and fund them to do so, with backing from national government.

We will scrap the Conservatives’ bogus definition of ‘affordable’, set as high as 80% of market rents, and replace it with a definition linked to local incomes. These council and housing association homes will be more affordable than market housing and built to higher standards. We will end the conversion of office blocks to homes that sidestep planning permission through ‘permitted development’.

We will stop the haemorrhage of low-cost homes by ending the right to buy, along with the forced conversion of social rented homes to so-called ‘affordable rent’. We will review the case for reducing the amount of housing debt councils currently hold. And we will give councils the powers and funding to buy back homes from private landlords.

We will give tenants a stronger say in the management of their homes and stop social cleansing by making sure regeneration only goes ahead when it has the consent of residents, and that all residents are offered a new property on the same site and terms. We will fund a new Decent Homes programme to bring all council and housing association homes up to a good standard.

Home Ownership

Under the Tories, home ownership is getting further out of reach for more and more people. Numbers of new affordable homes to buy have fallen, and fewer younger people can afford their own home. We will build more low-cost homes reserved for first-time buyers in every area, including Labour’s new discount homes with prices linked to local incomes.

We will reform Help to Buy to focus it on first-time buyers on ordinary incomes. We will introduce a levy on overseas companies buying housing, while giving local people ‘first dibs’ on new homes built in their area. We

will bring empty homes back into use by giving councils new powers to tax properties empty for over a year.

Labour will end the scandal of leasehold for the millions who have bought their home but don’t feel like they own it. We will end the sale of new leasehold properties, abolish unfair fees and conditions, and give leaseholders the right to buy their freehold at a price they can afford. We will introduce equivalent rights for freeholders on privately owned estates.

Private Renters

More than 11 million people rent from a private landlord and many of them are at the sharp end of the housing crisis. We will take urgent action to protect private renters through rent controls, open-ended tenancies, and new, binding minimum standards.

Labour will stop runaway rents by capping them with inflation, and give cities powers to cap rents further.

We will give renters the security they need to make their rented housing a home, with new open-ended tenancies to stop unfair, ‘no fault’ evictions. We will make sure every property is up to scratch with new minimum standards, enforced through nationwide licensing and tougher sanctions for landlords who flout the rules. We will fund new renters’ unions in every part of the country – to allow renters to organise and defend their rights.

We will get rid of the discriminatory rules that require landlords to check people's immigration status or that allow them to exclude people on housing benefit. We will give councils new powers to regulate short-term lets through companies such as Airbnb.

Homelessness

No one should sleep without a roof over their head in one of the richest countries in the world. But under the Tories, the number of people sleeping rough has more than doubled.

Over 125,000 children are now living in temporary accommodation, without a home to call their own – or the space they need to thrive. Labour will tackle the root causes of rising homelessness with more affordable homes and stronger rights for renters.

Labour will end rough sleeping within five years, with a national plan driven by a prime minister-led taskforce. We will expand and upgrade hostels, turning them into places where people can turn their lives around. We will make available 8,000 additional homes for people with a history of rough sleeping. We will tackle the wider causes of homelessness, raising the Local Housing Allowance in line with the 30th percentile of local rents, and earmarking an additional £1 billion a year for councils' homelessness services.

We will bring in a new national levy on second homes used as holiday homes to help deal with the homelessness crisis, so that those who have done well from the housing market pay a bit more to help those with no home.

We will save lives this winter by ensuring extra shelters and support are in place in all areas. And we'll repeal the Vagrancy Act and amend antisocial behaviour legislation to stop the law being used against people because they are homeless.



CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

For many people, politics doesn't work. The Westminster bubble is a world away from their daily lives. The Labour Party was founded to give working-class people a voice in politics.

We want our political institutions to be connected fully to the wider electorate, and will take urgent steps to refresh our democracy.

The time has come for the real changes that a Labour government will bring.

We will act immediately to end the hereditary principle in the House of Lords, and work to abolish the House of Lords in favour of Labour's preferred option of an elected Senate of the Nations and Regions, but we also believe that the people must be central to historic political changes.

