

Not

The Conservative Party Manifesto 2010

It's not what you're voting for. It's what you're going to get.

Introduction: *What David Cameron isn't saying*

This is a historic document which sets out our vision for Britain in 2012; a document in which we are honest about our intentions.

Britain needs to change.

We recognise that people want a government that will deliver; a government that will spread opportunity, deliver growth and address the problems facing our country.

We will promise that change. We will campaign relentlessly on our promise to be different, to deliver the change the country needs.

But when we said we were different from Labour we meant it. That's why, despite promising change, we will not deliver it.

Instead, in office we will take a different approach. Our vision of change is no change. We will be different by rejecting the last Labour Government's drive to spread power, wealth and opportunity and improve public services. We will reject their active approach of reform, investment and innovation designed to improve the lot of the whole country. Instead we will put into practice our shared conviction that the days of government acting to improve the lot of the majority are over.

Because we are conviction politicians, we will stick to our plan to do nothing even when it is clear it isn't working. Even the longest double-dip recession since the Second World War will not shake us from our chosen path.

We are committed to turning old thinking on its head and developing new approaches to government. So we will reject the traditional promises of competence and effectiveness in office - our watchwords will be shambles and incompetence.

Politicians should not make promises they can't keep - they should be clear about their plans and accountable for their actions. The British people deserve nothing less. That's why this document sets out where we will take the country.

This is a plan which we believe can be delivered in the first half of this Parliament. We invite the British public to judge us on our record.

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A Different Kind of Government

Competent, smoothly-run government may be effective, but it is also boring. It has the major drawback of being less interesting than an incompetent rolling shambles which operates from day to day without any clear strategy in response to the latest headlines, makes up policy without thinking it through before being forced to pull back, and speaks before it thinks. A Conservative Government will not be boring.

Previous Conservative Prime Ministers have claimed that they are "not for turning". We are for turning. You will not believe how much we are for turning. We will u-turn on taxes on pasties, on caravans, on churches, on charities and on skips. We will u-turn on forests, on buzzards, on badgers and on circus animals. We will u-turn on aircraft carriers, on school sports, on school inspections and on sentencing. You name it, we will u-turn on it. **The only thing we won't u-turn on is a cut in the top rate of tax for millionaires and our failing economic plan**, because it's important to be consistent.

Some people will tell you that it is important to think policies through before announcing them. We think the opposite is true. We will announce policies on energy pricing, on wind farms and on bringing back O-Levels before being forced to backtrack. We will rewrite almost an entire Budget. We will be panicked into a pause on a Health Bill halfway through, say we'll listen, and then do all the things people told us they didn't want anyway. We will announce plans to scrap child benefit for higher earners, then make it more complicated without making it fairer.

We will demonstrate the care we take with these matters by appointing as the Minister for Government Policy a man who throws away confidential papers in park bins. **We will happily sign off on a massive NHS reorganisation before noticing that it is incomprehensible, unworkable, wasteful, unpopular and the precise opposite of what we promised in opposition**. We know that we said that we would limit the number of special advisers, but in Government we will increase the number of our special advisers.

We want to widen access to Government policymaking, so we will invite some of the wealthiest and most generous Conservative Party donors to private dinners with the Prime Minister at No.10 Downing Street and Chequers. We will keep this a secret unless something forces it into the open, such as the Conservative Party Treasurer boasting on camera to undercover journalists that he can help them to meet the Prime Minister and influence policy in return for a significant donation. We believe that sunlight is the best disinfectant.

Economy

The world has been through a major economic crisis, but we will inherit a recovering economy. As a result of the measures we will announce, **we will push the UK back into the longest double-dip recession since the Second World War.** We will emerge from this around halfway through the Parliament, in late 2012. We will hold a full Spending Review in the first year of a Conservative Government – despite promising that this will bring Britain back from the brink and being predicted to deliver growth of 4.6% in the following two years, we will claim success when we actually achieve growth of no more than 0.6% over the same period.

