The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

A future fair for all

labour.org.uk/manifesto
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50 steps to a fairer future for all 11:1
Foreword from Gordon Brown

This General Election is fought as our troops are bravely fighting to defend the safety of the British people and the security of the world in Afghanistan. They bring great pride and credit to our country: we honour and will always support them.

At the same time the world has been rocked by the first great crisis of the new global economic age.

In Britain, the political crisis caused by expenses has undermined the bond of trust between the people and the politicians elected to serve them.

So this cannot, and will not, be a ‘business as usual’ election or Manifesto. In this Manifesto we set out plans to address the main future challenges we face in our economy, our society and our politics. We will rebuild the economy to secure the recovery and invest in future growth and jobs. We will renew our society to further strengthen the communities that bind our country together. And we will restore trust in politics with greater transparency and accountability in a system battered by the expenses scandal.

This programme for further national renewal meets the big challenges of the age. Our Manifesto is ambitious but affordable, bold but realistic, and learns from the lessons we take from our experience to date. Over the next ten years we will confront major challenges - intensive global competition, climate change, an ageing society, and bringing stability to Afghanistan. This is a moment for good judgement and serious purpose to meet the challenges ahead.

Our aim is a modern, progressive Britain based on fairness, respect, decency and openness.

This is a Manifesto about the greater progressive change we need because of the tougher times we are living through. There are no big new spending commitments, but there is a determination for every penny to be used wisely, and, as present plans make clear, to give the maximum protection to frontline public services.

This is a moment to show greater boldness in response to what Britain has gone through and the toll it has taken. We reject a ‘business as usual’ mentality because we have to re-build and re-balance the economy, as well as renew our society and politics. Reform cannot stand still – not least because we need to get more value and delivery from public services in a period of public spending constraint. Our Manifesto charts an optimistic course in tougher economic times. It builds on and takes forward the reforms we have undertaken since 1997.

I love Britain and want the very best for our country. This Manifesto is my pledge of a future fair for all.

\[Signature\]

Gordon Brown
Prime Minister
The argument of this Manifesto is that to deliver a future fair for all we need to rebuild our economy, protect and reform our public services as we strengthen our society and renew our politics. We, Labour, are the people to carry out this next stage of national renewal because of our values and our understanding of the role of government: to stand by ordinary people so they can change their lives for the better. It is our belief that it is active, reforming government, not absent government, that helps make people powerful.

We are proud of our country and the way it has changed since 1997. It is just too easy to forget. Our public services were a byword for decline; today they have been transformed. Our large cities were reeling from two savage recessions; today, despite the global economic crisis, they have a renewed prosperity and civic pride. People were paid £1 an hour; today the minimum wage and tax credits provide the dignity of a living income. The welfare state simply did not understand working women and families. Today, with family-friendly working and better childcare it has at last begun to do so.

These changes happened because we applied our values to the world as it was then. We changed our party so that it connected to the hopes and aspirations of the British people. We changed our country because we rejected the philosophy of the 1980s which said that government should just get out of the way and that we were in it just for ourselves.

We are proud of our record but today we are running for the future. We have to address a world that is very different now, with major new challenges we must confront: fighting for our economic future in a tough competitive world, tackling climate change, improving public services amidst financial constraint, confronting the reality of international terrorism, adjusting to an ageing society so people can live longer and happier lives, and restoring trust in politics.

The global financial crisis shows we need to be bolder about reforming our financial markets and building our economic future on fairer, more solid foundations. To build on success in our public services, we need to protect investment in the front line and also be bold about putting citizens genuinely in control. And we must be bold reformers of our politics: seizing this once in a generation opportunity to make our Parliament properly accountable.

In all these decisions, we offer progressive solutions in tough times. We do not measure the boldness of our programme by how much we spend but the results we achieve. By taking hard decisions, being guided at all times by a sense of fairness, we believe that we can continue to advance towards the good society in which we believe.

There is a big choice at this election about whether we confront these challenges and build the kind of economy, society and politics we believe in, or duck them. But to be able to meet these future challenges, there are some immediate decisions we need to get right now. Above all, we need to secure the economic recovery. Get it right and we can go on to build a strong economic future. Get it wrong and we will slip back into recession.