The renewal of our Parliament will be subject to recommendations made by a UK-wide Constitutional Convention, led by a citizens' assembly. This Convention will answer crucial questions on how power is distributed in the UK today, how nations and regions can best relate to each other and how a Labour government can best put power in the hands of the people.

Only a Labour government will safeguard the future of a devolved UK, reforming the way in which it works to make it fit for the future.

Britain is one of the most centralised countries in Europe. Labour will decentralise decision-making and strengthen local democracy. We reiterate our commitment to One Yorkshire, and will make directly elected mayors more accountable to local councillors and elected representatives.

We will re-establish regional Government Offices to make central government more attuned to our English regions, to support our regional investments, and to enable the shift of political power away from Westminster.

Our democratic revolution will also extend to elections.

A Labour government will repeal the Fixed-term Parliaments Act 2011, which has stifled democracy and propped up weak governments. We will maintain 650 constituencies and respond objectively to future, independent boundary reviews. We will oversee the largest extension of the franchise in generations, reducing the voting age to 16, giving full voting rights to all UK residents, making sure everyone who is entitled to vote can do so by introducing a system of automatic voter registration, and abandoning plans to introduce voter ID which has been shown to harm democratic rights.

Tackling Vested Interests

Labour will change how politics is funded, banning donations from tax avoiders and tax evaders, and closing loopholes that allow the use of shell companies to funnel dark money into politics.

We will free the voices of civil society by repealing the Lobbying Act 2014 and overhauling the rules that govern corporate lobbying. We will introduce a lobbying register covering both in-house lobbyists and think tanks and extending to contacts made with all senior government employees, not just ministers.

We will also increase the financial penalties available to the Electoral Commission and require imprints for digital political adverts.

We will stop MPs from taking paid second jobs, with limited exemptions to maintain professional registrations like nursing. We will replace ACOBA, the business appointments committee, with a sufficiently resourced and empowered new body, governed by a diverse and representative board and established in law. We will also overhaul the system of ministerial appointments to public office.

We will bring greater transparency by extending Freedom of Information rules to cover private providers of public services, setting new standards of consistent disclosure practice and ending the six-month time limit in which the Information Commissioner can prosecute the deliberate destruction of public records.

Northern Ireland

The Good Friday Agreement and long-term peace in Northern Ireland is one of the great achievements of Labour in government. Therefore, as a priority, Labour will work quickly and tirelessly to secure the return of a genuine power-sharing government in Northern Ireland.

The devolved power-sharing institutions have not been running in Stormont for over 1,000 days. During this period people have suffered in the face of a funding crisis as austerity continues to damage public services, which Labour will resolve.

Working with a new assembly and power-sharing government, Labour will invest an extra £1.9 billion to end austerity and rebuild public services in Northern Ireland.

Women in Northern Ireland should have access to abortions in Northern Ireland. A Labour government will fully implement new laws on equal marriage in Northern Ireland so that same-sex couples are no longer treated as second-class citizens. We will work with all major parties in Northern Ireland to provide a good platform for the restoration of devolution alongside bringing forward and implementing a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland as outlined in the Good Friday Agreement.

A Labour government will also protect Northern Ireland and its people in any future Brexit outcome by ensuring that there is no return to a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland or the creation of a regulatory border down the Irish Sea.

Wales

Labour's constitutional convention will include the Welsh Government's 20-point plan for the future of the UK to better recognise the realities of a devolved UK.

Alongside this work, we need long-term reform of how the UK allocates public expenditure to ensure that it reflects the needs of different parts of our country and that no nation or region of the UK is unfairly disadvantaged.

Labour in Wales has pioneered the social partnership approach. With a UK Labour government investing an extra

£3.4 billion in Wales, and a UK Ministry for Employment Rights we will be able to do much more.

Wales led the first industrial revolution and with a Labour government in Westminster, we will be at the forefront of the Green Industrial Revolution of the future. We will create jobs in Wales through environmental energy schemes such as the Swansea Bay tidal lagoon project.

The Tories have let down the people of Ynys Môn (Anglesey) by failing to deliver the Wylfa project. Labour will work with people on the island to maximise its potential for new nuclear energy, alongside investment in renewables.