When we promise no change we mean it. That's why, **when it becomes clear that our plan is not delivering the growth we expected and that borrowing is rising, we will not change course.** We will not listen to the voices calling for a Plan B to get the economy moving.

While we initially promise to balance the books in five years we expect to revise this after just one year, and as a result be forced to **announce at least two more years of spending cuts in the next Parliament.** We will prove how different we are by arguing that being forced to redefine success is not the same as failing – in fact, when growth finally returns after three quarters of recession we will pretend that this is a vindication of our approach.

In the first half of the 2012-13 financial year, borrowing will be higher than in the same period the year before. A flatlining economy will see the Chancellor of the Exchequer **revise up borrowing forecasts by £150 billion over the course of the Parliament.**

At the halfway point of the next Parliament unemployment will be higher than it was when we came into office and the number of people unemployed for over a year will have increased by over 100,000. **We will increase youth unemployment to over 1 million for the first time since records began,** and keep it above 1 million for almost a year. We will also increase unemployment among women.

Taxation

We do not believe that we are all in this together and so we will work to ensure that those with the broadest shoulders are the first to have their taxes cut. The best way of demonstrating our values is to cut the 50p top rate of tax, **giving a tax cut worth at least £40,000 to 8,000 millionaires** who need government support the least.

We believe it is only fair that pensioners and ordinary working families pay for this £3 billion tax cut. So we will introduce a “Granny Tax” that will see 4.4 million pensioners who pay income tax losing an average of £83 per year and some losing as much as £323.

Families with children must be seen to shoulder the greatest burden. So we will ensure that our changes to tax, tax credits and benefits mean **families with children will lose an average of £511 a year by the mid-point of the Parliament.**

In addition **we will increase VAT to 20 per cent, costing a family with children £450 a year,** irrespective of what we may have said during the General Election campaign.

There are other things we'd like to tax. These include pasties, churches, charities, caravans and skips. We think the best thing to do is to announce new taxes on these in the small print of a Budget and hope nobody notices. It will probably be fine.

Banking

The banks may have caused the financial crisis, but that is no reason for them to change their ways. So **we will ensure that families with children pay at least twice as much as the banks** towards deficit reduction. We will also give the banks a tax cut.

Net lending by the banks to businesses will fall by £39 billion by the mid-point of the Parliament. To demonstrate our inability to take tough action against the banks we will establish a deal with the banks which will fail to meet its target for lending to small businesses. **When the banks miss their small business lending target we will take no action.**

Excessive bank bonuses must be defended. So we will refuse to implement legislation which Labour has put on the statute books to require banks to disclose details of all pay over £1 million. **We will not repeat Labour's bank bonus tax.**

Business

We believe that the point of Government is not to implement plans which create growth and jobs - it is to talk about them, and then forget about them. **Over 33,000 businesses will go bust in our first two years in office.**

We want ministers to lead by example, and will encourage the Conservative Party Chairman to promote "get rich quick" schemes and use a range of alter egos and pseudonyms to create a more credible brand.

We believe in announcing a range of schemes to support businesses but then doing very little to actually deliver on them. **We will scrap Labour's successful Regional Development Agencies and cut funding for regional growth.** We will then establish a Regional Growth Fund that will be slow to get off the ground and, after two years, will have only finalised around a third of expected funding. We will also ensure that only a small number of the expected jobs are delivered. In order to demonstrate our failure to ensure value for money, we will allow some jobs created by it to cost over £200,000 each.

We will announce details of a regional National Insurance Contributions holiday for new small businesses. We will make grand claims for this, but **we expect it to help only around 4 per cent of the number of businesses we initially say it will benefit.**

In addition, we will introduce a new Export Enterprise Finance Guarantee Scheme but scrap it after just a year when it has helped just five businesses.

