

Britain only succeeds when working people succeed. This is a plan to reward hard work, share prosperity and build a better Britain.

**Britain can be better**

The Labour Party Manifesto 2015

# The Labour Party Manifesto 2015

## **Labour's Manifesto Budget Responsibility Lock**

Our manifesto begins with the Budget Responsibility Lock we offer the British people. It is the basis for all our plans in this manifesto because it is by securing our national finances that we are able to secure the family finances of the working people of Britain.

### **The Budget Responsibility Lock guarantees that:**

Every policy in this manifesto is paid for. Not one commitment requires additional borrowing. We are the first party to make that pledge and with this manifesto it is delivered. We will legislate to require all major parties to have their manifesto commitments independently audited by the Office for Budget Responsibility.

A Labour government will cut the deficit every year. The first line of Labour's first Budget will be: "This Budget cuts the deficit every year". This manifesto sets out that we will only lay a Budget before the House of Commons that cuts the deficit every year, which the OBR will independently verify.

We will get national debt falling and a surplus on the current budget as soon as possible in the next parliament. This manifesto sets out that we will not compromise on this commitment.



# Contents

Foreword by Ed Miliband... p5

A better future for Britain... p7

Building an economy that works for  
working people... p15

Providing world-class health and  
education services... p31

Helping our families and communities  
to thrive... p43

Reforming government to give more  
power to people... p61

Standing up for Britain's interests in  
Europe and the world... p73

Time for change... p83



# F

# oreword

We are a great country. With great people. In the last five years I have heard your stories, your hopes and your dreams. And I have heard too your frustrations.

The countless people working as hard as they possibly can and still struggling to pay the bills. The young people with great ambitions but great anxieties about the future. The dedicated staff of our NHS, who are deeply concerned about its future. And all those who have served our country, are now retired, and ask where our country is going.

This manifesto is inspired by you.

I take a simple view. We are a great country, but we can be even better

The fundamental truth that runs through this manifesto is that Britain will only succeed when working people succeed. It is an idea at the heart of my beliefs. And it drives our better plan for a better future.

It means a country where hard work is rewarded, with high skill, high wage jobs. An economy built on strong and secure foundations, where we balance the books.

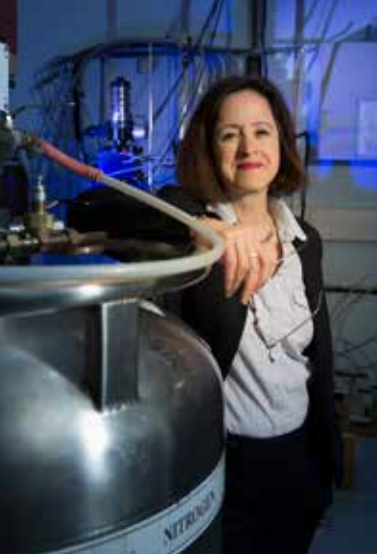
It means building a future for all our young people, so they can get world-class apprenticeships and access to affordable, higher education. It means strong public services, rescuing our NHS.

It means strong communities, where power is shared by people in every part of the country and where we respond to people's concerns about immigration, with proper controls.

It means a Britain where everyone plays by the same rules, including those at the very top of our society. And it means an outward looking country, engaged in the world for our national interest.

For me, the privilege of serving as Prime Minister in our country would be for one purpose alone: to work every day to help build a country that works again for working people. This manifesto is our plan to achieve that goal.

**Ed Miliband**



We will build  
a better  
future for Britain



# **B**ritain is a great country ready to build a better future. This manifesto sets out Labour's plan for national renewal.

The British people, are known for tolerance, responsibility to others and for our belief in the value of hard work. We look confidently outward to the world. These are great British traditions - things we all believe in, things our country is good at. We are at our best when we work together. We see this every day in our workplaces, in our families, and in our communities. People want to get on, they want to give their children a better future, and they want to help to change Britain for the better.

But across Britain working people also know a simple truth: the economy is not working for them. For years now, our economy has not rewarded everyone who put in a good, honest day's work. However hard people work, many don't earn enough to make ends meet. Too many have been driven from secure, full-time work, into precarious, badly paid jobs – many working on zero-hours contracts. Time to enjoy friends and family is increasingly squeezed, as mothers and fathers juggle the demands of work and caring for children, and often an older relative.

The problems mount for the next generation too. Young people are taking on a mountain of debt to go to university and too many still cannot find a job worthy of their talents. We lack a proper system of vocational education and apprenticeships to give our young people the start in life that they deserve. We are not building the homes we need. Our sons and daughters have been shut out of the housing market and too often they are forced to leave the communities where they were brought up.

Our economy and our system of government are failing people. Many have come to believe that politics ignores the things that matter to them. Too much power is unaccountable, concentrated in the market and the state, at the expense of individuals and their communities.

Many of these problems have been mounting for years. Some, like the rise of inequality, are felt in countries all around the world. So the Conservatives did not cause all of them, but they have made them far worse. Their view is that economic success depends just on a few at the top. They think that insecurity

will make people work harder and that low pay is the only way to be competitive in the global market. They don't believe we can afford decent public services when times are hard. They have been giving power to large unaccountable firms rather than to people, and now they want to make deeper cuts in the next three years than we have seen in the last five years.

There are some who believe there is nothing we can do to change things for the better. They feel powerless. They are losing faith that those with power will ever listen to them. We understand these feelings. But we believe we can renew our country and make a better future for working people. We have learned the lessons of the past. We were in government for thirteen years and left the country a far better place to live in. But we did not get everything right. We have learned and we have changed.

Labour is renewing our traditions as the Party of work, family and community. We believe in a society of trust and mutual obligation, in which we look after the vulnerable, and people can bring up their families with hope for a better future. And we believe in helping people to help themselves, both to improve their own communities, and to achieve their ambitions.

We are also the Party of equality. We believe that no person should suffer discrimination or a lack of opportunity. The decisions we take in government will always be taken with this in mind. The policies in our manifesto will help remove the barriers that stand in the way of greater equality. We know we achieve more when we work together to challenge inequalities of power and build a common good.

In this election, the country has a choice. We can continue with a Conservative plan based on the view that success comes only from a privileged few at the top. Or we can change direction, begin to return power to people and build an economy together in which everyone can contribute to a shared and enduring prosperity.

We believe that Britain only succeeds when working families succeed. As the economy at last recovers, people want the opportunity to use their skills and talents to make a better life for themselves and their children. Our country's greatest asset is the hard work and talent of our people.

Labour's plan is to build firmer economic foundations for creating wealth, rewarding hard work and competing in the world.

We will balance the books by cutting the deficit every year, with a surplus on the current budget and with national debt falling as soon as possible in the next Parliament. This will need common sense spending reductions, outside of the protected areas of health, education and international development. We will ask those with incomes over £150,000 a year to contribute a little more through a 50p rate of tax. And we will build the high-skill, high-wage economy we need to raise tax revenues and control social security spending.

We will improve the security and reward of working life by raising the National Minimum Wage to more than £8 an hour by October 2019, banning exploitative zero-hours contracts and promoting the Living Wage. We will create more paths to success for our young people by introducing a gold-standard system of technical education and training, and the guarantee of an apprenticeship for every school leaver with the grades.

We will support families by expanding free childcare from 15 to 25 hours for working parents of three and four-year-olds, while doubling paid paternity leave for fathers. We will help with household bills freezing energy prices until 2017, while reforming the broken energy market. And we will make sure that at least 200,000 new homes a year are built by 2020, and that private renters get a fairer deal. The Bedroom Tax is cruel and we will abolish it.

We will build up our NHS so that it has time to care, funding 8,000 more GPs, 20,000 more nurses and 3,000 more midwives, paid for by a Mansion Tax on properties worth over £2 million, a levy on tobacco firms, and by tackling tax avoidance. And we will bring together services for physical health, mental health and social care into a single system built around the individual.

We want a high quality education for all of our children. We will protect the education budget and raise teaching standards, making sure there are smaller class sizes for five, six and seven-year-olds.

The common life we share is who we are as a country. Not everyone is the same, but each of us sharing a sense of belonging, being valued equally and being able to contribute to the common good. Immigration has made an important contribution to our economic and social life, but it needs to be properly controlled. With a Labour Government, migrants from the EU will not be able to claim benefits until they have lived here for at least two years. We will make it illegal to undercut wages by exploiting migrant workers, and work to strengthen integration within our communities. Everyone who works with the public in our public services must be able to speak English.

We will help to make communities safer, by protecting and strengthening neighbourhood policing, countering extremism, and putting in place tough new laws to reduce violence against women and child sexual exploitation.

People want more say in the decisions that affect their lives. We, in Labour, know that Government has to do things differently. The old command and control politics – doing things to and for people, but never with them – will not work. We need a new approach to government that involves more people in decisions that affect them. So we will devolve more power and control, not only to Scotland and Wales, but to our great English cities and county regions too. And we will share power and responsibility with people in their communities to help them help themselves and shape their services in response to their local circumstances.