Nine years of Tory cuts have done untold damage and the Thomas Commission on Justice in Wales is clear that the justice system is not working for Wales. Labour governments in Wales and Westminster will work together, using the Commission's report, to put that right.

Three years on from the 2016 EU referendum we understand much more about how Wales will be uniquely exposed to a hard Brexit. Only Labour will put this decision back in the hands of the people, and in Wales the Welsh Labour government will campaign to remain.

Scotland

Labour in government will give around 700,000 Scottish workers a pay rise when we introduce a Real Living Wage of £10 an hour.

We will also provide Scotland with at least around £100 billion of additional resources over two terms. This investment will transform Scotland's people, communities, public services and industries.

As part of that additional resource Labour would want to see £10 billion from our new National Transformation Fund invested in the building of 120,000 council and social homes in Scotland over the next ten years, ending the housing crisis and creating up to 50,000 jobs.

This is the difference a UK Labour government would make to Scotland

As part of our Green Industrial Revolution we will invest £6 billion in retrofitting houses across Scotland, which will help tackle the climate emergency at the same time as lowering bills, ending fuel poverty and creating 35,000 jobs.

A UK Labour government will also provide the Scottish National Investment Bank, under Scottish control, with £20 billion of lending power to deliver funds to local projects and Scotland's small businesses.

Labour believes that Scottish independence would be economically devastating and it would be the many not the few who would pay the price.

Scotland needs the transformative investment coming from a Labour government, not another referendum and not independence.

A UK Labour government will focus on tackling the climate emergency, ending austerity and cuts, and getting Brexit sorted. That's why in the early years of a UK Labour government we will not agree to a Section 30 order request if it comes from the Scottish Government.

THE FINAL SAY ON BREXIT

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THE FINAL SAY ON BREXIT



THE FINAL SAY ON BREXIT

Labour will give the people the final say on Brexit. Within three months of coming to power, a Labour government will secure a sensible deal. And within six months, we will put that deal to a public vote alongside the option to remain. A Labour government will implement whatever the people decide.

Only a Labour government will put this decision in the hands of the people to give you the final say. This will be a legally binding referendum and we will implement the people's decision immediately.

The Tories have failed for three years to get Brexit sorted, in a shambles of repeated delays and uncertainty. Whether people voted Leave or Remain in 2016, people and businesses are crying out for politicians in Westminster to finally focus on the wider challenges we face.

Labour rules out a no-deal Brexit, and we will end the scandal of billions of pounds of taxpayers' money being wasted on no-deal preparations. No deal has never been a viable option. It would do enormous harm to jobs, rights, security and to our NHS.

Labour has led the campaign to stop a no-deal Brexit. A majority Tory government would pose a renewed threat of the UK crashing out with no deal. Only a Labour government can prevent this.

We will rip up the deeply flawed deal negotiated by Boris Johnson. We opposed his deal precisely because it would do such harm to workers' rights, environmental protections and to our manufacturing industry.

Boris Johnson's deal is even worse than Theresa May's: it would leave the UK £70 billion worse off by 2029; it would give the green light to deregulation undermining UK manufacturing; and it would leave our NHS at the mercy of a trade deal with Donald Trump. This sell-out deal is unacceptable to Labour.

Labour will secure a new Brexit deal – one that protects jobs, rights and the environment, avoids a hard border in Northern Ireland and protects the Good Friday Agreement and the peace process. We will also ensure that there is no change in the status or sovereignty of Gibraltar.

Our deal will be based on the principles we have set out over the last two years.

It will include:

- A permanent and comprehensive UK-wide customs union, which is vital to protect our manufacturing industry and allows the UK to benefit from joint UK-EU trade deals, and is backed by businesses and trade unions.
- Close alignment with the Single Market – ensuring we have a strong future economic relationship with the EU that can support UK businesses.

• Dynamic alignment on workers' rights, consumer rights and environmental protections so that UK standards keep pace across Europe as a minimum, allowing the UK to lead the way, not fall behind.

- Continued participation in EU agencies and funding programmes, including in such vital areas of co-operation as the environment, scientific research and culture.
- Clear commitments on future security arrangements, including access to the European Arrest Warrant and shared databases, making people safer at home and abroad.