Rather than focussing on making it easier for firms to hire people we will concentrate on making it easier to fire them. So **we will commission a Conservative Party donor to examine how we can strip employees of their rights.** We expect this report to recommend the introduction of no fault dismissal so employers can fire their employees at will as well as the scaling back other rights such as flexible parental leave. And we will be relaxed if he recommends the abolition of the Gangmasters Licensing Authority.

Families, Children and Older People

We will ensure that families with children pay more than twice as much as the banks in reducing the deficit. Although we have promised not to take tax credits away from families on £31,000, in fact we will do just that.

While we may talk about supporting strivers we will actually make it harder for families to help their children get a good financial start in life. That's why **one of the first things we'll do is scrap the Child Trust Fund, even for the poorest families and those with disabled children** - even though we promised we wouldn't. And despite the wider costs associated with having a baby, we'll make things more difficult for mums to be, by scrapping the Health in Pregnancy Grant.

We will make it harder for parents to work by **cutting the amount of childcare support available through the Working Tax Credit.** This will cost some families who claim the support up to £1,500 a year.

Child benefit is too simple and too easily understood by families and should be made more complex. So **we will introduce a bureaucratic and burdensome means-testing process to remove child benefit from thousands of families.** We will do this in a way that means some couples earning as much as £100,000 will keep all their child benefit, while single-earner families on £50,000 will see theirs cut. We expect the cost of implementing this change will be over £100 million and an additional 500,000 households will need to fill in self-assessment tax forms.

Through our policies, such as cuts to tax credits and changes to taxes and child benefit, we will ensure that **child poverty is forecast to increase by 400,000 by 2015-16.**

Despite our pre-election pledges to protect Sure Start, **we will slash the early intervention funding that pays for Sure Start by £1.1 billion** over the course of this parliament. We will continue to say that we are committed to maintaining a national network of Sure Start centres, but we will be careful not to clarify exactly how many centres, in our view, makes a national network. We promise a net reduction of 281 centres by the summer of 2012 and many more will scale back as a result of our cuts.

We believe older people in our society should pay for a tax cut for millionaires. So **we will introduce a "Granny Tax"** that will see 4.4 million pensioners who pay income tax losing an average of £83 per year and some losing up to £323.

But this is not the only cut we have in mind for older people. **We will cut the amount of support available through the Winter Fuel Allowance** - a cut of £50 for the over-60s and £100 for the over 80s.

Unemployment and Welfare

Long-term unemployment will get worse under our leadership. We will spend over £60 million cancelling contracts through the Flexible New Deal and then introduce a Work Programme that fails to tackle long-term unemployment. **By the mid-point of the Parliament the number of people unemployed for over a year will have increased by over 100,000.**

We will ensure that by changing the eligibility rules for Working Tax Credits **many low-paid families will be better off on benefits than in work.** Our Universal Credit plans could see 2.1 million low income families worse off.

We will introduce a Welfare Reform Act that takes support away from people who need help most. We will time-limit contributory Employment and Support Allowance after just 12 months, hitting people with mental health conditions. **We will cut support for disabled children by around £1,400 per year.**

The benefits system can be made more complex, so we will introduce a system of Universal Credit so complicated that it will begin to unravel before it is implemented. **This policy will end up costing an additional £2.5 billion a year more than we initially announce.**

NHS

We will inherit an NHS in great shape following 13 years of a Labour Government. Waiting times are at a record low, there are more doctors and nurses than ever before and public satisfaction with the NHS has never been higher. So we believe that **what the NHS needs most of all right now is a massive, wasteful top-down reorganisation**. We believe that a time of great financial challenge provides the ideal opportunity to spend billions of pounds ripping up its current structure and creating a wide range of new bureaucratic institutions.

We will guarantee that spending on the NHS is cut for two years running, while spending almost £1 billion making NHS staff redundant. By the time the Parliament reaches its halfway point we believe **we can cut the number of nurses by at least 6,000**. While we waste money on an unwanted, bureaucratic reorganisation we will look to make cutbacks elsewhere by rationing more treatments - including cataract surgery and joint replacement - on grounds of cost. **We will cut mental health services and reduce funding for cancer networks**.