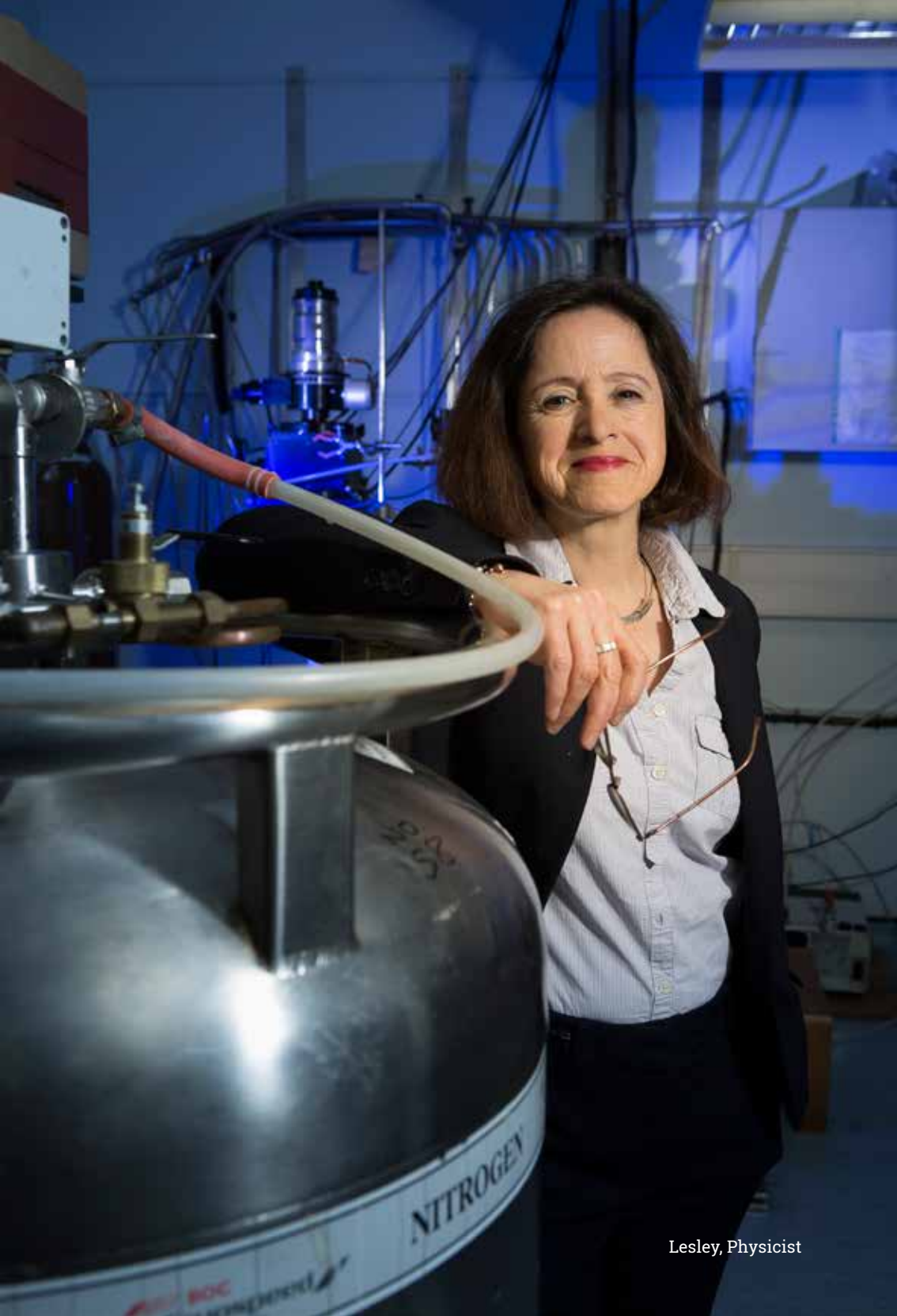
Our country faces global challenges of climate change, terrorism and the spread of disease. In particular, tackling climate change is an economic necessity and the most important thing we must do for our children, our grandchildren and future generations. A Labour government will face up to these challenges and re-engage with the world. We will build alliances in Europe, promoting our country's interests and security, and standing up for human rights and social justice. We will work to reform the European Union, and we will retain our membership of it.

Labour's plan for national renewal will bring about real, meaningful change that each person will be able to feel in their daily life. We know that to make Britain

a better country, opportunity must belong to everyone and not just a few. We will lend a helping hand to all those who need it, but we will also ask more of individuals and communities. We can only rebuild our country if everyone plays their part and feels they have a stake in society.

We believe in living within our means. We will not make promises we cannot keep, and we will not introduce changes unless they are funded. There is not a single policy in this manifesto that is funded by additional borrowing. Not a single one.

Our plan is to build a secure, prosperous and more equal country open to the world, in which everyone has the opportunity to get on and do their best. We will provide strong and effective government but everyone will need to contribute and play their part. It will be hard, but working together we can do it.



Lesley, Physicist



Ryan, Sean, Jake, Daniel and Sam, Apprentices

We will build  
an economy  
that works for  
working people



**We know a simple truth. Britain only succeeds when working families succeed. It is how our country has won through in the past and how it will succeed in the future. But so many people are putting in the hours and not seeing the rewards. That is why there is a cost of living crisis. Our first task in government is to change our economy so that it works for all of Britain's businesses and working people.**

The Conservatives claim that the economy is fixed and that our country is on the right track. But the economy is not creating the productive, high-skilled and well-paid jobs that we need to raise living standards. The lack of rewarding work and training opportunities is trapping hundreds of thousands of young people in a cycle of benefits and low-paid, insecure jobs. And consumers are overcharged in markets they rely on to meet their everyday needs, whether to heat their homes or travel to work.

For most of the 20th century, there was a vital link between the success of the country and family finances. As the country got better off, so did working people. But the link between the success of the country and the family budget has been broken. Since 2010, working people are earning on average £1,600 less a year after inflation. We have seen the greatest fall in wages over a parliament since 1874.

Over five million people are in low-paid jobs, earning less than the Living Wage. There are 1.8 million zero-hours contracts. 1.3 million are working part-time because they cannot get a full-time job. Half of all those in poverty live in working households. 900,000 people, many of them in work, used food banks last year.

This cost-of-living crisis is bad for families, bad for business, and bad for Britain. Lower levels of pay have meant lower tax receipts and higher spending on social security.

We will have to work and earn our way toward a more fairly shared and enduring prosperity. We are a great commercial nation that has been at the centre of global trade for centuries. We have a long tradition of innovation and enterprise.

We have been quick to seize the opportunities of the internet. We have big strengths to build upon: world-leading universities, an outstanding science research base, an open economy with one of the highest rates of foreign direct investment in the world, and many successful global companies.

An inclusive wealth-creating economy works when there is a shared sense of responsibility, so we will be a government that is both pro-business and pro-worker. We value all our businesses as organisations of innovation and wealth production, and we will work strategically with them to create wealth. We value our trade unions as an essential force for a decent society and as guarantors of skills and fair wages.

## **A Strong Economic Foundation**

The next Labour Government will balance the books. We will only lay a Budget before the House of Commons that cuts the deficit every year, which the Office for Budget Responsibility will independently verify. We will get national debt falling and a surplus on the current budget as soon as possible in the next Parliament and these fiscal commitments will not be compromised. We will tackle the root causes of the deficit by building a more productive economy with living standards that rise year-on-year.

The Conservative-led Government promised to balance the books in this Parliament. But this promise has been broken. The Conservatives will leave the country borrowing over £75 billion this year.

Labour's plan to balance the books means making tough, but fairer choices. We will reverse the Government's top-rate tax cut so that the highest one per cent of earners, with an income of over £150,000, contribute a little more to help get the deficit down. We will stop paying Winter Fuel Payments to the richest five per cent of pensioners, and cap child benefit rises for two years. Outside of the protected areas of health, education and international development there will be cuts in spending. Ministerial pay will be cut and then frozen until we have balanced the books. All proceeds from the sale of our stakes in Lloyds and RBS will be used to repay the national debt.

We will live within our means. We have no proposals for any new spending paid for by additional borrowing. All of our commitments will be paid for by reducing spending elsewhere or by raising extra revenue. For example, we will introduce a tax on properties worth over £2 million to help raise the £2.5 billion a year for an NHS Time to Care Fund – part of our plan to save and improve the health service. We will legislate to require all major parties to have their manifesto commitments independently audited by the Office for Budget Responsibility at each general election.

We will cap structural social security expenditure in each spending review so that it is properly controlled. We will implement the proposals of Labour's Zero-Based Review, which has already identified savings we will make through reforming old government bureaucracies, devolving power and services to our towns and cities, and redesigning public services, and which we will continue in government. We will invest to prevent social problems rather than waste money reacting to them. And we will use digital technology to create a more responsive, devolved, and less costly system of government.

## **Fairer taxes**

We will create a fairer tax system, helping those on middle and lower incomes by introducing a lower 10p starting rate of tax, paid for by ending the Conservatives' Marriage Tax Allowance. We will not increase the basic or higher rates of Income Tax or National Insurance. Nor will we raise VAT, and we renew our pledge not to extend it to food, children's clothes, books, newspapers or public transport fares.

Our first Finance Bill will close the tax loopholes that cost the Exchequer billions of pounds a year. We will introduce tougher penalties for those abusing the tax system, end unfair tax breaks used by hedge funds and others, and bear down on disguised employment. We will seek international agreement to make country-by-country reporting information publicly available, and we will act at home if agreement is not reached. British Overseas Territories and Crown Dependencies will be required to produce publicly available registries of the real owners of companies based there.

We will carry out an immediate review into the culture and practices of HMRC so that everyone follows the same rules and we increase the rigour of the tax system. And we will abolish non-dom status so that all those who make the UK their home pay tax in the same way as the rest of us.

It is by tackling tax avoidance in this concerted fashion that we can reduce the deficit and protect the family budgets of working people.

## **Improving productivity and a new industrial strategy**

Labour will improve productivity by building a long-term investment culture in the private and public sectors, and supporting small businesses in their growth to becoming British success stories of the future. With Labour, Britain will continue to have the most competitive rate of Corporation Tax in the G7.

Building world-class infrastructure will be crucial to fostering economic growth. We will create certainty for investors by taking a long-term approach to the major investment decisions facing the country. We will set up an independent National Infrastructure Commission to assess how best to meet Britain's infrastructure needs. It will make recommendations to government, monitor their implementation, and hold government to account. These measures and our long-term approach will help reinforce Britain's status as one of the world's greatest centres of science and engineering.

We will continue to support the construction of High Speed Two, but keep costs down, and take action to improve and expand rail links across the North to boost its regional economies. We will support long-term investment in strategic roads, address the neglect of local roads, and promote cycling.

Following the Davies Review, we will make a swift decision on expanding airport capacity in London and the South East, balancing the need for growth and the environmental impact.

Scientific discovery and technological innovation will drive economic advancement this century. We will introduce a new long-term funding policy framework for science and innovation, providing the stability and continuity that our companies and research institutes need to succeed.

We will work to make Britain a world leader in low carbon technologies over the next decade, creating a million additional green jobs. This aim will be supported by ambitious domestic carbon reduction targets, including a legal target to remove the carbon from our electricity supply by 2030, and a major drive for energy efficiency.

Our industrial strategy for the green economy will end the current uncertainty for investors, with a timetable for the Green Investment Bank to be given additional powers so that it can invest in green businesses and technology. We will create an Energy Security Board to plan and deliver the energy mix we need, including renewables, nuclear, green gas, carbon capture and storage, and clean coal.

For onshore unconventional oil and gas, we will establish a robust environmental and regulatory regime before extraction can take place. And to safeguard the future of the offshore oil and gas industry, we will provide a long-term strategy for the industry, including more certainty on tax rates and making the most of the potential for carbon storage.