Labour will secure a revised Withdrawal Agreement that provides legal protection for citizens' rights, meets our international obligations – particularly with regard to the Good Friday Agreement – and ensures an appropriate transition period to allow businesses and citizens to adapt to any new arrangements.

We will also secure robust and legally binding protections for workers' rights, consumer standards and environmental protections, and ensure level-playing-field protections are maintained. Labour will never accept an outcome that puts rights and standards at risk.

Once we have secured this new deal we will put it to a legally binding referendum alongside the option of remaining in the EU.

This will take place within the first six months of a Labour government.

Labour is the only party that can heal the harmful divisions in our communities and address the devastation caused by 10 years of austerity, ruthlessly imposed on society by the Tories and Lib Dems. While other parties have exacerbated polarisation, defining everyone by how they voted in the 2016 EU Referendum, Labour has consistently reached across this divide.

Only Labour will deliver a final say referendum.

Only Labour will offer the choice of remaining in the EU, or leaving with a sensible deal.

This final say referendum will not be a re-run of 2016. It will be legally binding. Labour will implement the decision of the British people immediately.

Labour will introduce legislation to facilitate this referendum and to provide legal certainty and stability following the result.

We will introduce a Withdrawal Agreement and Referendum Bill, providing the legal basis to conduct and implement the outcome of the referendum.

We will scrap the Brexit legislation currently proposed by the Tories and introduce new legislation that is in line with Labour's priorities and principles to protect our economy, trade, jobs and rights.

This will include new legislation to ensure support and certainty for UK

farmers, our fishing industry and protection for our natural environment.

Labour recognises the huge benefits of immigration to our country. Many British citizens have benefited from freedom of movement, which has given them the opportunity to study, work or retire abroad. Likewise our public services and our industry have benefited from skilled workers coming here.

Labour believes that citizens' rights should never have been used as a bargaining chip in the Brexit negotiations, and recognises the huge anxiety this has caused for the three million EU nationals living in the UK and the 1.2 million UK nationals who have made their home elsewhere in the EU.

We will end the uncertainty created by the EU Settlement Scheme by granting EU nationals the automatic right to continue living and working in the UK. This new declaratory system will allow EU nationals the chance to register for proof of status if they wish, but will mean they no longer have to apply to continue living and working in this country. This will help ensure reciprocal treatment for UK citizens living in the EU. It will also prevent a repeat of the shameful Windrush scandal and avoid unnecessarily criminalising hundreds of thousands of EU nationals.

If in a referendum the British people decide to remain in the EU, this must not mean accepting the status quo. Labour will work with partners across Europe to make the case for radical

reform of the EU – in particular to ensure that its collective strength is focused on tackling the climate emergency, tax evasion and ending austerity and inequality.

The EU needs a new political direction and, if the people decide the UK should remain in the EU, Labour will lead the way to ensure that change.

For too long a politically inflicted wave of austerity has damaged communities across Britain and across Europe.

The most vulnerable members in our society have suffered, while the super-rich continue to be rewarded by a system that allows them to thrive at the expense of the many.

This must change. If the country decides to remain, a Labour government will take a different approach and strive to ensure that the EU works for people across our communities. The EU should focus on policies that value investment, protect public services and make those who have the most pay their fair share.

If people decide to leave, a Labour government will work constructively with the EU on vital issues of mutual interest and to the mutual benefit of the UK and EU. But we will leave the EU.

Most importantly, under a Labour government, you will get the final say on Brexit.



A NEW INTERNATIONALISM

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A NEW INTERNATIONALISM

Labour will put human rights, international law and tackling climate change at the heart of our international policies, and use our global influence to end the ‘bomb first, talk later’ approach to security. Labour will always do what is needed to protect the security of people in the UK.

International peace and security will be a primary objective of a Labour government’s foreign policy. Britain deserves better than the Conservatives’ reckless approach to complex global challenges or the outsourcing of UK foreign policy to US President Donald Trump.

Failed military interventions in countries like Libya have worsened security across North Africa, accelerating the refugee crisis.