Labour's tough targets mean that patients are seen quickly in A&E. We will relax these targets. As a result, **we will double the number of people who wait more than four hours in A&E**, and increase the number who are held in ambulance queues. As a result of our performance on the NHS, we aim to deliver the biggest drop in NHS satisfaction levels ever recorded.

We will increase bureaucracy by replacing 152 Primary Care Trusts with 212 Clinical Commissioning Groups, and sacking managers before forcing them to reapply for their old jobs in new organisations. **Our new NHS Commissioning Board will be one of the biggest quangos in the world**.

We will introduce changes which will see the NHS run more along the lines of the privatised utilities, with a new economic regulator modelled on the regulators of gas, telecommunications and the railways. **We will allow NHS hospitals to earn up to 49% of their income from private patients**, so that they can prioritise them above NHS patients.

In order to achieve this, **we will pass a Health and Social Care Act three and a half times longer than the Act that set up the NHS in the first place**. We accept that this may take time. If we make a mess of it at the first attempt, we are happy to pause the process, talk to interested parties, ignore them and then carry on with our original plans. We hope that we can unite the medical profession, patients and the public. We aim to achieve an unprecedented coalition - patients, GPs, nurses, midwives, paediatricians, physiotherapists, radiologists, health visitors, geriatricians - opposing our plans to reorganise and fragment the NHS.

Care for elderly and disabled people is one of the greatest public policy challenges we face, so **we will cut spending on adult social care by £1.4 billion**. We need urgent action, so after establishing a commission on long-term care we will ensure no further action is taken until at least 2015.

Schools

Labour reformed and invested in education – new methods, teachers, schools all helped to improve outcomes for our children. We are different.

We believe, based on a hunch, that education was better in the past, when we were growing up. So, to help recreate the education of our childhoods, **we will make the biggest cut to education funding since the 1950s**. We want the majority of schools to see a real-terms budget reduction so that, with leaky roofs and crumbling classrooms, they can really emulate the worst of post-war schooling. To help with this, **we will scrap Labour's Building Schools for the Future programme, stopping over 700 school building projects**.

We will take money away from building new primary school places in areas that need them and divert it to building new schools in areas that don't. **By spring 2012, one in seven parents will fail to get a place for their child at the primary school of their choice**.

We believe that children learn best with their peers, lots of peers. So while Labour legislated to ensure that infants were never in classes with more than 30 pupils, we believe that competing for a teacher's attention is character building. That's why, **by summer 2012, we want to see more than 1,500 infant classes over capacity**.

We will inherit what Ofsted calls the "best generation of teachers ever". But for too long, teaching has been restricted to those who study hard to pass their teaching exams, to those who are qualified – in short, to professionals. Parents deserve to know that anyone can get a job in their child's school, despite having absolutely no teaching qualifications whatsoever. So **we will allow all Academies and Free Schools to employ staff without Qualified Teacher Status**.

We will inherit a steadily growing workforce of teachers. In November 2010 we will publish a White Paper entitled "The Importance of Teaching". We want to prove just how important teachers are to us. **By spring 2012, 10,000 teachers will have left the profession**.

When times are hard we believe the best possible use of taxpayers' money is to prop up a poorly-executed flagship policy. We will invest millions in Free Schools that fail to open or are half empty. **We aim to spend at least £2.3 million on three failed Free Schools by summer 2012** and we will continue to fund schools like the Everton Football Club school even if it has a grand total of just six pupils.

We will secure a positive Olympic legacy by systematically undoing the progress made by the Labour Government on school sport. We will put hurdles in the path of the next generation of Olympic athletes by **relaxing the rules on selling off school playing fields and scrapping Labour's guarantee of two hours of sport per week and School Sport Partnerships**. We will seek to distract attention from and justify these moves by claiming that schools are too focused on "Indian dancing".