Labour's longer-term approach will drive innovation and build on our strengths as a leader in digital technology. We are just at the start of the internet revolution. Digital technology has transformed start-up costs making it easier to run your own business. There is a widening in the application of new transformative technologies in the fields of robotics, genetics, 3D printing and Big Data. Our economy is developing a network of connections that will revolutionise innovation.

Labour will ensure that all parts of the country benefit from affordable, high speed broadband by the end of the Parliament. We will work with the industry and the regulator to maximise private sector investment and deliver the mobile infrastructure needed to extend coverage and reduce 'not spots', including in areas of market failure. And we will support community-based campaigns to reduce the proportion of citizens unable to use the internet and help those who need it to get the skills to make the most of digital technology.

Our universities are amongst the finest in the world. Some are already helping our regional economies by forming strong links with industry and creating high-tech clusters. They have already spun out hundreds of companies creating thousands of jobs. We will support this model of knowledge clusters, especially outside the South East.

Britain's economy is being held back by the culture of short-termism, which is a major obstacle to the development of productive businesses and industries. We will reform corporate governance to protect our leading firms from the pressure to put tomorrow's share price before long-term growth potential.

Institutional investors will have a duty to act in the best interests of ordinary savers. They will have to prioritise long-term growth over short-term profits for the companies in which they are investing. We will change takeover rules to enhance the role of long-term investors by restricting voting to those already holding shares when a bid is made. In addition, we will strengthen the public interest test.

We will improve the link between executive pay and performance by simplifying pay packages, and requiring investment and pension fund managers to disclose how they vote on top pay. And we will make sure employees have a voice when executive pay is set by requiring employee representation on remuneration committees.

In this way we can start to create an economy based on mutual obligations, encouraging employers and employees to build partnerships for improving both business performance and job quality. Outdated practices, like blacklisting, have no place in a modern economy.

Our charities, mutuals, co-operatives and social enterprises are pioneering new models of production that enhance social value, promote financial inclusion, and give individuals and communities power and control. We will continue to support and help develop the social economy by improving access for co-operative and mutual organisations to growth finance through the new British Investment Bank. And we will consider how to support employee buy-outs when businesses are being sold.

We will safeguard the public interest in the Royal Mail, supporting the creation of a staff-led trust for the employee share, and keeping the remaining 30 per cent in public ownership. We will also support the universal service obligation, ensuring competition does not undermine it and introducing protections as necessary.

## **Backing small business**

Small businesses are the backbone of our economy. Their creativity and dynamism are vital for raising productivity and competing in the global economy. Labour will give them a voice at the heart of government – a Small Business Administration, which will ensure procurement contracts are accessible and regulations are designed with small firms in mind.

We will address rising costs for small businesses and strengthen rules on late payment. Labour will put small businesses first in line for tax cuts. Instead of cutting Corporation Tax again for the largest firms, we will cut, and then freeze business rates for over 1.5 million smaller business properties.

We will develop a banking system that works for businesses in every region and every sector in Britain. The long-standing problems of our banking system mean that too many small and medium-sized businesses cannot get the finance they need to invest and grow.

Labour will establish a British Investment Bank with the mission to help businesses grow and to create wealth and jobs. It will have the resources to improve access to finance for small and medium-sized businesses, and will support a network of regional banks.

We will increase competition on the high street. Following the Competition and Market Authorities inquiry we want a market share test and at least two new challenger banks. And we will deal with the scourge of household debt by introducing a new levy on payday lenders, using the funds raised to boost low-cost alternatives like credit unions.

## Better work and better pay

Britain's route to prosperity and higher living standards is through more secure and better paid jobs. But Conservative policies are causing whole sectors of the economy to be dragged into a race to the bottom on wages and skills. The Government has weakened employment rights and promoted a hire-and-fire culture. Labour believes our economy can only succeed in a race to the top – competing in the world with better work, better pay and better skills.

Too many people do a hard day's work but remain dependent on benefits. We will raise the National Minimum Wage to more than £8 an hour by October 2019, bringing it closer to average earnings. We will give local authorities a role in strengthening enforcement against those paying less than the legal amount. And we will support employers to pay more by using government procurement to promote the Living Wage, alongside wider social impact considerations. Our Make Work Pay contracts will give tax rebates to businesses who sign up to paying the Living Wage in the first year of a Labour Government. Publicly listed companies will be required to report on whether or not they pay the Living Wage.

It is hard for Britain to succeed when employees feel insecure and employers are undercut by those using exploitative working practices. Labour will ban exploitative zero-hours contracts. Those who work regular hours for more than 12 weeks will have a right to a regular contract. We will abolish the loophole that allows firms to undercut permanent staff by using agency workers on lower pay.

The Conservatives have introduced fees of up to £1,200 for employment tribunal claimants, creating a significant barrier to workplace justice. We will abolish the Government's employment tribunal fee system as part of wider reforms to make sure that affordability is not a barrier to workers having proper access to justice, employers get a quicker resolution, and the costs to the tax payer do not rise.

Labour is the Party of work, and we value working life. We will push up standards and boost productivity by implementing the commitments in Labour's Workplace and Business manifestos.



## Supporting the next generation

Over 700,000 of our young people are unemployed. Too many of them do not have the skills they need for work. And yet in the past year the number of young people starting apprenticeships has fallen. The Government's decision to triple university tuition fees leaves young people either starting their working lives burdened by £44,000 of debt, or without a clear alternative path to a decent career.

Labour will cut tuition fees from £9,000 to £6,000 a year, funded by restricting tax relief on pension contributions for the highest earners and clamping down on tax avoidance.

We will tackle the growth of unpaid internships because thousands of highly able young people who cannot afford to work for free are locked out of too many of our professions.

We will introduce a Compulsory Jobs Guarantee, paid for by a bank bonus tax. It will provide a paid starter job for every young person unemployed for over a year, a job which they will have to take or lose benefits.

For too long we have failed to provide a system which makes the best use of the talents of young people. So we will guarantee every school leaver that gets the grades an apprenticeship. We will create thousands more apprenticeships in the public sector, including the civil service. Every firm getting a major government contract, and every large employer hiring skilled workers from outside the EU, will be required to offer apprenticeships.

We will give employers more control over apprenticeships funding and standards. In return, we will ask them to increase the number of high quality apprenticeships in their sectors and supply chains. We will also give them the powers to deal with any free-riding employers who do not train.

Labour's apprenticeships will be gold-standard qualifications. We will re-focus existing spending away from low-level apprenticeships for older people, and towards a system where apprenticeships are focused on new job entrants, lasting at least two years, and providing level three qualifications or above.

We will make sure that apprenticeships can lead to higher level qualifications by creating new Technical Degrees and supporting part-time study. They will be co-funded, co-designed and co-delivered by employers and they will be the priority for expansion within our university system.

Young people who do not have the skills they need should be in training, not on benefits. We will replace out of work benefits for 18 to 21-year-olds with a new Youth Allowance dependent on recipients being in training and targeted at those who need it most.

## **Mending the markets that people rely on**

Labour will stand up for working families and businesses against vested interests. We will reform the broken markets that people rely on most so that families and businesses get a fair deal.

Energy bills have risen by over £300 since 2010. Many businesses say energy is the biggest cost they face. Lack of competition and transparency has allowed the large energy companies to get away with increasing bills when wholesale prices rise, but not cutting them when they fall. The regulator has failed to take decisive action to protect consumers.

Labour will freeze energy bills until 2017, ensuring that bills can fall but not rise, and we will give the regulator the power to cut bills this winter. During the freeze, we will reform the energy market so that it delivers fairer prices and a better deal for working families. The generation and supply businesses of the 'Big Six' energy companies will be separated. They will be required to open up their books, and they will have to sell their electricity through an open exchange. We will simplify energy tariffs and make it easier for people to compare prices to get the best deal. We will protect small businesses by ending unfair contracts and automatic rollovers to more expensive tariffs. A tough new energy watchdog will enforce our reforms, with powers to strip energy companies of their licences if they repeatedly harm the interests of consumers, and protect off-grid households.

We will bring down energy bills by making homes more energy efficient, delivering a million interest free loans for energy home improvements in the next Parliament. For those on low incomes, we will make 200,000 homes warm every year, delivered street-by-street by local authorities and community organisations. Privately rented properties will have to meet a decency standard, bringing warmth to a further three million homes.

The water industry, too, also requires reform. One in five people struggle to pay their water bill. Despite this, only a fraction of customers have benefited from the social tariffs offered by water companies. Under our reforms all water companies will be required to sign up to a new national affordability scheme, helping those who cannot afford to pay their water bill. And we will strengthen the powers of the regulator to change licenses, limit price rises and enforce industry standards.

Living standards have been hit by fare increases on public transport. Since 2010, rail fares have risen by 20 per cent, leaving passengers paying the highest fares in Europe. Similarly, bus fares have risen by 27 per cent while at the same time 2,000 bus routes have been cut.

Labour will reform our transport system in order to provide more public control and put the public interest first. We will review the franchising process as a priority to put in place a new system and avoid a repeat of the Conservatives' franchising fiasco. A new National Rail body will oversee and plan for the railways and give rail users a greater say in how trains operate. We will legislate so that a public sector operator is allowed to take on lines and challenge the private train operating companies on a level playing field.

Rail fares will be frozen next year to help commuters while we implement reforms. A strict fare rise cap will be introduced on every route for any future fare rises, and a new legal right for passengers will be created to access the cheapest ticket for their journey.

City and county regions will be given more power over the way buses are operated in their area. They will be able to decide routes, bear down on fares, drive improvements in services, and bring together trains, buses and trams into a single network with smart ticketing.

## Labour will:

cut the deficit every year and balance the books as soon as possible in the next Parliament

reverse the 50p tax cut so that the top one per cent pay a little more to help get the deficit down

not increase the basic or higher rates of Income Tax, National Insurance or VAT

cut and then freeze business rates and maintain the most competitive corporate tax rates in the G7

abolish non dom status

increase the National Minimum Wage to more than £8 an hour by October 2019 and introduce Make Work Pay contracts to provide tax rebates to firms becoming Living Wage employers

ban exploitative zero-hours contracts

guarantee an apprenticeship for every school leaver who attains the grades and require any firm that gets a large government contract to offer apprenticeships

reduce tuition fees to £6,000 a year

freeze energy bills until 2017 and give the regulator the power to cut bills this winter

introduce a British Investment Bank and support a network of regional banks.