Our approach will be based on our values. Within the first year of government Labour will:

- Introduce a War Powers Act to ensure that no prime minister can bypass Parliament to commit to conventional military action. Unlike the Conservatives, we will implement every single recommendation of the Chilcot Inquiry.

- Conduct an audit of the impact of Britain's colonial legacy to understand our contribution to the dynamics of violence and insecurity across regions previously under British colonial rule.
- Invest an additional £400 million in our diplomatic capacity to secure Britain's role as a country that promotes peace, delivers ambitious global climate agreements and works through international organisations to secure political settlements to critical issues.



EFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY

Internationalism is at the core of the Labour movement. We recognise our responsibility to confront injustices we see today and to correct the injustices of the past.

We will:

- Establish a judge-led inquiry into our country's alleged complicity in rendition and torture, and the operation of secret courts.
- Issue a formal apology for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, and hold a public review into Britain's role in the Amritsar massacre.
- Allow the people of the Chagos Islands and their descendants the right to return to the lands from which they should never have been removed.
- Uphold the human rights of the people of West Papua and recognise the rights of the people of Western Sahara.

We have a duty to stand up for the security and sovereignty of our overseas territories, including the Falklands, and for the rights of our citizens and dual-nationals abroad, and will continue fighting for justice

on behalf of Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe and other British nationals wrongly imprisoned or suffering mistreatment in captivity abroad.

Human Rights

Human rights and international humanitarian law are fundamental pillars of a secure global system. These principles are under threat. Some of the world's most powerful states choose to sell arms to human-rights abusing states. Conservative ministers, including Boris Johnson, have signed off well over £2 billion of arms sales to repressive regimes since June 2017.

Around the world, human rights defenders and civil society activists remain vulnerable to attacks, often carried out with impunity.

We will:

- Immediately suspend the sale of arms to Saudi Arabia for use in Yemen and to Israel for arms used in violation of the human rights of Palestinian civilians, and conduct a root-and-branch reform of our arms exports regime so ministers can never again turn a blind eye to British-made weapons being used to target innocent civilians.
- Reform the international rules-based order to secure justice and accountability for breaches of human rights and international law, such as the bombing of hospitals in Syria, the illegal blockade of the Gaza Strip, the use of rape as a weapon of war against

the Rohingya community in Myanmar and the indiscriminate bombardment of civilians in Yemen.

- We will work through the UN and the Commonwealth to insist on the protection of human rights for Sri Lanka's minority Tamil and Muslim populations.
- Appoint human-rights advisers to work across the Foreign Office and government to prioritise a co-ordinated approach to human rights.
- Advocate for human rights at every bilateral diplomatic meeting.

Climate Diplomacy

There is no greater injustice today than countries in the Global South paying the price for a climate crisis they did not cause. Yet some world leaders, including US President Donald Trump and Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, champion a climate-change denial agenda.

Britain's climate-change diplomacy was respected internationally, playing an important role in securing the Paris Agreement, following the leading role the UK played in securing the Kyoto Agreement. However, Boris Johnson – who has described global warming as a 'primitive fear... without foundation' – has overseen a 60% cut in the UK's global network of climate experts.

Only Labour can rebuild Britain's leadership on the most serious threat to our shared humanity.

We will:

- Rebuild our climate expertise within the Foreign Office, putting climate diplomacy at the heart of our foreign policy.
- Use our influence at the UN, EU, G7, G20, World Bank, the Commonwealth and other global institutions to promote policies to tackle the climate emergency.
- Use our diplomatic expertise to negotiate and deliver more ambitious global targets to deal with the climate emergency, starting with COP 26 in Glasgow next year.

Prioritising Conflict Prevention and Building Peace

The Conservatives have failed to play a constructive role in resolving the world's most pressing humanitarian crises, including in Kashmir, Yemen and Myanmar, and the escalation of tensions with Iran. The treatment of the Kurdish people in Syria, including by Turkey, and of the Uighurs in China has been met with total inaction and apathy by the current UK government. In some cases, they set aside regard for international law, including refusing to criticise Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman of Saudi Arabia over the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

Labour is committed to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on a two-state solution – a secure Israel alongside a secure and viable state of Palestine. There can be no military solution to this

conflict, which must be settled on the basis of justice and international law. All sides must avoid taking action that would make peace harder to achieve. That means both an end to the blockade, occupation and settlements, and an end to rocket and terror attacks. Labour will continue to press for an immediate return to meaningful negotiations leading to a diplomatic resolution. A Labour government will immediately recognise the state of Palestine.