**Labour believes we must not put the recovery at risk by reckless cuts to public spending this year.**

From the autumn of 2008, big calls had to be made. We nationalised Northern Rock, protected people’s savings, cut VAT to stimulate our economy, put in place job guarantees to get people back to work, and stepped in to stop repossessions.
It is working. The banking system has been stabilised. Our economy is showing signs of returning to growth. Unemployment has, so far, risen by over 500,000 less than people expected this time last year. Repossessions are at around half the level of the 1990s.

The question at this election is whether people think the choice we made was the right one and whether we use the power of government to help sustain recovery, or allow it to be snuffed out. Every government of the major developed economies – of Left and Right – recognises the need to support the economy while growth is still fragile. We will not cut spending this year, but instead support the economy to ensure recovery is established.

Labour believes we should rebuild our economy in new ways: with more high-tech business, fairer rewards and responsibility from all, including at the top.

The world changed out of all recognition in 2007 with the onset of the global economic crisis. Major British banks, the custodians of our savings and livelihoods, ran out of money because of the recklessness of those in charge. This Manifesto makes the case that there should be no return to business as usual. People have suffered too much with their jobs, livelihoods and confidence to allow a return to the same old ways. There is a desire not simply to correct for what went wrong, but to seize the opportunity to build anew.

Financial services have been an essential job creator in Britain and will continue to be so. But our financial institutions left to themselves have undermined our economy. We are enacting sweeping banking reform to prevent a repeat of the past; ensuring new support for the high-tech industries of the future, such as green industries; and taking action to forge a new culture of long-termism in business.

It isn’t markets or governments that create wealth – people do, through their own effort and hard work. So we will do more to support enterprise and to help those who want to build up a business and get on in life. Those who can work must do so and it needs to be properly valued. We will end for good the concept of a life on benefit by offering all those unemployed for more than two years work they must accept, and we will make work pay better with the goal of a minimum wage rising at least in line with average earnings and a guarantee that people will be better off in work than on benefit.

As we more than halve the fiscal deficit over the next four years, we will ensure that we do so in a fair way with a combination of a return to economic growth, cuts to lower priority programmes and fair tax rises. Responsibility at the top means people paying their fair share and we believe it is right that those with the broadest shoulders bear the greatest burden of paying down the deficit.

Labour believes we should protect frontline spending on childcare, schools, the NHS and policing, and reform our public services to put people in control.

Millions of people working in our public services embody the best values of Britain, helping empower people to make the most of their own lives while protecting them from the risks they should not have to bear on their own. Just as we need to be bolder about the role of government in making markets work fairly, we also need to be bold reformers of government.

For a decade we have combined investment and reform and improved our public services. Now we need to rise to the challenge of achieving even higher standards in a period of constrained resources. We will drive forward our programme to strip out all waste, improve efficiency and get the most out of every pound spent. We recognise that investing more in priority areas will mean cutting back in
others. Above all we will build public services that are more personal to people’s needs: with clear guarantees about standards, the best providers taking over others where they don’t make the grade, and with new ways of organising services such as mutuals.

In health, this means if we don’t meet our guarantees, for example on waiting lists, the NHS will fund you to go private. In education it means that if the local school is underperforming it will be taken over; and parents who believe their school is not good enough can trigger a ballot to change the leadership. And in policing, where communities are being let down by forces we will enable them to be taken over by others.

**Labour will strengthen our society, by protecting the things people value and demanding rights and responsibilities from all.**

Our society is not broken; it is strong in many different ways. But it is changing fast. Changing with immigration, changing as people move more frequently, as young people grow up more quickly and older people live longer.

We will protect the things people value: families, strong communities, local institutions. We will create a new settlement in our country on how we care for the elderly through the creation of a National Care Service, and fathers will have more time off to spend with their kids. There will be greater protection for the local institutions people value, like local post offices and pubs. In everything we do, we will demand the responsibilities that must come with rights: to work when you can, not to abuse your neighbour or neighbourhood, to show respect for Britain as a newcomer, to pay your fair share of tax.

Labour proposes radical reform of our democracy to reconnect politics to the people it should serve. Just as the global economic crisis was a shock to our economic system; the expenses crisis created turmoil in our political system. It revealed not just unacceptable behaviour by some MPs but also that our closed political system had lost touch with people. Once again, the response cannot be to try and return to business as usual.