Jayne, Painter and Decorator



Bhavesh, Barber and Salon Owner



Monica, Reception Teacher

We will provide  
world-class  
health and education  
services



**O**ur NHS, care services, schools, colleges and other public services make up the essential fabric of our society. People need them to be able to live secure and fulfilling lives. Britain needs them if we are to succeed as a country. But under the Conservatives they are under threat. The next Labour Government will protect, improve and invest in our public services, while giving individuals and communities more control over their design and delivery.

The NHS is one of our great national institutions, and it is one of Labour's proudest achievements. It embodies our belief that by the strength of our common endeavour, we achieve more than we achieve alone. But the future of the NHS is under threat. The Conservatives have put the wrong values at its heart, and patients are finding it harder to get the care they need.

Care is at the heart of Labour's values. No-one should fear old age or be left to struggle alone caring for a loved one. But too many older people suffer insecurity, loneliness and exclusion. And the growing social care crisis is one of the biggest challenges we face. Since 2010, billions of pounds have been cut from budgets that pay for adult social care. The result has been 300,000 fewer older people getting vital care services, at the same time as the number of older people in need of care is increasing.

A good education is vital to achieving personal fulfillment and economic prosperity. A good society depends upon an education system that can open minds and teach the skills and knowledge we each need to get on in life. But our education system is failing to meet the needs of young people who do not follow the traditional academic path from school to university.

Our public services are a measure of the strength and decency of our society. But we need a change in how we design them by pushing power down and organising them around individuals and families not centralised bureaucracies. Good public services also need committed staff who are treated fairly and whose ethos of service is respected. They require decisions on pay that prioritise those on lower incomes, which are evidence-based, and which respect Pay Review Body recommendations rather than brushing them aside irresponsibly.

Government spends far too much money dealing with the symptoms of problems, instead of investing smaller amounts in dealing with their causes. Every taxpayer pays the cost of low educational achievement, poor aspirations, drink and drug misuse, and criminality. So we will promote early-years intervention, supporting young children and their parents and dealing with problems before they get out of hand.

We can save money and create more responsive services by building co-operation between public services and organisations. Pooling funds across local areas reduces inefficiency and avoids duplication. Services must be joined up in ways that make sense to the people who use them.

Labour will use digital technology in reforming our public services. People will be able to feed back on services quickly and simply, making sure their voices are heard, stimulating improvement and saving on the costs of service failure.

## **The NHS**

Labour will rescue our NHS, invest in its future and join up services from home to hospital.

We will start with the promise of investment so that the NHS has time to care. The NHS is struggling with staffing shortages. Accident and emergency is in crisis, and more people are facing long waits for tests, treatment, or to see a GP. Labour will invest in 20,000 more nurses, 8,000 more GPs, and 3,000 more midwives, paid for by a Mansion Tax on properties worth over £2 million, a levy on tobacco firms, and by tackling tax avoidance. The threshold for the Mansion Tax will rise in line with house prices for these high-value properties, and those on lower incomes will be protected with a right to defer the charge until the property changes hands.

We will guarantee people a GP appointment within 48 hours, and on the same day for those who need it. We will create a Cancer Treatments Fund so patients have access to the latest drugs, surgery and radiotherapy. By 2020, patients will wait no longer than one week for vital cancer tests. Catching the disease early

is critical, so we will raise public awareness of symptoms and make sure there is training and support for GPs in spotting early signs.

The answer to the health challenges we face is not to set hospital against hospital, but to join up services around patients' needs. We will repeal the Government's Health and Social Care Act, scrapping the competition regime and restoring proper democratic accountability for the NHS. We will establish a sensible commissioning framework, based on the principle of an NHS preferred provider, to stop the drive towards privatisation and make sure that NHS services are not destabilised by competition and fragmentation. Where private companies are involved in providing clinical services, we will impose a cap on any profits they can make from the NHS, to ensure that the needs of patients are always put first. We support the principles behind the negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Treaty (TTIP). We will hold the European Commission to account on issues of concern, including the impact on public services and the Investor to State Dispute Settlement Mechanism. And we will ensure the NHS is protected from the TTIP treaty.

Our health reforms will focus on prevention and early intervention, and joining up services from home to hospital. When people cannot get to see their GP, many go to A&E instead. When mental health problems are not spotted early, people can deteriorate and need more intensive support. And when elderly people cannot get the care they need at home, they are more likely to end up in hospital.

The current system is too fragmented. It was not designed for the growing numbers of people living with chronic conditions or multiple needs. Rather than having three separate systems for dealing with physical, mental and social care, we will create a whole person approach: a single service to meet all of a person's health and care needs.

This will be underpinned by new rights for patients. Vulnerable older people, disabled people and those with complex needs will be helped to have more control of their lives with the entitlement to a personal care plan designed

with them and shaped around their needs, the option of personal budgets where appropriate, and a single named person to coordinate their care. They will also receive better information and advice on managing their condition. These changes will help to end the frustration of families sick of being passed from pillar to post between different individuals and agencies.

Commissioning and budgets will be brought together at a local level to join up services and make sure that providers are incentivised to help people stay healthy and outside hospital, rather than simply waiting for them to fall ill.

Mental health will be given the same priority as physical health. People will have the same right to psychological therapies as they currently have to drugs and medical treatments. To help address the problem of undiagnosed mental illness, NHS staff training will include mental health. We will increase the proportion of the mental health budget that is spent on children, and make sure that teachers have training so they can identify problems early and link children up with support. To support young people's health and wellbeing, we will encourage the development of social and emotional skills, for example through the use of mindfulness to build resilience. And we will set out a strategy with the goal of ensuring that the great majority of patients can access talking therapies within 28 days, and that all children who need it can access school-based counselling.

A greater emphasis on prevention and public health is essential, not just to improve outcomes and tackle inequalities, but to ensure the NHS remains sustainable. For example, 3.2 million people are currently diagnosed with diabetes, and it is estimated that spending on treatment will rise from £10 billion to £17 billion a year over the next 25 years if action is not taken, such as to reduce levels of obesity. We will set a new national ambition to improve the uptake of physical activity and take targeted action on those high strength, low cost alcohol products that fuel problem drinking. And we will set maximum permitted levels of sugar, salt and fat in foods marketed substantially to children.

Everyone involved in the NHS must learn lessons when things go wrong, for example, from the failings at Mid-Staffordshire and Morecambe Bay. Labour will prioritise action to improve care quality and patient safety. In addition to recruiting extra nurses to help provide safe levels of staffing on wards, we want every hospital death to be subject to an appropriate level of review. We will also take action to modernise the regulation of healthcare professionals.

## Care in older age

Labour will support people in their older age. Growing old should be a positive and fulfilling experience. But our social care system is close to collapse, with older people often receiving visits limited to just 15 minutes, provided by a workforce that is too often undervalued.

Labour supports measures to cap the costs of care and will prioritise improving the quality of care services.

Working with local authorities and care providers, Labour will end time-limited 15-minute visits, introducing year-of-care budgets to incentivise better care in the home. By stopping the use of zero-hours contracts, where regular hours are being worked, we will improve the working life of care workers.

For older people, the normal setting for care should increasingly be the home, not the hospital. We will recruit 5,000 new home-care workers – a new arm of the NHS – to help care for those with the greatest needs at home. This will include supporting more people to remain at home at the end of their life, including those who are terminally ill with the greatest care needs.

We will also introduce a system of safety checks to identify risks facing vulnerable older people and enable preventative measures to be put in place, such as grab rails to prevent falling.

The burden of the care crisis is falling on carers, especially women, who account for six in every ten carers. Labour will introduce a new duty on NHS organisations to identify carers so that they can be linked up with the right support. We will ring-fence the money councils get for carers' breaks to ensure this money gets spent on carers.

## **A high quality education for all our children**

Labour sees investment in education as an investment both in our children and in the future of the country. We will protect the entire education budget, including the early years, schools and post-16 education, so that it rises in line with inflation.

However investment on its own is not enough. We need to create a route to success for the 50 per cent of young people who do not go down the traditional academic route. We will raise the standard and status of vocational and technical education, with a high quality vocational route from school through to employment. The Technical Baccalaureate, a vocational award for 16 to 18-year-olds, will combine a gold-standard qualification accredited by employers, with a quality work placement.

We will transform high performing Further Education colleges with strong links to industry, into new specialist Institutes of Technical Education, with a remit to deliver the Technical Baccalaureate and higher-level skills. We will support more young people to gain the core skills they need for employment and further study. With Labour, students will continue to study English and Maths to age 18 and undertake work experience between the ages of 14 and 16. And to ensure young people are equipped to make the best choices for their future, we will introduce a new, independent system of careers advice, offering personalised face-to-face guidance on routes into university and apprenticeships.

We believe fundamentally that a world-class education system is made by excellent teachers. With Labour, every teacher will need to gain qualified teacher status. We will encourage teaching quality by creating new career routes for teachers who are expert in their subject. These teachers will be able to attain

a new 'Master Teacher' status. Teachers will also be expected to update their knowledge and skills as a condition of remaining in the profession, and we will support plans for a new College of Teaching. These measures will help us close the attainment gap between disadvantaged children and their peers, and work towards all children reading well by age 11. We have supported the successful 'Teach First' since its inception and will continue to do so.

A new School Leadership Institute will support headteachers and improve school leadership. It will accredit gold-standard headship qualifications, support leadership training and development, and identify and develop the school leaders of the future.

The Government has attempted to oversee thousands of schools from the centre. This approach is not working. Underperformance is going unchallenged and parents do not have enough of a voice. Labour will introduce new Directors of School Standards at a local level to monitor performance, intervene in underperforming schools and support them to improve.

Where a majority of local parents have concerns about underperformance, or a dip in standards, they will be able to call in their local Director of School Standards to hold a school to account.

Labour will promote innovation in schools. We will give all schools freedoms currently only granted to some. Directors of School Standards will be responsible for commissioning new schools where there is a shortage of school places, encouraging innovative bids from established providers, good local authorities, parents, teachers and entrepreneurs. They will also encourage local schools to work together to improve the quality of education.

We will end the wasteful and poorly performing Free Schools programme, and switch resources to where they are needed, allowing us to cap class sizes for five, six and seven-year-olds at 30 pupils or under.

Private schools currently benefit from generous state subsidies, including business rates relief worth hundreds of millions of pounds. We believe they should do more to contribute to raising standards in state education to justify receiving this subsidy. As a condition for continued business rate relief, private

schools will be required to form a meaningful partnership with a school, or cluster of schools, in the state sector.