Labour will take all lawful action necessary to counter and confront all forms of terrorism, and we will advocate a long-term multinational political strategy, led by regional actors, to tackle the spread of extremism.

We believe effective diplomacy can address the drivers of conflict and insecurity.

We will:

- Build support for UN reform, including assessing and developing democratisation initiatives, and improving the engagement of the General Assembly in decision-making to ensure its institutions are more effective at achieving peace.
- Prioritise our responsibility to prevent conflict by investing in local capacities for peacebuilding in areas of conflict – advocating for political, multilateral strategies for peace.
- Act immediately to urge negotiations towards a political resolution to conflict wherever it arises, including in the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa.



DEFENCE AND SECURITY

The primary duty of government is to guarantee the security of people in the UK. Labour's defence policy will be strategic and evidence-led. Our security at home is made stronger when the security of others elsewhere is guaranteed too.

An incoming Labour government will undertake a Strategic Defence and Security Review to assess the security challenges facing Britain, including new forms of hybrid, cyber and remote warfare. This review will also take account of the climate emergency, and associated threats of resource competition, involuntary migration and violent conflict.

Under the Conservatives:

- Boris Johnson refuses to publish the report into possible foreign interference by Russia in UK democracy.
- Trained army personnel have been cut from 102,000 to just over 74,000.
- Armed forces and their families have been forced to live in sub-standard accommodation.
- Failing outsourced contracts have not been terminated.

- Our Armed Forces personnel received below-inflation pay rises for seven years.

The security challenges we face know no borders. Labour will increase funding for UN peacekeeping operations to £100 million. We will maintain our commitment to NATO and our close relationship with our European partners, and we will use our influence at the United Nations to support peace and security worldwide.

Labour supports the renewal of the Trident nuclear deterrent. Labour will also actively lead multilateral efforts under our obligations to the Non-Proliferation Treaty to create a nuclear-free world.

Labour's commitment to spend at least 2% of GDP on defence will guarantee that our armed forces are versatile and capable of fulfilling the full range of roles and obligations.

We will scrap the public sector pay cap, which resulted in a real-terms pay cut for our armed forces, ensure decent housing for forces members and their families, and guarantee better access for all forces children to good quality local schools. We will consult on creating a representative body for the armed forces, akin to the Police Federation.

Labour will improve opportunities for veterans through access to lifelong learning and training, housing and mental and physical health services,

and will seek greater consistency in the implementation of the Armed Forces Covenant by public authorities.

We will pay a lump sum of £50,000 to each surviving British nuclear-test veteran to support them and their families with the health conditions they have suffered as a result of exposure to radiation. We will also ensure that black and Asian soldiers who fought in Britain's colonial armies receive a full apology and explore ways to compensate them for the discriminatory demob payments they received compared to their white counterparts serving at the same rank in the same regiments.

The UK defence industry is world-leading and Labour will continue to work with manufacturers, unions and export partners in line with Labour's foreign policy to support innovation in this sector to ensure it maintains its highly skilled workforce and world-class apprenticeship programme. We are committed to procurement that supports UK defence manufacturing including our aerospace and shipbuilding, alongside a vibrant supply chain that includes the British steel industry and other component manufacturing companies providing good jobs throughout supply chains. Labour will publish a Defence Industrial Strategy White Paper, including a National Shipbuilding Strategy, that keeps all Royal Navy and Royal Fleet Auxiliary shipbuilding contracts in the

UK, to secure a long-term future for the industry and its workers.

Reducing our carbon footprint can only happen with ambitious emissions reduction targets at the Ministry of Defence, one of government's biggest energy users. So as part of our Green Industrial Revolution, we will create a Climate Change Sustainability Committee within the department to review the feasibility of increasing the use of sustainable energy in defence, and publish a strategy to accelerate the safe and sustainable recycling of our old nuclear submarines.



INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The scale of the challenges facing our world are enormous. Conflict, climate change and a global economy rigged in favour of a tiny elite are driving instability and inequality across the world. A bold international development policy driven by social justice has never been more needed.

Labour will use Britain's influence within the World Bank, IMF and WTO to transform the rules of the global economy so they work for the many.

We recognise the need to address historic injustices and will reset our relationships with countries in the Global South based on principles of redistribution and equality, not outdated notions of charity or imperialist rule. Unlike the Conservatives, Labour is fully committed to a standalone Department for International Development (DfID), with an aid budget of at least 0.7% of gross national income. We will introduce the reduction of inequality as a goal for all aid spending alongside existing poverty reduction and gender equality goals.

For the Conservatives, too often humanitarian aid is undermined by their disastrous foreign policy, as in Yemen. Under Labour, we will ensure policy coherence across our international-facing departments. Under

Labour, DfID will continue to respond to the world's biggest crises and will ensure humanitarian aid is provided according to need, not whether the UK has commercial or other interests in the country. DfID will assume a strong position in cross-government decision making, including a permanent seat on the Export Control Joint Unit responsible for licensing arms exports.

Our international programme will be based on human rights and gender equality.

We will:

- Uphold basic rights to education, health and clean water by establishing a new Unit for Public Services within DfID, which will include increasing direct budgetary support to governments so they can build sustainable services for their citizens.
- Promote fairer international tax rules and help countries in the Global South build progressive tax systems to finance essential public services.
- Support trade unions internationally in their efforts to promote collective bargaining for better pay and conditions, and include binding social chapters in trade agreements to safeguard workers' rights.
- Support ongoing UN efforts to introduce a binding international treaty on business and human rights, and make companies legally accountable for failing to prevent human rights abuses or environmental

damage in their operations and supply chains, including criminal liability in the most serious cases.

- Implement a gender transformative approach across all our international work, including tripling funding for grassroots women's organisations and establishing an independent ombudsman to tackle abuse in the development sector.

Labour believes in climate justice. Wealthy countries like the UK bear the greatest responsibility for the climate emergency. Countries in the Global South that have done the least to cause climate change are already facing the worst impacts, such as rising sea levels, more frequent hurricanes and greater food insecurity. We have a duty to right this wrong.

We will:

- Provide a top-up of new and additional spending on international climate finance to bring the total to £4 billion a year, and also support international calls for compensation to those nations already suffering loss and damage.
- Stop all aid spending on fossil fuel production overseas, redirecting it towards clean, renewable energy for all.
- End all UK Export Finance support to fossil fuel projects, and reject any trade deals that conflict with our climate principles.

- Undertake a root-and-branch reform of CDC Group plc (DfID's principal vehicle for encouraging private sector investment in developing countries), transforming it into a green development bank mandated to fight poverty, inequality and climate change.

Labour respects the crucial role played by small-scale farmers the world over in guaranteeing people the right to food.

We will:

- Establish an aid-funded Food Sovereignty Fund to enable small-scale farmers in the Global South to gain access to land, seeds and finance, and uphold indigenous peoples' right to land.
- Support sustainable local food and agriculture markets in the fight against climate change.

Labour believes human rights should drive our trade policy.

We will:

- Implement UK arms export controls to the highest standard, putting an end to exports where they might be used in violation of human rights or international humanitarian law.
- Ensure government procurement contracts are not granted to companies that are complicit in serious human rights abuses, and require all UK trade agreements to be consistent with international humanitarian law.

- Introduce legislation to ensure transparency and parliamentary scrutiny of trade and investment agreements.
- Reject any trade agreements that undermine labour standards or environmental protections, and rule out UK Export Finance support to companies engaged in bribery or corruption.

Labour recognises the right to essential medicines as an integral part of the right to health.

We will:

- Promote fairer international patent regimes that do not prevent countries from accessing essential medicines and support efforts to increase the transparency of medicines pricing so governments can negotiate fair prices.
- In the long term, ensure that all medicines developed with the support of UK taxpayer money are accessible to people in the Global South.

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