We need fundamental reform of our politics to make it more accountable. We will let the people decide how to reform our institutions and our politics: changing the voting system and electing a second chamber to replace the House of Lords. But we will go further, introducing fixed-term parliaments, banning MPs from paid second jobs that pose a conflict of interest, and providing for a free vote in Parliament to widen the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds.

In 1997 New Labour met the call of national renewal. In our politics and economy over the last 18 months, we have witnessed seismic events. In this election, the first of the post-crisis era, we stand as the people with the experience, values and ideas to help our country through the next phase of national renewal.

This task has always relied on optimism. Our principle opponents, the Conservatives, offer a fundamentally pessimistic vision of national decline: about Britain today and in the future. Their only real prescription for the good society is a smaller state and the decisions they seek to make for our country would favour the privileged few over the many. They would isolate Britain, cutting us adrift from the alliances and influence that will enable us to succeed as a country.

This is a Manifesto that is idealistic about what is possible but realistic about how to achieve it. This is not a conservative moment. It is a progressive moment. We speak for the ordinary people of this country who work hard, want their kids to do better than them, and worry about the economic, environmental and social challenges we face. We are on their side, it is their voice, needs and hopes that shape this programme.
Securing Britain’s future

The plans set out in this Manifesto take full account of the fiscal position we face. We will protect frontline public services while meeting our commitment to halve the deficit over the next four years.

We are now emerging from the global financial crisis. It has had a lasting effect on tax receipts, here in the UK and across the world. We are sticking to our spending plans this year so that support for families and businesses remains as we secure the recovery. But from 2011-12, as growth takes hold, spending will be tighter.

The Manifesto reflects the tough choices that we will make to secure Britain’s future in a way that is fair to all:

• Tough choices for £15 billion efficiency savings in 2010-11.
• Tough choices on cutting government overheads: £11 billion of further operational efficiencies and other cross-cutting savings to streamline government will be delivered by 2012-13.
• Tough choices on pay: action to control public-sector pay including a one per cent cap on basic pay uplifts for 2011-12 and 2012-13, saving £3.4 billion a year, and new restrictions on senior pay-setting. Tough decisions on public sector pensions to cap the taxpayers’ liability – saving £1 billion a year.
• Tough choices on spending: £5 billion already identified in cuts to lower priority spending.
• Tough choices on welfare: our reforms will increase fairness and work incentives, including £1.5 billion of savings being delivered.
• Tough choices on assets: £20 billion of asset sales by 2020.
• Tough choices on tax: a bonus tax, reduced tax relief on pensions for the best off, a new 50p tax rate on earnings over £150,000 and one penny on National Insurance Contributions.
The challenge for Britain

To secure the recovery and learn the right lessons from the global economic crisis, laying the foundations for sustained growth: reforming banks, modernising infrastructure, and as we pay down the deficit, providing the right support to the private sector to build a diverse, high-tech industrial economy. The Tories would threaten recovery with cuts this year, and fail to invest in our economic future.

The next stage of national renewal

• Secure the recovery by supporting the economy now, and more than halve the deficit by 2014 through economic growth, fair taxes and cuts to lower priority spending.
• Realise our stakes in publicly controlled banks to secure the best deal for the taxpayer, introduce a new global levy, and reform the rules for banking to ensure no repeat of past irresponsibility.
• Create UK Finance for Growth, bringing £4 billion together to provide capital for growing businesses, investing in the growth sectors of the future.
• Build a high-tech economy, supporting business and industry to create one million more skilled jobs and modernising our infrastructure with High Speed Rail, a Green Investment Bank and broadband access for all.
• Encourage a culture of long-term commitment to sustainable company growth, requiring a super-majority of two-thirds of shareholders in corporate takeovers.

As the economy steadily recovers, there will be no return to business as usual: financial institutions cannot continue the practices of the past. Radical change is needed. Without long-term investment in wealth-creating infrastructure and enterprise, accompanied by the diversification of our industrial base, Britain will not emerge from the recession ready for a stronger, fairer future.