Children develop and learn best when they are secure and happy. We need to help our children develop the creativity, self-awareness and emotional skills they need to get on in life. We will introduce compulsory age-appropriate sex and relationships education. We will encourage all schools to embed character education across the curriculum, working with schools to stop the blight of homophobic bullying.



## Labour will:

invest £2.5 billion more than the Conservatives to recruit 8,000 more GPs, 20,000 more nurses and 3,000 more midwives

guarantee GP appointments within 48 hours and cancer tests within one week

join up services from home to hospital, with a single point of contact for all who need it

give mental health the same priority as physical health, with a new right to access talking therapies

repeal the Government's privatisation plans, cap profits and put the right values back at the heart of the NHS

end time-limited 15 minute social care visits and recruit 5,000 new home-care workers to support people in their home

introduce a new gold-standard Technical Baccalaureate for 16 to-18-year olds

protect the entire education budget from early years through to post-16 education

guarantee all teachers in state schools will be qualified

appoint Directors of School Standards to drive up standards in every area

cap class sizes for five, six and seven-year-olds

ensure all young people study English and Maths to age 18.



Joyce, Nurse



Cheryl and Neil, with their daughter Louisa

We will help  
our families  
and communities  
to thrive

**A**s a country we value compassion, tolerance and a sense of decency. But pressures on family life, growing inequality, anxieties about crime and anti-social behaviour, and a widespread loss of trust in our governing institutions, are creating insecurity in many communities.

Labour believes a decent society grows out of family life and relationships, out of the work we do, and the local places to which we belong. We will help to create a more secure and inclusive society by building and strengthening the institutions that help individuals, families and communities to thrive.

## Supporting families and relationships

People's relationships bind society together, and the family, in all its various shapes and sizes, is its bedrock. But low pay, the pressures of work and caring for children and elderly relatives, have put families under increasing pressure.

We will help families by expanding free childcare from 15 to 25 hours per week for working parents of three and four-year-olds, paid for with an increase in the bank levy. We will also introduce a legal guarantee for parents of primary school children to access wraparound childcare from 8am to 6pm through their local primary school. As well as helping parents, this will provide children with before and after-school clubs and activities, helping to raise their aspirations and attainment. This will be underpinned by a new National Primary Childcare Service, a not for profit organisation to promote the voluntary and charitable delivery of quality extracurricular activities.

Labour recognises the vital importance of the power of people's relationships to build the capacity for love, care and resilience. We will prioritise early years intervention to give children and parents the best start in family life, and restore the role of Sure Start centres as family hubs. Sure Start will have an obligation to provide families with access to childcare, opening their facilities to charities and local childcare providers. More widely, we will encourage local services to co-locate, so that they work together to shift from sticking plaster solutions to integrated early help.

We will take a whole-family approach to policy making, supporting relationships, and the involvement of fathers, grandparents and relatives in the care, education and health of children.

More fathers want to play an active role in their children's lives and families want to spend more time together with a new baby. So we will double the current two weeks of paternity leave to four weeks, and increase the amount of paternity pay from £140 to more than £260 a week. Many grandparents want to be more involved in caring for their grandchildren, and we will support them in doing so.

As a result of this Government's failures, the commitment to ending child poverty by 2020 is very unlikely to be met. However, we will never forget how important a decent basic income is to a child's prospects and wellbeing. That is why we will keep the child poverty targets, and ask the Office for Budget Responsibility to monitor and report on progress.

We will promote the care and educational achievement of our most vulnerable children and we will introduce mandatory reporting of child abuse. We will increase support for children in kinship (family and friends) care and their families, a group too often overlooked and undervalued. We will continue to support Frontline and its innovative approach to training social workers, and teachers will receive better training for working with children with special educational needs and disabilities.

## **Building new homes**

Britain is in the midst of the biggest housing crisis in a generation, with the lowest levels of house building in peacetime since the 1920s. Young people have been priced out of home ownership. Fewer affordable homes are being built, homelessness is rising, and millions face insecurity and poor standards in the private rented sector.

Everyone should be able to live in a secure home, whether they rent or buy. We will make sure that at least 200,000 homes a year get built by 2020 – almost

double the current level – by implementing the recommendations of the Lyons Review. It is only by building more homes that people’s aspiration for home ownership will be fulfilled.

Our comprehensive plan to tackle the housing crisis will give local communities new powers to provide the homes they need, in the places they want to live. To help young people and families get on the housing ladder, we will give local authorities the power to give first call to first time buyers on new homes in areas of housing growth. And we will unlock a Future Homes Fund by requiring that the billions of pounds saved in Help to Buy ISAs be invested in increasing housing supply.

We want a housing market that rewards the building of high quality homes rather than land banking and speculation. So we will introduce greater transparency in the land market and give local authorities new ‘use it or lose it’ powers to encourage developers to build.

We will increase competition in the housebuilding industry by backing small builders, including through our Help to Build scheme, and by getting the public sector building again. We will build more affordable homes by prioritising capital investment for housing and by reforming the council house financing system. We will give local authorities powers to reduce the number of empty homes, including higher council tax on long term empty properties. And to boost the housing we need, we will start to build a new generation of garden cities.

For the 11 million people who rent privately, we will legislate to make three-year tenancies the norm, with a ceiling on excessive rent rises. A ban on unfair letting agent fees will save renters over £600. We will drive standards up by creating a national register of private landlords.

Homelessness is the ultimate symbol of the housing crisis. Labour reduced homelessness by 70 per cent when we were last in office, but all forms of homelessness are back on the rise, with rough sleeping having increased by 55 per cent. We are committed to reversing this trend by tackling the causes of homelessness and rough sleeping.

## Restoring social security

Britain needs a responsible and fair social security system that provides security when people lose their jobs or fall sick, as well as a decent income when they retire. The British people have always believed in the principle of contribution, rewarding those who pay in, helping people get back on their feet, and providing support in times of need.

To guarantee a decent social security system for the next generation, we need to keep costs under control. Under this Government, the increase in low pay has left working families more reliant on tax credits and housing benefit, pushing up the social security bill.

To get the benefits bill under control, we need to tackle the root causes of rising spending, by making work pay and building more homes. We will allow local authorities that negotiate rent reductions on behalf of tenants who are claiming housing benefit, to retain some of the savings, on the condition that the money is invested in building homes.

We will keep the household benefit cap and ask the Social Security Advisory Committee to examine if it should be lower in some areas. And we will cap structural social security spending as part of each spending review, so that it is properly planned and controlled.

Labour believes in rewarding work and in restoring contribution to the heart of our system. So we will not cut tax credits. We want everyone who can to have the chance to contribute through paid work, so we will create a more tailored back-to-work system that helps people secure and keep jobs. We will do more to help unemployed people get the skills they need for work, testing jobseekers' Maths, English and IT skills within six weeks of them claiming benefits. They will be required to take up training where this will improve their chances of getting a job. We support the principle behind Universal Credit – that there should be a smooth transition into work – but it must be affordable and fit for purpose, so we will pause and review the programme.



There will be a guaranteed, paid job for all young people who have been out of work for one year, and for all those over 25 years old and out of work for two years. It will be a job that they have to take, or lose their benefits. And we will commission a replacement for the Work Programme at a more local level, working with local authorities to join up support for the long-term unemployed. We will introduce a higher rate of Job Seekers Allowance for those who have contributed over years. It will be funded by extending the length of time people need to have worked to qualify.

## **Supporting disabled people to live independently**

Alongside strong and responsive public services, the social security system plays an important role in supporting many disabled people to live independently, and must always treat sick and disabled people with dignity.

Half a million families have been hit by the Bedroom Tax, and two thirds of those affected are disabled, or have a disabled family member. It is cruel, and we will abolish it.

We will reform the Work Capability Assessment and focus it on the support disabled people need to get into work. We will give an independent scrutiny group of disabled people a central role in monitoring it. And we will introduce a specialist support programme to ensure that disabled people who can work get more tailored help.

## **Older people**

Older people deserve to live a fulfilling life, to continue working if they wish, and to enjoy a secure retirement. Older people have contributed all their lives and built the Britain that the next generation will inherit. So it is right that they are supported with a fair and sustainable pensions system, responsive health services and a system of care over which they have control. We will keep the triple-lock so that the state pension increases by inflation, earnings, or 2.5 per

cent, whichever is highest. And while increases in the state retirement age are necessary to keep our pensions system affordable, we will ensure that people have time to plan for changes.

We have taken the tough choice to restrict Winter Fuel Payments for the richest five per cent of pensioners, but we will guarantee that there will be no additional changes to the Winter Fuel Payments, free TV licences or bus passes for pensioners.

Alongside a decent state pension, we must ensure private pensions are good value for those who have saved. We will reform the pensions market so that pension providers put savers first, and protect consumers from retirement rip-offs. We support greater flexibility for those drawing down their pension pots, but there must be proper guidance for people to avoid mis-selling.

## **Controlling immigration with fair rules**

For our country to stay strong, with the confidence to look outwards rather than inwards, people need to feel secure in the strength of our borders, our communities, and in the workplace.

Britain has seen historically high levels of immigration in recent years, including low-skilled migration, which has given rise to public anxiety about its effects on wages, on our public services, and on our shared way of life.

Despite the Conservatives' promise to reduce net migration to tens of thousands, it is now higher than it was when David Cameron entered Downing Street. Broken promises erode trust.

Labour will never cut Britain off from the rest of the world. Our economy and our society benefit from the talent and investment of people who come here, including university students coming to study. But the system needs to be controlled and managed so that it is fair. Low-skilled migration has been too high and needs to come down. We need much stronger action to stop illegal immigration.

Labour's plan starts with stronger borders. We will recruit an additional 1,000 borders staff, paid for by a small charge on non-visa visitors to the UK. We will introduce stronger controls to prevent those who have committed serious crimes coming to Britain, and to deport those who commit crimes while they are here. We will introduce full exit checks, so that we can count people in and out of the country. Short-term student visitor visas have dramatically increased, so we will tighten the system to prevent abuse, whilst welcoming overseas university students who bring billions into Britain. And we will keep the cap on workers from outside the EU.

We need fair rules at work to prevent the exploitation of migrant workers, which undercuts local wages and increases demand for further low-skilled migration. Labour will introduce a new law to stop employers undercutting wages by exploiting workers. We will ban recruitment agencies from hiring only from overseas and crack down on rogue agencies by extending the remit of the Gangmasters Licensing Authority where there is evidence of abuse.