Young People

We will say that we want more young people to stay on in education post-16, but that doesn't mean we have to help them do so. In our first Spending Review, **we will scrap Labour's Education Maintenance Allowance**, carefully ignoring the evidence from both the IFS and the LSE that it had significantly increased staying on rates. We will demonstrate the wisdom of this move by autumn 2011 when **almost half of England's FE colleges will see their student numbers fall**.

Under our Government, England will become one of the most expensive places in the world to study. To achieve this **we will treble tuition fees to a maximum of £9,000** and make sure our tuition fees policy costs the taxpayer more, not less, than the policy it replaces - perhaps by as much as £1 billion more than our initial estimate.

We will increase the cost of going to university, but to balance that we will ignore those young people who choose not to go to university. **We will sideline vocational education in schools and oversee a fall in the number of pre-19 apprenticeship places**. We will therefore fail to provide a route for 50% of young people and fail to provide employers with the skills they need even while we achieve record levels of youth unemployment.

Young people need help finding their way into work, but **we will scrap the Future Jobs Fund as soon as we take office**, even though we said during the General Election campaign that it was "a good scheme" which helped thousands of people into jobs. We expect that by the mid-point of the Parliament **the number of young people claiming Jobseeker's Allowance for over a year will have more than trebled** over the previous 12 months.

Crime, Justice and Policing

Crime fell by 43 per cent with the Labour Government and the chance of being a victim of crime is at a historically low level. We believe that the best way of building on this progress is by **slashing the policing budget by 20 per cent, with the aim of reducing the record number of police officers we will inherit by at least 15,000 by 2015.**

Our fairness agenda means ensuring that these cuts impact on all parts of the police force, not just the back office, so despite our previous promises otherwise, **we will cut 6,800 frontline police officers from roles including 999 response, neighbourhood and traffic teams by March 2012.** Our idea of public service reform for the police means opening the door to privatising key functions such as investigating crimes and neighbourhood patrols. We will respect the police and the tireless work they do to keep us safe - unless this gets in the way of a Cabinet Minister and his bicycle, in which case we may verbally abuse them so they know their place.

In the face of public indifference (and let's face it, our own indifference) to our flagship policy of elected Police and Crime Commissioners, we will spend over £100 million on half-heartedly bringing them in. We will do all we can to ensure the elections have a record low turnout, starting with spending an additional £25 million on moving the elections from May to November when it is very cold and dark.

People liked Labour's "tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime" approach, so we'll try and pretend that that "hug a hoodie" stuff didn't happen and will coin the phrase "tough but intelligent" instead. Despite our words we'll continue to cut thousands of police officers, alongside introducing other measures such as **restricting police powers and making it harder for them to use DNA evidence to catch dangerous criminals.**

We will make it more difficult for communities to install the CCTV that helps keep their neighbourhoods safe, and scrap ASBOs, replacing them with a weaker alternative so that repeat anti-social behaviour is no longer a criminal offence. Anti-social behaviour still blights many communities and we will ensure that it stays that way by concocting rules that will make people wait longer for a police response.

We promise that our tough talk on crime will be no more than rhetoric. When you find our first choice for Justice Secretary too weak on crime, we will replace him with someone who voted against tougher sentences for murder, sexual and violent offences and against a minimum five year prison sentence for carrying an illegal gun.

The previous Government introduced tough sentences for dangerous offenders whereby they would not be released unless they were no longer considered a danger to the public. We will abolish them. Because we believe that we are all in it together, victims of crime will also have to bear their fair share of the cuts. So **we will seek to make cuts to the compensation payable to innocent victims of crime and attempt to make it harder to claim legal aid in cases of domestic violence.**

Immigration

We will make our borders less secure by making **20 per cent cuts to the UK Border Agency that will result in over 5,000 fewer border staff by 2015**. This will lead to our borders being undermanned and under-resourced.