The engine of growth is private enterprise: we will give business our full support in creating wealth and jobs. Strong and sustained growth is fundamental to a credible strategy for keeping the public finances on a stable long-term footing.

To be successful, business needs stability, but to achieve stability after the seismic shock of the global banking crisis, the governance of our economic and financial institutions must be radically reformed.

And to support business in securing prosperity for future generations, an activist industrial strategy is needed: learning the lessons from those nations that have succeeded in developing advanced manufacturing and leading-edge service industries. In these countries the role of government is not to stand aside, but to nurture private-sector dynamism, properly supporting infrastructure and the sectors of the future.

Securing the recovery

We have taken the tough decisions to get Britain through the downturn. We have done so with fairness in mind: we have not allowed the recession created by the financial crisis to become a depression, or
stood aside and allowed grave damage to be inflicted on our society as it was in the 1930s and 1980s. The Tories argue that public spending should be cut immediately, but this position is out of step with every other G20 government, right or left. If governments do not provide support when families and businesses most need help, growth is set back, jobs are lost, and the country builds up more debts – paying a higher price in the future. To cut now would push the economy back into recession, not reducing the deficit but increasing it.

We will continue to support the economy while growth is still fragile, sticking with our targeted increase in public spending over the next year to sustain the recovery. Our focus for the stimulus is strategic investment, putting in place the new digital, transport and energy infrastructures that will support the return to sustainable growth.

**Deficit reduction and fiscal sustainability**

Once the recovery is secure, we will rapidly reduce the budget deficit. We have set out a clear, balanced and fair plan to more than halve the deficit over the next four years and we will stick to it. We will achieve this through a combination of: fair tax increases; a firm grip on public spending including cuts in lower-priority areas; and strategies for growth that increase tax revenues and reduce spending on benefits.

Over the next Parliament the structural deficit will be cut by more than two-thirds.

The huge global recession and our efforts to counter it have required us to make tough choices, including on tax. We have made our choice in ways that put the greatest burden on those with the broadest shoulders. Bankers have faced a bonus tax, tax relief on pensions for the best off will be reduced, and we have introduced a new 50p tax rate on earnings over £150,000. As part of our plan to ensure we protect frontline services while halving the deficit over four years, we have announced that National Insurance will rise by one penny. This will not happen until next year, once growth is firmly established. This is the fairest way to protect key frontline services. Our National Insurance changes will mean that no-one earning under £20,000, or any pensioners, will pay more. It is fairer than alternative options like VAT – which we have not increased since 1997. Our commitments allow us credibly to deliver our deficit reduction plan and to sustain the services that matter most to families.

We will not raise the basic, higher and new top rates of tax in the next Parliament and we renew our pledge not to extend VAT to food, children’s clothes, books, newspapers and public transport fares. We will maintain tax credits, not cut them. And we have made our choice to protect frontline investment in childcare and schools, the NHS and policing.

**Tough choices**

On public spending, we will be relentless in making sure that the public gets value for money for every pound spent. We will overhaul how government works: cutting back-office and property running costs; abolishing unnecessary arms-length-bodies; sharply reducing spending on consultancy and marketing; and cutting lower-priority spend. We have already shown in Budget 2010 how these steps will help us to achieve savings of £20 billion a year by 2012-13, on top of the £15 billion savings that are being delivered this year.

We will take a tough stance on public-sector pay, saving over £3 billion by capping public-sector pay rises at
one per cent in 2011-12 and 2012-13. We have agreed tough reforms to public-sector pensions, which will make significant savings and ensure that pensions for the public-sector workforce are secure and sustainable in the long term. Any government-controlled appointment involving a salary over £150,000 will require ministerial sign-off. Savings from our tougher approach will help realise a fair rate of pay for all those working for central government.

As we prepare for the upturn, fiscal responsibility and monetary stability will be the foundations on which we build. We have made the new fiscal responsibility framework legally binding, and we will maintain our inflation target of two per cent so that mortgage rates can be kept as low as possible.

**Rebuilding our banking system**

The international banking system played a key role in fuelling the most severe global recession since the Second World War. We are determined to support our financial sector and for it to be a major employer and wealth creator, but there will be no return to the excesses of the past – banks will face tighter regulation. The banking system must support domestic businesses, including start-ups and entrepreneurs, as well as mortgages. We have agreed lending targets with those banks in which we have a stake, and there will be consequences for executive remuneration if targets are not met.