We need to strengthen our social integration and ensure that migrants can play their part in British society. People working in public services, in public facing roles, will be required to speak English. Those who come here will not be able to claim benefits for at least two years, and we will stop child benefit being sent to families living abroad.

We will enforce immigration rules humanely and effectively. We will end the indefinite detention of people in the asylum and immigration system, ending detention for pregnant women and those who have been the victims of sexual abuse or trafficking. And we will ensure Britain continues its proud history of providing refuge for those fleeing persecution by upholding our international obligations, including working with the UN to support vulnerable refugees from Syria.

## Safer communities

Crime creates fear and insecurity. We can only live happy and fulfilled lives if we know that we are safe, and that we are not at risk of violation of our person or property.

For too many people in our country that is not the reality they see in their communities. Neighbourhood policing, the vital building block of British policing, is at risk of being destroyed. Anti-social behaviour is too often tolerated, rather than dealt with. Violent crimes have gone up, but fewer violent criminals are being caught. Far too many victims of child sex abuse are being let down by the services that are supposed to keep them safe.

Labour believes British policing is at its best when it is rooted in local communities, proactively preventing crime, rather than simply reacting to emergencies.

We will protect neighbourhood policing. By making different choices – to abolish Police and Crime Commissioners, end the subsidy of firearms licenses, and mandate police forces to work closer together – we will be able to safeguard over 10,000 police officers for the next three years. This will be backed up by a new statutory Local Policing Commitment, guaranteeing neighbourhood policing in every community.

We will strengthen community safety partnerships to give local people a role in setting priorities for neighbourhood policing and a say over the appointment of local police commanders.

To raise standards within policing, all police officers will be required to become Chartered Officers, holding a registration with the College of Policing, and able to be struck off for serious misconduct, just as doctors and lawyers can be. A new Police Standards Authority will replace the discredited Independent Police Complaints Commission. And we will work with the police to improve ethnic minority recruitment so that the police better reflect the communities they serve.

The next part of Labour's plan is preventing crime occurring in the first place. We will nip anti-social behaviour in the bud by making offenders put right the wrong they have done, with payback orders replacing low-level cautions. And we will ensure staff who work with the public are given greater protection, with tougher penalties for those who assault them.

The last Labour Government's reforms of youth justice, which required agencies to collaborate in preventing youth offending, reduced both youth crime and the numbers of young people in prison. The next Labour Government will extend this model, piloting a new approach to 18 to 20-year-old offenders, incentivising local authorities, police and probation services to work together to identify those at risk of drifting into criminal activity and, where possible, divert them into a more constructive way of life. And we will work to embed restorative justice right across the youth justice system.

We know drug addiction continues to be a major cause of crime. We will ensure drug treatment services focus on the root causes of addiction, with proper integration between health, police and local authorities in the commissioning of treatment. And we will ban the sale and distribution of dangerous psychoactive substances, so called 'legal highs'.

It is clear that we need a radical change in our approach to dealing with child abuse. We will bring in tough new powers enabling the police to prevent an adult from contacting or communicating with a child if there is evidence of abuse, and strengthen the vetting and barring regime. A new child protection unit will be established to work across government, driving progress in the prevention of child abuse and sexual exploitation.

We need prisons that both punish and rehabilitate people. Labour will do more to increase the amount of time prisoners spend working and learning. Prisons will be measured by how successful they are in reforming prisoners and reducing their re-offending. We will also raise professional standards amongst prison officers, including through the creation of Chartered Prison Officers, and confront the neglected problem of staff corruption.

We will enact Britain's first Victims' Law to give victims of crime a voice and an entitlement to minimum standards of service from criminal justice agencies.

## **Ending violence against girls and women**

Two women a week are killed by a current or former male partner. At least 750,000 children a year witness domestic violence. Stopping violence against women and girls is a priority for Labour.

We will publish a Violence against Women and Girls Bill, appoint a commissioner to set minimum standards in tackling domestic and sexual violence, and provide more stable central funding for women's refuges and Rape Crisis Centres.

We will strengthen the law, banning the use of community resolutions as a response to domestic violence. The gun licensing regime will be tightened, so that people with a history of domestic or sexual violence will not be given an unrestricted license. And we will make changes to DNA retention, so that rape suspects have their DNA recorded and stored.

Victims of domestic violence need far better support. So we will widen access to legal aid for victims of domestic violence.

## **Tackling the threat from extremism**

The threat from Islamist extremism is increasing. Hundreds of British citizens have joined Islamic State – a movement that has engaged in savage violence, and racial and religious hatred.

The British people have faced down terrorist threats before and will do so again, standing united together, not allowing ourselves to be divided.

With Labour, the security services will have the powers they need to disrupt and tackle terrorism. The Government were wrong to weaken counter terror powers by scrapping Control Orders. With Labour, dangerous suspects will be subject to proper controls.

Every government department will be engaged in the work of preventing extremism and fighting terrorism. We will implement a much more rigorous strategy for dealing with people returning from the Syrian conflict. Alongside appropriate police action and prosecution, it will be mandatory for anyone returning to engage in a de-radicalisation programme designed to confront them with the consequences of their actions.

We will need to update our investigative laws to keep up with changing technology, strengthening both the powers available, and the safeguards that protect people's privacy. This is why Labour argued for an independent review, currently being undertaken by David Anderson. We will strengthen the oversight of our intelligence agencies to make sure the public can continue to have confidence in the vital work that they do to keep us safe.

To defeat the threats of Islamist terrorism, we must also engage with the personal, cultural and wider factors that turn young people to extremism. The Prevent programme was set up under the last Labour Government to stop young people becoming radicalised. But this Government has cut the funding and narrowed its focus. Much of the work to engage Muslim communities has been lost.

We will overhaul the programme to involve communities in countering extremist propaganda, stopping young people being groomed, and also building resilient institutions for social integration. We applaud those faith communities who have pioneered an inter-faith dialogue for the common good.

We will take a zero-tolerance approach to hate crime, such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. We will challenge prejudice before it grows, whether in schools, universities or on social media. And we will strengthen the law on disability, homophobic, and transphobic hate crime.

## **Arts and culture**

Labour believes that art and culture gives form to our hopes and aspirations and defines our heritage as a nation. The arts allow us to celebrate our common

humanity in the creation and celebration of beauty. The arts should belong to all and be open to all to take part in.

We will guarantee a universal entitlement to a creative education so that every young person has access to cultural activity and the arts by strengthening creative education in schools and after-school clubs. Institutions that receive arts funding will be required to open up their doors to young people, and we will work with public bodies to rebalance arts funding across the country.

The last Labour Government made admission to our national museums and galleries free to all, leading to a major increase in the number of people experiencing our greatest cultural treasures. We reaffirm our commitment to universal free admission to ensure that our great works of art and national heritage can be enjoyed in all parts of the country.

Creativity is the powerhouse of a prosperous economy. It is the source of economic innovation and a powerful force in social renewal. We will increase the number of apprenticeships in the creative industries.

We will create a Prime Minister's Committee on the Arts, Culture and Creative Industries, with a membership drawn from all sectors and regions. The Committee will bring issues of concern direct to the attention of the Prime Minister.

## **Sport**

Sport brings us together in an expression of our local and national pride. It is where young people learn about leadership, teamwork, the pursuit of excellence and strength of character. With a Labour Government our children will participate in a minimum of two hours of organised sport every week at school.

Football clubs are an important part of many people's identity and sense of belonging. They are more than just businesses. But despite their importance in the lives of their members and supporters, too often there are no effective means for fans to have a say in how their clubs are run. Labour will provide



the means for supporters to be a genuine part of their clubs. We will introduce legislation to enable accredited supporters trusts to appoint and remove at least two of the directors of a football club and to purchase shares when the club changes hands. We will also review the role of fan participation in other sports.

We will ensure the Premier League delivers on its promise to invest five per cent of its domestic and international television rights income into funding the grassroots.

## **Protecting our environment**

We feel passionately about our local landscapes, our open spaces and wildlife. Land and nature are part of our common home and inheritance, and they contribute to our sense of identity. In a globalised world, our local environment provides us with a sense of place and belonging.

As we set out in more detail later on, a Labour Government will play a leading global role in tackling climate change. However, it will not be enough to simply mitigate the threat of climate change. We must adapt to its damaging effects, which are impacting on us today. We will produce an ambitious adaptation programme, and the new Infrastructure Commission will prioritise investment in flood prevention. We will deal with the problems of air pollution by giving local authorities the powers they need, backed up by a national framework.

Labour has always believed that everyone should have access to nature, whoever they are, or wherever they live. So we will keep our forests in public ownership, and promote access to green spaces in local planning. We will support the work of the Natural Capital Committee to protect and improve wildlife habitats and green spaces, and make them an important part of our thriving tourism industry.

We will build on our strong record on animal welfare – starting with an end to the Government's ineffective and cruel badger cull. We will improve the protection of dogs and cats, ban wild animals in circuses, defend the hunting ban and deal with wildlife crime associated with shooting.

We want to create a world-leading Food, Farm and Fisheries sector that creates better paid jobs and apprenticeships across the rural economy. We will put in place a long-term strategy for the sector, promote the best of British produce, and expand the role of the supermarket watchdog to support the growth of the sector, and protect food producers from unfair practices by the major supermarkets.

## Labour will:

extend free childcare from 15 to 25 hours for working parents of three and four-year-olds, and ensure all primary schools guarantee access to wraparound childcare from 8am to 6pm

double paternity leave from two to four weeks and increase paternity pay by more than £100 a week

ensure at least 200,000 new homes a year are built by 2020, with first priority for local first time buyers

provide security for renters by guaranteeing three-year tenancies with a ceiling on excessive rent rises

introduce a compulsory jobs guarantee, paid for by a Bank Bonus Tax

abolish the Bedroom Tax

ensure migrants will not be able to claim benefits until they have lived here for at least two years

make it illegal for employers to undercut wages by exploiting workers

protect neighbourhood policing by safeguarding over 10,000 frontline police officers over the next three years

give football fans a voice in club boardrooms.



June, Community Activist



Kirsty, Student

We will reform  
government  
to give more power  
to people

**People who live in this country know that too much power is concentrated in too few hands. Those who make decisions on behalf of others, whether they are in Westminster, the European Union, in business, the media, or the public sector, are too often unaccountable. Our over-centralised system of government has prevented our nations, cities, county regions and towns from being able to take control and change things for themselves. We will end a century of centralisation.**

Labour believes meaningful and lasting change for the better is only possible when people are given the power to change things for themselves. Our governing mission is to break out of the traditional top-down, 'Westminster knows best approach', and devolve power and decision-making to people and their local communities.