Through general mismanagement of the UK Border Agency, by Autumn 2011 we aim to be in a situation where the Home Secretary will be able to announce to Parliament that “we will never know” how many people entered the country that summer without the proper checks.

As a result of our performance in this area we aim for there to be mounting casework backlogs and the writing off of tens of thousands of lost asylum cases.

We will deport fewer foreign national prisoners than the last Government, working to ensure that the numbers decrease year on year. As well as seeing falls in deportation of those who break the rules, we will ensure that the number of people absconding through immigration controls rises.

Instead of focusing on illegal immigration, we will instead seek to prevent and dissuade the legitimate students our economy needs from coming to our country.

By the spring of 2012, our mismanagement of the borders together with the loss of nearly 900 border staff will mean that **thousands of people will be stuck in queues at our major airports** for hours on end at the start of holiday season. This will have the additional benefit of increasing our global profile yet further in advance of the Olympics, albeit it in a slightly negative fashion. To save further embarrassment, after a few weeks of pulling in staff from other parts of the civil service and giving them very basic training, we will ultimately re-employ over 100 of the same border staff that we had already sacked and paid redundancy or retirement packages to.

Despite a pre-election promise to reduce net migration to the tens of thousands, **the official statistics will show that there has been no significant statistical change in net migration and that figures are still well in excess of 200,000**. But we will continue to spout rhetoric on this subject rather than dwelling on the reality. No ifs. No buts. That's a promise we made to the British people. And it's a promise we will keep.

Defence

In opposition, we could not have been clearer about the importance of supporting the military. We have pledged to restore three army battalions and said that any cuts to the Royal Navy would be "a betrayal of our heritage and downright irresponsible in a dangerous age". We believe that **cutting 30,000 Armed Forces personnel including 20,000 from the Army, and leaving large capability gaps such as in maritime surveillance and having an aircraft carrier at sea**, is entirely in keeping with both the letter and the spirit of our promises to the military and the electorate.

Armed forces morale is too high. We can and will lower it. We see no reason why serving soldiers should not be sacked by email.

At the same time, we will change service pensions so that **Armed Forces personnel including those injured in the line of duty and war widows, as well as Forces' families, will lose out.**

Given that we are an island state, and that planes flown from Britain's aircraft carriers have been used in almost every intervention in modern times, **we will scrap our Harrier jump jets**, meaning that we will no longer have the capability to launch fighter jets at sea until 2020. After all, we probably won't need to use them. **We will sell our Harriers to the US Marine Corps at a knock-down price.**

We will abandon Labour's plans for the Short Take-Off and Vertical Landing variant of our aircraft carrier programme, moving instead to plans for "cats and traps", before reverting to Labour's previous policy at an additional cost of up to £250 million - more than twice as much as the price we will sell our Harriers to America for. We think that this will help us to demonstrate our competence in defence procurement.

Bearing in mind the special sensitivity of the Defence brief, **the Defence Secretary will take on one of his friends as an unofficial "adviser"**, and will allow him to accompany him to meetings both inside the Ministry of Defence and overseas.

Europe

At a time when our domestic priorities – from economic stability to climate change, national security to new jobs – are more dependent than ever on international partnerships, **we will choose to be on the periphery of international affairs, especially in Europe.**

We have already isolated ourselves from Europe by leaving the largest political grouping in the European Parliament in favour of politicians who, either as official party policy or individual opinions, have expressed views on topics from gay rights to climate change which are the opposite of what David Cameron says the modern Conservative Party stands for. But we can go further. **We will walk out of the most important European Summit for a generation, and get nothing for it.**

We will talk tough on Europe. We hope that tough talk will be enough to distract the public from the fact that we will not act tough. For example, **we will boldly call for a real terms freeze in the EU budget in our first year in office, but then quietly agree to a 2.91% increase that same year.** In 2012, the Conservative Party will show that it is still torn over Europe when the Prime Minister makes it clear that he is content to see a cash increase in the European budget. We will not repatriate any of the powers from Europe that we promised in opposition, but we will conduct a review – one which will not produce specific recommendations.