Learning the lessons of the crisis means ensuring that far greater responsibility is taken for risk in the boardroom. We will compel banks to keep more capital and create ‘living wills’ so that should they fail there will be no danger of that failure spreading. Because the banking crisis demonstrated the global nature of financial instability, we will continue to work with our international partners to require all banks to hold more and better-quality capital, to ensure counter-cyclical protection, and to introduce a global levy on financial services so that banks across the world contribute fairly to the society in which they are based.

In the UK the new Council for Financial Stability will monitor and help address asset bubbles and financial imbalances. We will give the FSA additional powers if necessary to constrain and quash executive remuneration where it is a source of risk and instability.

If there is evidence of bonus rules being evaded, we will act.

We will ensure greater competition in the banking sector, breaking up those banks in which the Government currently has a controlling stake. The proposed Office of Fair Trading review into how City markets operate is welcome. We value the role of building societies owned by their customers and the strength and diversity that a healthy mutual sector brings to our financial services, and we will consult on measures to help strengthen the sector. As one option for the disposal of Northern Rock, we will encourage a mutual solution, while ensuring that the sale generates maximum value for money for the taxpayer.

**Rebuilding our industrial base: new industries, new jobs, new knowledge**

Britain is the sixth largest manufacturing economy in the world. Because of substantial investment since 1997, the UK has an excellent research base and is already strong in some world-leading sectors. But if we make the right decisions as a country in the coming years – through a new industrial policy, stronger infrastructure and a renewed partnership between business and government – we
can be leaders in the emerging industries of the future.

After the financial crisis, we will ensure that growing companies can access the investment they need to expand. Finance must be at the service of industry, as new public channels are built to deliver private funds to innovative and fast-growing companies. The new UK Finance for Growth Fund will bring together a total of £4 billion of public funds and combine it with private money to channel equity to businesses looking to develop and grow. Within this, the Growth Capital Fund will focus on SMEs which need capital injections of between £2 and £10 million, while the Innovation Investment Fund will focus on the needs of high-tech firms.

Business investment in physical capital will play a key role in a balanced and sustainable recovery. The Strategic Investment Fund is supporting important new investment in the nuclear and renewables industries. We will provide incentives for companies to invest through R&D tax credits, and protect and increase the size of capital allowances that help to grow key sectors such as manufacturing. We will ensure a competitive regime through the development of the patent-box – a lower rate of corporation tax to encourage UK-based innovation – supporting the UK’s strengths in new industries and sectors.

**Investing in science and research**

Britain is among the best places in the world to do science, having massively increased investment in research and development as a proportion of national income. We are committed to a ring-fenced science budget in the next spending review. To help us do better in turning research outputs into innovation, we will provide focused investment for Technology and Innovation Centres, developing technologies where the UK has world-leading expertise.

We will also support university research through the Higher Education Innovation Fund, and through the development of a new University Enterprise Capital Fund. The proceeds of success will flow back into the higher education sector.

As we create a more diverse economy, we will strengthen support for exporters to help us increase our market share with our traditional markets in Europe and the United States, while breaking further into the emerging markets of China, India and Brazil.

We must seize the opportunity to develop education, in particular higher education, as a great export business. Universities will be encouraged to develop international links and research partnerships, and we want the Open University and learndirect to reach the global market in distance learning. We will develop a new gateway for the export of NHS intellectual property and cutting-edge services.

**Restoring full employment**

We expect our growing economic and sectoral strengths to create at least one million skilled jobs by 2015. These jobs of the future will increasingly come from the new growth sectors in which we are investing – low-carbon, digital and creative industries, life sciences – and professional services in business, healthcare and education.

There will be greater prosperity for every region of the UK economy. A regional growth fund will be established by the Regional Development Agencies with regional ministers given an enhanced role, and we will help our core cities and city regions to become powerhouses...
of innovation and growth, with a major devolution of power to shape local transport and skills.

**Championing an enterprise economy**

At the heart of our approach to building a strong and fair Britain is a commitment to support enterprise. We will back those who want to get on, work their way up, and generate wealth. We will keep business taxation competitive at the same time as we increase capital allowances to encourage investment.