From the City of London to Silicon Valley the world's best industries tend to be clustered geographically. And too often economic challenges can be too, from our coalfields to some of our isolated seaside towns. So a Labour government will unleash the potential of our city and county regions to drive economic growth and prosperity. We will reform institutions and devolve power to deal with the causes of our economic problems, and we will encourage local authorities to innovate to better serve their communities.

Instead of imposing change on communities, we will give them more control over schools, health care, policing, skills, housing and transport, making use of their insights into what works and what does not. We will promote and encourage a model of citizenship based on participation and shared responsibility.

These measures are the start of big changes in how we govern ourselves as a union of nations. They will begin to transform the relationship between the citizen and the state.

We will further develop digital government to enable better communication, more collaboration, and sharing of data between services. It will make services and transactions more efficient and simpler for people to use. To create a more connected society we will support making digital government more inclusive,

transparent and accountable. We will continue to back the principle of 'open data by default', releasing public sector performance data wherever possible.

## **A better politics**

We will give 16 and 17-year-olds the vote by May 2016, and improve the curriculum for citizenship education, so young people have the knowledge they need to play a full part in British society. We will encourage young people's volunteering and social action by supporting the #iwill campaign of 'Step up to Serve', and the National Citizens Service.

Drawing on the work of the Political and Constitutional Reform Committee, we will take steps to ensure that the move to individual electoral registration does not leave millions unregistered, nor lead to constituencies that fail to take into account the people who live in them. This will include block registration by universities and care homes, extending Northern Ireland's successful Schools Initiative, and exploring the scope for an automatic system of registration. Labour remains committed to reforming political party funding and taking the big money out of politics by capping individual donations to parties.

We will safeguard our democracy by repealing the Lobbying Act, which has gagged charities, and replace it with a tougher statutory register of lobbyists. We will ban MPs from holding paid directorships and consultancies. And we will reform the legislative process to strengthen the public's voice and to better hold the government to account.

## **The United Kingdom**

Labour believes in the historic union of our nations working together for the common good. But as devolution has continued to gather pace, our union now needs to evolve. As a priority, we will set up a people-led Constitutional Convention to directly address this and to drive political reform of Westminster.



Labour is committed to replacing the House of Lords with an elected Senate of the Nations and Regions, to represent every part of the United Kingdom, and to improve the democratic legitimacy of the second chamber. It is also time to consider how English MPs can have a greater role in the scrutiny of legislation that only affects England. This includes the option put forward by Sir William McKay, of a committee stage made up of English-only MPs. These ideas must now be considered as part of the Constitutional Convention process.

## England

We will embark on the biggest devolution of power to our English city and county regions in a hundred years with an English Devolution Act. It will transfer £30 billion of funding to city and county regions, along with new powers over economic development, skills, employment, housing, and business support. This will include control over local transport systems so that in future, local bodies can integrate trains, buses, trams and cycling into a single network. We will enable city and county regions to retain 100 per cent of additional business rates raised from growth in their area.

Fair funding will be restored across England, alongside longer term multi-year budgets, so that local authorities can plan ahead on the basis of need in their area and protect vital services. And an English Regional Cabinet Committee, chaired by the Prime Minister, will be convened regularly, attended by the relevant Secretaries of State and leaders of our major city and county regions.

In return for greater devolution of funding and responsibility, we will establish local Public Accounts Committees, so that every pound spent by local bodies creates value for money for local taxpayers.

Devolution does not end at town halls. Local people know best about the complex problems they face, and they are best placed to work out how to solve them.

The English New Deal begins the process of giving individuals and communities more power and control over how they are governed and over the design of

their public services. It will support people who need care to live independently, help troubled families to turn their lives around, and make sure that every child has a good start in life with early-years intervention and quality childcare.

We will give English people a stronger voice in shaping the future of their local NHS services. Patients and the public will have a seat at the table from the very start of any process that draws up plans for change, including changes to hospital services.

We will give local communities more power to shape their high streets, and so preserve their local identities. Councils will be given the power to require particular types of shops to apply for planning permission, allowing them to restrict the number of payday lenders or other shops that are clustering on a single high street. Communities will be able to review betting shop licenses in their area and reduce the number of fixed-odds betting terminals in existing betting shops – or ban them entirely – in response to local concerns.

## **Scotland**

In September 2014, people across Scotland voted overwhelmingly for change. Labour will keep its vow and implement the Smith Agreement in full. And we will go further, with a Home Rule Bill to give extra powers to Scotland over tax, welfare and jobs. Rates of income tax will be set in Scotland. Billions of pounds of social security spending will be devolved, including benefits that support disabled people. The Work Programme will also be devolved along with a greater ability to invest in capital projects.

The new devolution settlement will recognise the strength and security offered by being part of the United Kingdom. We will maintain the Barnett formula, and Scotland will continue to benefit from pooling and sharing resources across the UK.

## **Wales**

Labour will put Welsh devolution on the same statutory basis as Scottish devolution, with a clear principle that powers are devolved unless specifically reserved, and that a Welsh legislature is a permanent feature of our constitutional arrangements. We will take forward proposals from the Silk Commission to extend the power the people of Wales have over their elections, transport and energy. An all-Wales Policing Plan will give the Welsh people the ability to shape local policing in Wales.

Wales must not be unfairly disadvantaged by the Barnett formula. So while the Conservatives have cut the Welsh budget by £1.5 billion, we will establish a fair funding settlement for Wales, with the guarantee of a funding floor.

## **Northern Ireland**

Labour is proud of the role we played in bringing peace and stability to Northern Ireland through the Good Friday Agreement, and successive agreements. A Labour Government will engage proactively with the Northern Ireland Executive to support continued political progress, and deliver on its vision of a shared future. We will ensure the economic pact between the UK Government and Northern Ireland Executive is focused on stimulating jobs and growth which contribute to reducing unemployment and poverty in Northern Ireland. We will continue to work with the Irish Government to secure peace in Northern Ireland and strengthen relations between our two countries.

## **Rights and equality**

The Labour Party has always led on challenging prejudice and discrimination and we will continue to do so. People's differences are not excuses to treat them badly or unjustly.

The next Labour Government will go further in reducing discrimination against women, requiring large companies to publish their gender pay gap and strengthening the law against maternity discrimination. Where there is evidence more progress is needed, we will enforce the relevant provisions within the Equality Act.

We want our Parliament to look more like Britain. We are proud of our record in strengthening the representation of women, ethnic minorities, and other under-represented groups in politics and public life. We remain committed to achieving a better balance in Parliament, including through the use of all-women shortlists in Labour Party parliamentary selection contests.

We will establish a comprehensive race equality strategy to break down the barriers still faced by black and minority ethnic communities. Our aim is to make sure our national institutions, including Parliament, the police, judiciary, civil service, and the boardrooms of our companies, are more representative of our diverse country.

We will also build on our history of championing LGBT rights, tackling homophobia with tougher laws at home and greater engagement abroad.

Britain has a long tradition of liberty and the rule of law, and Labour has a proud record of extending these to our most vulnerable citizens, by promoting equality and opportunity for all.

Thanks to the Human Rights Act, some of our most vulnerable citizens, including disabled people and victims of crime, have been given a powerful means of redress. The Conservatives want to leave the European Convention of Human Rights, and abolish the Human Rights Act. A Labour Government will stand up for citizens' individual rights, protecting the Human Rights Act and reforming, rather than walking away from, the European Court of Human Rights. And we will make sure that access to legal representation, a cornerstone of our democracy, is not determined by personal wealth, but remains available to those that need it.

Our Freedom of Information laws have shone a light into the darker corners of government and are a crucial check on the power of the Executive. We will extend their scope so that public services run by large private companies are included. And we will repair the damage done by this Government to the vital safeguard offered by judicial review.

## The media

The free flow of information and of different points of view is crucial for open debate and countering concentrations of unaccountable power. That is why the concentration of media power in too few hands is damaging to our democracy. No one media owner should be able to exert undue influence on public opinion and policy makers. No media company should have so much power that those who run it believe themselves above the rule of law.

Yet the current system for protecting against these threats is inadequate. Labour will take steps to protect the principle of media plurality, so that no media outlet can get too big, including updating our rules for the 21st century media environment.

We remain strongly committed to the implementation of the recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry. We expect the industry to establish a mechanism for independent self-regulation, which delivers proper redress for individuals, as set out in the Royal Charter, and agreed by all parties in Parliament. We made a promise to victims of the phone hacking scandal. We stand by that promise and will keep it.

Our system of public service broadcasting is one of Britain's great strengths. The BBC makes a vital contribution to the richness of our cultural life, and we will ensure that it continues to do so while delivering value for money. We will also commit to keeping Channel 4 in public ownership, so it continues to produce vital public content.

## Labour will:

set up a people-led Constitutional Convention to determine the future of UK's governance

replace the House of Lords with a Senate of the Nations and Regions

pass an English Devolution Act, handing £30 billion of resources and powers to our great English city and county regions

give new powers for communities to shape their high streets, including power over payday lenders and the number of fixed-odds betting terminals

meet our promises to devolve further powers to Scotland and Wales

give 16 and 17-year-olds the vote

create a statutory register of lobbyists

ban MPs from holding paid directorships and consultancies

require large companies to publish their gender pay gap

implement the recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry.



Amanda and Nawfal, with their son Adam







Stephen, Head of Operations and Maintenance

We will stand up  
for Britain's  
interests in Europe  
and the world

**We live in turbulent times. The rise of ISIL, an aggressive Russia threatening its neighbours in eastern Europe, and continuing economic uncertainty in the Eurozone, are each a challenge to our national security. Labour is an internationalist party and believes Britain must engage with the global challenges we face, but not try and solve them on our own. We believe the Conservatives are damaging the interests of our country by turning their backs on Europe, and isolating us abroad. We will strengthen our national security, stand up for human rights, and work with other countries to tackle terrorism, climate change, and eliminate extreme poverty globally.**

Britain has a unique influence in the world. We are the only country that is a member of the UN Security Council, NATO, the G7, the G20, the Commonwealth and the EU.

With Labour, Britain's response to threats to our security will be based on enduring principles. We will protect our national interests, and strengthen our long-standing international alliances, in particular, our membership of NATO and the European Union. We will advance our international engagement, rather than retreating into isolation. We will maintain the best Armed Forces in the world, capable of responding to changing threats in an unpredictable security landscape. And we will support human rights, always putting individual freedom and democracy at the heart of our foreign policy.