Last time we were in government, we let public squabbles over Europe tear the Conservative Party apart. It will probably be fine this time. If we say we're vaguely in favour of a referendum on an unspecified topic at some undefined point in the future, we expect that all our problems will go away and our backbenchers will forget about it.

Transport

Britain's railways are booming, with more passengers than at any time since the 1940s. But many services are overcrowded. We will tackle demand by allowing train operating companies to make massive fare increases. **We will reverse Labour's decision to impose a strict cap on rail fare rises**, instead returning to the system which allowed the operators to average out their fare increases across a number of routes, meaning passengers on many of the most popular routes will see far higher rises than others.

Passengers will still be allowed to upgrade standard class tickets to first class on payment of an additional fee. We expect senior Cabinet Ministers to be able to take advantage of this option.

Alongside fare hikes, we will cancel, downgrade or stall many of the schemes Labour has announced to improve our transport capacity and infrastructure, such as major rail electrification schemes, rolling stock procurement and station renovations. In many cases we will announce the continuation or reinstatement of stalled or cancelled schemes in the second or third year of a Conservative Government as our economic plan fails. Naturally we will try our best to make these schemes sound like brand new announcements.

Alongside this, **we will waste at least £40 million of taxpayers' money by thoroughly botching the refranchising of the West Coast Mainline rail route**. We will ensure that ministers take no responsibility for this - we will blame civil servants.

Meanwhile, through cuts to bus subsidy **we will secure the removal of lifeline local bus services** and oversee fare increases across the unregulated network.

Labour has gone too far in making our roads among the safest in the world. **We will cut back on successful road safety measures and publicity schemes**. We will consider raising the speed limit on Britain's motorways, although any decision on this is unlikely to come soon enough to save the job of the Energy Secretary.

Environment

The protection of our natural environment, wildlife and habitats has not been high profile enough. A Conservative Government will raise the profile of the work of the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs through a string of incompetent policy mistakes followed by embarrassing U-turns.

By the mid-point of the Parliament, we will announce, pursue and ultimately abandon or delay several highly unpopular decisions.

We will attempt to sell off huge swathes of the national forests, relenting only when public outcry has reached a deafening peak. **We will announce a badger cull, in the face of clear scientific evidence that it will be ineffective**, announcing a delay only at the last minute. **We will claim that a ban on circus animals would be impossible** in the face of EU legal challenges, despite it being clear that most of our own backbenchers and the public support a ban.

Recent major floods such as those in 2007 have shown the danger that flooding poses for many communities and families across Britain. As flood risk rises, rather than investing in defences, **we will cut the flood defence budget by up to 30 per cent.**

Energy and Climate Change

As part of our attempt to rebrand the Conservative Party, we have tried to encourage people to think we buy into the green agenda. We will make ambitious promises about the extent of our commitment to tackling climate change and supporting low carbon growth - **we will even promise “the greenest government ever”, because we think that’s a pretty good soundbite.**

But by the midpoint of this Parliament, we aim to abandon such promises in favour of anti-green rhetoric. We believe that environmental measures are a burden on industry, and so we will ignore calls from industry itself for a clear framework to stimulate investment in new low carbon technology and jobs.

Britain risks getting too far ahead of the competition on low carbon industry. In order to give our international competitors a chance to catch up, we will put in place measures to damage industrial confidence in Britain’s low carbon sector. **We will review the feed-in tariff to downgrade support for solar power,** in order to stem the threat of a growing renewable energy sector and the jobs it may create. And **we will delay the proposed Green Investment Bank, and deny it the ability to borrow,** so that any impact it has in this Parliament is limited at best.