There is no substitute for the drive and ambition that entrepreneurs bring. We will support small businesses and help with their cash flow by continuing our Time to Pay scheme that has already – through tax and NICs deferral – helped thousands of firms; offering a one-year holiday on business rates for small businesses; widening support for training and apprenticeships; and in recognising the special contribution of entrepreneurs we are doubling the Entrepreneurs Relief lifetime limit to £2 million.

We will also create a new Small Business Credit Adjudicator with statutory powers ensuring that SMEs are not turned down unfairly when applying to banks for finance.

We will help to create a new generation of entrepreneurs, ensuring that those studying for vocational skills are offered the opportunity to learn how to start and run a business, while the Flying Start programme will do the same for final-year university students.

We will continue to simplify regulation and avoid unnecessary red tape. If it is used correctly, regulation can help drive innovation, as well as protect workers and consumers. We will seek to reduce the costs of regulation by more than £6 billion by 2015.

**21st Century infrastructure**

The key to creating the industries of the future is renewing the national infrastructure on which firms rely. To ensure Britain’s infrastructure needs are properly resourced, we will work in partnership with the private sector, reforming the regulation of energy to improve incentives for the private sector to invest. We will establish a Green Investment Bank to invest in low-carbon infrastructure, with the Government’s stake funded by the sale of infrastructure assets. The Government will seek to match its contribution with at least £1 billion of private-sector investment.

The newly formed Infrastructure Planning Commission will – within a democratically determined framework – help streamline and speed up decision-making on major projects. We now propose to extend the public interest test so that it is applied to potential takeovers of infrastructure and utility companies.

**Broadband Britain**

Britain must be a world leader in the development of broadband. We are investing in the most ambitious plan of any industrialised country to ensure a digital Britain for all, extending access to every home and business. We will reach the long-term vision of superfast broadband for all through a public-private partnership in three stages: first, giving virtually every household in the country a broadband service of at least two megabytes per second by 2012; second, making possible superfast broadband for the vast majority
of Britain in partnership with private operators, with Government investing over £1 billion in the next seven years; and lastly reaching the final ten per cent using satellites and mobile broadband.

Because we are determined that every family and business, not just some, should benefit, we will raise revenue to pay for this from a modest levy on fixed telephone lines. And we will continue to work with business, the BBC and other broadcasting providers to increase take-up of broadband and to ensure Britain becomes a leading digital economy.

**Rebuilding our transport infrastructure**

Britain needs to invest in modern, high-capacity and low-carbon transport infrastructure. At the heart of our growth plan is the commitment to a new high-speed rail line, linking North and South. Built in stages, the initial line will link London to Birmingham, Manchester, the East Midlands, Sheffield and Leeds, and then to the North and Scotland. By running through-trains from day one, cities including Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle and Liverpool will also be part of the initial network. Journey times will be slashed – those from the West Midlands to London will be as little as 31 minutes. We will consult fully on legislation to take forward our high-speed rail plans within the next Parliament.

High-speed rail is not just about faster journey times. It will free up capacity on existing intercity rail lines, enabling more rail freight, commuter and local services. We will press ahead with a major investment programme in existing rail services, hugely improving commuter services into and through London, and electrifying new rail-lines including the Great Western Main Line from London to South Wales. We will complete the new east-west Crossrail line in London adding ten per cent to London transport capacity.

Rail passenger numbers have increased by 40 per cent in the last ten years and punctuality and quality of service are improving steadily. We will encourage more people to switch to rail with an enforceable right to the cheapest fare, while trebling the number of secure cycle-storage spaces at rail stations. We will welcome rail franchise bids from not-for-profit, mutual or co-operative franchise enterprises and will look to remove unfair barriers that prevent such bids benefiting passengers and taxpayers.

Tackling road congestion is a key Labour priority. We will extend hard-shoulder running on motorways, alongside targeted motorway widening including on the M25. Too much disruption is caused by local road works: we will increase tenfold the penalties on utilities who allow work to overrun. We rule out the introduction of national road pricing in the next Parliament.