One of our first acts in government will be to conduct a wide-ranging review of Britain's place in the world and how we can best uphold our values and the national interest.

## **Global challenges**

We will take a multilateral approach to global challenges. We will continue to uphold our key alliances. These include the United States, our allies in Africa and Latin America, and our partners from across the Commonwealth. They

also include the European Union. The crisis in Ukraine over the past year has demonstrated the importance of NATO and the EU standing up to external threats in Europe's eastern, and southern neighbourhoods. Labour will continue to advocate an EU which looks outward to promote stability, peace and prosperity on its borders.

Most immediately we will work with our allies to counter and confront terrorism. ISIL's barbarism and expansionist ideology, alongside terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and Al-Shabaab, represent a particular threat to global security. Following a request from the Iraqi Prime Minister, it was right that the UK joined other nations in air strikes against ISIL targets in Iraq. But military action alone will not defeat ISIL. A long-term multinational political strategy, with regional actors playing a central role, is essential for tackling the rise of extremism across the region.

A Labour Government will always do what is necessary to defend our country. Beyond self-defence, Labour has been clear about the need to learn the lessons of previous interventions, especially the 2003 invasion of Iraq. We will continue the approach we have taken in this Parliament. A Labour Government would not propose the use of military force without judging whether reasonable diplomatic efforts have been exhausted, the action is proportionate and in partnership with allies, whether there is a clear legal basis, and if there is a clear plan, not just for winning the war but also for building a lasting peace.

Peace and security in the Middle East are one of Labour's most important foreign policy objectives. We remain committed to a comprehensive two-state solution – a secure Israel alongside a viable and independent state of Palestine. There can be no military solution to this conflict and all sides must avoid taking action that would make peace harder to achieve. Labour will continue to press for an immediate return to meaningful negotiations leading to a diplomatic resolution.

Labour will also continue to honour the UK's commitment to support Afghanistan as it seeks to secure an inclusive and durable political settlement. In December 2014, the NATO-led ISAF mission in Afghanistan ended. We can never repay the debt owed to the brave servicemen and women who have

sacrificed and risked their lives in Afghanistan to protect our national security.

As power and wealth continues to shift from West to East, our relationship with Asia will be fundamental to our long-term prosperity. Labour will set up an Asia Step-Change Taskforce to ensure a more strategic and effective dialogue with regional partners, including China, both in the commercial realm, and in other areas, from cultural exchange to human rights.

This commitment to universal human rights will be at the heart of our foreign policy across the world. We will continue to promote women's rights. We will join with those campaigning to attain gender equality, the eradication of poverty and inclusive economic growth. We will appoint a Global Envoy for Religious Freedom, and establish a multi-faith advisory council on religious freedom within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. And we will appoint an International LGBT Rights Envoy to promote respect for the human rights of LGBT people, and work towards the decriminalisation of homosexuality worldwide.

## Europe

Labour believes that our membership of the European Union is central to our prosperity and security. It is why we will work to change the EU, so that it operates in the best interests of our country. And it is why we will re-engage with our European allies to protect our national interest after five years of Britain being sidelined in Europe and isolated abroad.

The economic case for membership of the EU is overwhelming. Over 3 million jobs in the UK are linked to trade with the European Union, and almost half of our trade and foreign investment comes from the EU. Competing in the single market, with the best companies in the world, drives competitiveness and innovation for firms in all parts of our economy. And it helps boost the living standards of people across Britain, encouraging the inflow of capital and investment.

Our reforms will help deliver a Europe focused on jobs and growth, not simply more austerity and rising unemployment. Labour will focus on the completion of the single market and tougher budget discipline, including on those items where spending at the EU level can save money at the national level. That means driving reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and a Commission-led zero-based review of spending on EU agencies to reduce waste and inefficiency. We will not join the Euro, and we will ensure EU rules protect the interests of non-Euro members.

A Labour Government helped to introduce sensible measures at EU level to protect the rights of British workers, and we remain committed to fighting to protect these measures.

People coming to Britain from the EU to look for work are expected to contribute to our economy, and to our society. So we will secure reforms to immigration and social security rules, as well as pushing for stronger transitional controls, which will enable member states to manage the flow of workers for longer when new countries join.

We will also continue to open up EU decision-making, and implement institutional reforms to help build levels of trust among European citizens. We will work to strengthen the influence national parliaments over European legislation, by arguing for a 'red-card mechanism' for member states, providing greater parliamentary scrutiny.

Labour's priority in government will be protecting the NHS and tackling the cost-of-living crisis. It is not to take Britain out of Europe. However, Labour will legislate for a lock that guarantees that there can be no transfer of powers from Britain to the European Union without the consent of the British public through an in/out referendum.

## **Defence and our Armed Forces**

The primary duty of any government is the defence of the nation and its interests. That is why Labour is committed to ensuring the UK has responsive, high-tech Armed Forces, with the capability to respond to emerging, interconnected

threats, in an unpredictable security landscape. We will conduct a Strategic Defence and Security Review in the first year of government, with an inclusive national debate on the security and defence challenges facing the country. It will be fiscally responsible and strategically driven, focusing on the obstacles that impede our Armed Forces from effective response to threats.

At the heart of our defence policy are the service men and women, both regulars and reservists, who risk their lives for their country. Labour will strengthen the covenant between our nation and our Armed Forces, veterans and their families. We will create a Veterans' Register to make certain our veterans receive proper support on leaving service.

We will continue to roll out Labour's Veterans' Interview Programme, in which companies voluntarily guarantee an interview for job-seeking ex-forces personnel. We will introduce legislation to make discrimination against members of our Armed Forces illegal, and we will enshrine the Military Covenant in the NHS Constitution.

The UK defence and security industry is a key contributor to our economy, with a turnover of £22 billion a year. We will work to secure defence jobs across the UK, protect the supply chain and support industry to grow Britain's defence exports. In partnership with industry, we will put accountability, value for money, interoperability and sustainability at the centre of defence procurement.

Britain needs to be prepared to counter the threat of cyber-attacks. We have already called on the Government to require every company working with the Ministry of Defence, regardless of its size or the scale of its work, to sign up to a cyber-security charter. This would reduce the risk of hackers using small suppliers to break into the systems of major defence companies or the department itself. We will consult on creating a statutory requirement for all private companies, to report serious cyber-attacks threatening our national infrastructure.

Labour remains committed to a minimum, credible, independent nuclear capability, delivered through a Continuous At-Sea Deterrent. We will actively work to increase momentum on global multilateral disarmament efforts and

negotiations, and look at further reductions in global stockpiles and the numbers of weapons.

## Climate change

We will put climate change at the heart of our foreign policy. As the terrible impact of the floods in Britain showed last year, climate change is now an issue of national, as well as global security. From record droughts in California, to devastating typhoons in the Philippines, the world is already seeing the effects we once thought only future generations would experience.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has made clear that if the world is going to hold warming below two degrees (the internationally-agreed goal), global emissions need to peak in around 2020, and then decline rapidly to reach net zero emissions by the second half of this century. The weaker the action now, the more rapid and costly the reductions will need to be later.

The effects of climate change hit the poor, the hardest. If we do not tackle climate change, millions of people will fall into poverty. We will expand the role of the Department of International Development to mitigate the risks of a changing climate, and support sustainable livelihoods for the world's poorest people.

We want an ambitious agreement on climate change at the UNFCCC conference in Paris, in December. We will make the case for ambitious emissions targets for all countries, strengthened every five years on the basis of a scientific assessment of the progress towards the below two degree goal. And we will push for a goal of net zero global emissions in the second half of this century, for transparent and universal rules for measuring, verifying and reporting emissions, and for an equitable deal in which richer countries provide support to poorer nations in combatting climate change.



## International development

We are proud that Labour MPs passed the historic law that commits Britain to spend 0.7 per cent of our gross national income on international development. Labour will use that commitment from the British public to transform the lives of the world's poorest people, whilst ensuring value for taxpayers' money. We will work in fragile and conflict-affected states to improve the lives of those affected by violence, prioritising the protection and education of women and children. We will rebalance the budget to focus funding on the world's poorest countries.

While progress has been made towards the Millennium Development Goals, it is unacceptable that over a billion people still live on less than \$1.25 a day. We will work with other countries at this year's Sustainable Development Goals Summit to unite the world to eradicate extreme poverty, tackle growing economic inequality, and place human rights at the heart of development. We will establish a Centre for Universal Health Coverage to provide the support, encouragement, and global partnerships needed to help countries provide free healthcare. We will lead efforts to reshape the UN humanitarian system to better equip it to save lives.

The private sector is essential to long-term development, and is often a positive force for change. We will extend the sharing of tax information to developing countries, increase DFID's help to governments to collect more of their own taxes, tackle corruption, and ensure good governance. We will work with companies to ensure they have sustainable supply chains that are free from slavery, treat their workers fairly, and pay taxes where they are due.

## Labour will:

conduct a Strategic Defence and Security Review in the first year of government

return Britain to a leadership role in Europe, but reform the EU so that it works for Britain

guarantee no powers will be transferred to Brussels without an in/out referendum

appoint an International LGBT Rights Envoy and a Global Envoy for Religious Freedom

outlaw discrimination against and abuse of members of the Armed Forces

enshrine the Military Covenant in the NHS Constitution

push for global targets to tackle inequality and promote human rights

establish a Centre for Universal Health Coverage

push for an ambitious target in Paris to get to goal of net zero global emissions in the second half of this century.



Maliha, Freelance Animator

# Time for change

## **In this election the country has a choice.**

Either we can carry on as we are, with an economy that might work for some in the City of London but shuts out millions of people in the rest of the country. A country in which young people are left facing a worse life than their parents and an NHS under huge strain faces a real threat to its future.

Or we can change direction, together, with Labour.

We don't promise the earth. All our commitments in this manifesto are fully funded, so they can be delivered without a penny of borrowing.

But our policies will bring hope and make Britain work for working people once again.

Working people want an economy with better jobs and higher skills. Families want to know they are guaranteed decent schools and good healthcare. Mothers and fathers want a better future for their children. Individuals and communities in every part of our country want to have control over their lives and for those in power to be held to account. Everyone, young and old, wants a sense of belonging and safety in their communities.

We deserve a country where everyone plays by the same rules, including those at the top.

**That's what this manifesto offers. It is the kind of country we know we have it in ourselves to be. Let's build it together.**



Andy, Docker