Because many hard-pressed families are not quite hard-pressed enough, we will not take any action to make the energy market work in favour of the consumer, and instead **we will allow the six big energy companies to keep raising their prices steeply** when energy wholesale prices rise, and ignore their failure to reduce them by the same extent as wholesale prices fall.

We will make sure that our policy on renewable energy has something for everyone - an attack on windfarms for people who don't like windfarms, and a defence of windfarms for people who do, ideally all at the same time. We want the Department for Energy and Climate Change to play a full part in this Government gaining a reputation as shambolic and chaotic, and the Prime Minister will take a leading role in making this happen by announcing an energy pricing policy that ministers will be unable to defend.

Culture, Media and Sport

We want our media policy to be even-handed. So we will arrange for one Cabinet Minister to announce that he has declared war on Rupert Murdoch at the same time as another Cabinet Minister is colluding with News Corporation to support its planned takeover of BSkyB.

We believe that phone hacking is morally indefensible. **We will appoint Andy Coulson, who resigned from the News of the World over phone hacking in 2006, as Director of Government Communications.** Everyone deserves a second chance. The Prime Minister will make sure that he keeps an appropriate distance from News Corporation by sending frequent text messages to Rebekah Brooks, having regular dinner parties with her, and riding her horse. We will attempt to find out what "LOL" stands for.

The way people communicate is changing with new technology, and we will keep up to date with those changes. **We will operate a backchannel of communication between the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and News Corporation,** not just by letter but also by email and text message.

If any of our ministers are discovered to be behaving inappropriately - which, of course, they never, ever would - we will do everything we can to ensure that they do not resign. If possible, we will even promote them. There is always a junior member of staff to take the blame - the buck stops with them.

Local Government and Housing

We are big fans of talking about localism, and the decisions we really like to see being taken locally are the tough ones – so that we can't be blamed for them. So we'll force councils to take a lot of tough decisions – and our plan to frontload above-average cuts to local government finance will mean that only the councils in the most affluent areas will be able to avoid **cutting back on key frontline services such as social care, local transport, street cleaning, waste collection and libraries**. And we'll demonstrate our unique set of priorities when our changes to council tax benefit see the most vulnerable being hit hardest again.

As part of our economic plan, **we will oversee a major downturn in housebuilding**, putting pressure on an already dysfunctional market, and damaging the construction industry.

Young families and individuals have it too good these days – so we will watch as home ownership becomes increasingly out of reach for many more potential first time buyers. By midway through our first term the average age of an unassisted first time buyer should be approaching forty.

Meanwhile, for those in need of affordable housing to rent, **we will cut the budget for new affordable homes by 60%**. We will deliver a collapse in affordable housing supply, with new social housing becoming increasingly rare. And we will destabilise social tenants with plans to scrap secure tenancies and a move to link rents to market prices. Naturally, **homelessness and rough sleeping will rise**.

Only with a planning policy that creates genuine confusion among developers, local authorities and communities will we truly be able to deliver the kind of failure in new housing we aspire to. So we will start off by scrapping the existing framework and then delaying implementation of a new one, and initially emphasise a commitment to localism in planning before signalling a complete switch in emphasis by threatening to remove local decision-making powers on planning from councils who refuse too many planning applications. Confused yet?

Big Society

We have been going on about the Big Society for some time now. No one really understands it, and we don't really know what it means either. But **by May 2011 we aim to have relaunched the Big Society at least five times**. We will take a decision later about whether we will keep talking about the Big Society or give up entirely.

We will make sure that there is a gap between our Big Society rhetoric and the reality of our policies, ensuring that cuts have a devastating impact on the voluntary sector.

We will announce a new cap on income tax reliefs for charitable giving. This is the kind of thing that charities are likely to get annoyed about, since it will certainly have a major impact on their ability to raise funds, so we'll see how this one goes. If we have to u-turn on this, it's not the end of the world.