Heathrow is Britain’s international hub airport, already operating at full capacity, and supporting millions of jobs, businesses and citizens who depend upon it. We support a third runway at Heathrow, subject to strict conditions on environmental impact and flight numbers, but we will not allow additional runways to proceed at any other airport in the next Parliament.

Through our investment, Labour has put Britain at the forefront of electric and low-carbon vehicle manufacturing. To promote the rapid take-up of electric and low-carbon cars, we will ensure there are 100,000 electric vehicle charging points by the end of the next Parliament.
Corporate governance reform

To build strong businesses we need skilled managers, accountable boards, and committed shareholders – all with a culture of long-term commitment. We will strengthen the 2006 Companies Act where necessary better to reflect these principles. The UK’s Stewardship Code for institutional shareholders should be strengthened and we will require institutional shareholders to declare how they vote and for banks to put their remuneration policies to shareholders for explicit approval.

Too many takeovers turn out to be neither good for the acquiring company or the firm being bought. The system needs reform. Companies should be more transparent about their long-term plans for the business they want to acquire. There needs to be more disclosure of who owns shares, a requirement for bidders to set out how they will finance their bids and greater transparency on advisers’ fees.

There should be a higher threshold of support – two-thirds of shareholders – for securing a change of ownership and the case for limiting votes to those on the register before the bid should be examined.

Creating a shareholding society

We want Britain’s workers to have a stake in their company by widening share ownership and creating more employee-owned and trust-owned businesses. We want to see a step change in the role of employee-owned companies in the economy, recognising that many entrepreneurs would like to see their companies in the hands of their employees when they retire. We will review any outstanding barriers to the formation of more employee-companies like the John Lewis Partnership.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
Prosperity for all not just a few

Living standards
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

Living standards

The challenge for Britain

To grow together as a country, rewarding those who work hard so they can do well and look after their families: returning Britain to full employment, enabling people to get higher-paid and better jobs, and widening access to home ownership. The Tories have no plan for fairness; their decisions would make our society more unequal and unjust.

The next stage of national renewal

• 200,000 jobs through the Future Jobs Fund, with a job or training place for young people who are out of work for six months, but benefits cut at ten months if they refuse to take part; and anyone unemployed for more than two years guaranteed work, but no option of life on benefits.

• A National Minimum Wage rising at least in line with average earnings, and a new £40-a-week Better Off in Work guarantee.

• More advanced apprenticeships and Skills Accounts for workers to upgrade their skills.

• No stamp duty for first-time buyers on all house purchases below £250,000 for two years, paid for by a five per cent rate on homes worth more than £1 million.

• A People’s Bank at the Post Office; a Universal Service Obligation on banks to serve every community; a clampdown on interest rates for doorstep and payday loans.

As the British economy returns to growth, we will ensure that everyone who is willing to work shares fairly in renewed prosperity. We will support the recovery so that we see a swift return to full employment, with more chances to get on at work and a fair distribution of growth throughout Britain.

Our job guarantees will put an end to long-term unemployment and a life on benefits. No one fit for work should be abandoned to a life on benefit, so all those who can work will be required to do so. At the same time, we believe that people should be able to earn enough to live and be better off than on welfare.

In today’s world, every worker needs to be able to upgrade their skills in order to get on. As well as good career prospects, people want to know that their living standards and quality of life will improve. So we will enable more people to get on the housing ladder; offer a helping hand to build up savings; and secure a fair deal with the banks to strengthen people’s personal finances.

A modern welfare state for all

We will build a personalised welfare system that offers protection for all those who need it, increases people’s control over their own lives, and is clear about the responsibilities owed to others. Getting more people into employment increases tax revenues and reduces spending on benefits. Our intensive help for people out of work – starting from day one – has already kept unemployment more than half a million lower than predicted during the recession, saving £15 billion over the next five years.

We are determined that no-one should be scarred for life by joblessness. No young person in Britain should be long-term unemployed; those out of work for six months or more will be guaranteed employment.
or training through the £1 billion Future Jobs Fund, with mandatory participation after ten months. The fund will support 200,000 jobs. All those who are long-term unemployed for two years will be guaranteed a job placement, which they will be required to take up or have their benefits cut.

More people with disabilities and health conditions will be helped to move into work from Incapacity Benefit and Employment Support Allowance, as we extend the use of our tough-but-fair work capability test. This will help to reduce the benefit bill by £1.5 billion over the next four years. We will reassess the Incapacity Benefit claims of 1.5 million people by 2014, as we move those able to work back into jobs.

For those with the most serious conditions or disabilities who want to work there will be a new guarantee of supported employment after two years on benefit. We will seek to ensure that disabled people are able to lead dignified and independent lives, free of discrimination and with the support to which they are entitled.

The lone parent employment rate has increased by over 12 per cent since 1997. We are radically reforming how Job Centre Plus helps lone parents: providing extra help with childcare, training and support to find family-friendly work, while requiring those with children aged three to take steps to prepare for work and actively to seek employment once their youngest child is seven years old.

Our goal is to make responsibility the cornerstone of our welfare state. Housing Benefit will be reformed to ensure that we do not subsidise people to live in the private sector on rents that other ordinary working families could not afford. And we will continue to crack down on those who try to cheat the benefit system.

**Making work pay**

The National Minimum Wage is one of our proudest achievements. It protects and sustains millions of low-paid workers. To ensure that the lowest paid share fairly in rising prosperity, the Low Pay Commission’s remit will have the goal of the National Minimum Wage rising at least in line with average earnings over the period to 2015.

To underline our commitment to helping the lowest paid we will ask all Whitehall Departments, within their allocated budgets, to follow the lead of those who already pay the Living Wage. This will be supported by measures to address high pay in the public sector - reducing pay-bill pressure in the years ahead.

To ensure that work pays, we will guarantee that when someone who has found it difficult to get into work comes off benefits, their family will be at least £40 a week better off. This is our Better Off in Work guarantee: together the National Minimum Wage and tax credits should always make work pay. And we will consult on further reforms to simplify the benefits system and make sure it gives people the right incentives and personal support to get into work and progress in their jobs.

We want everyone to have better prospects in work. We will give the Low Pay Commission additional responsibilities to report on productivity and career progression in low-skilled, low-paid sectors, bringing together representatives from the business community and social partners.
Getting ahead: investing in you

As we restore full employment to the British economy, we will seek to make work more fulfilling and secure. That means helping people to improve their skills.

We have rescued the apprenticeship system supporting more than 250,000 places a year, and we will now expand technician-level apprenticeships to ensure Britain has the skills it needs for the future.

We have legislated for a right to request time for training and will continue to invest in workplace training through Train to Gain. New Skills Accounts will enable every worker to make choices that drive improvement and quality in the skills system. Accounts will help learners know what training they are entitled to, the level of funding available and the benefits of training for their careers. But good work is about more than just skills. Stronger employee engagement improves innovation and productivity: we will continue to promote more effective employee engagement in the workplace.

Improving your living standards

Our aim is to put more wealth in the hands of the British people. We have done all we can to keep mortgage rates low – at 0.5 per cent during this recession compared to 15 per cent in the 1990s – and will continue to do so in the future. The direct tax and benefit measures introduced since 1997 mean that in 2010-11, households will be £1,450 a year better off on average. A family with one child and one person working full time will have a minimum income of £310 a week in October 2010 - 27 per cent higher in real terms than in 1999. Tax credits will be increased not cut.

As family budgets are under greater pressure, we will do more to help people with the cost of living. Council Tax increases have fallen to their lowest ever rate and we expect them to stay low. There will be more help with energy bills through the Social Tariff and Winter Fuel Payments, and we will work with the regulator to promote greater competition and diversity in the supply of energy to ensure falling wholesale prices get passed onto households in lower bills.

Fairness at work

We will strive to ensure fairness at work for all employees, continuing our crackdown on exploitative gang-masters and rogue employers. In all sectors the law must be upheld, properly enforcing safety and employment rights, and tackling tax avoidance. We will extend the licensing approach to labour providers in the construction industry if the evidence shows that is the best way to enforce employment rights. We have strengthened HMRC’s enforcement of the minimum wage. In future it will cooperate more closely with local authorities to enforce minimum wage legislation. We are enacting the Agency Workers Directive to offer additional protection to agency workers in relation to pay and conditions.

New legislation and the Equality and Human Rights Commission will ensure that people are not held back at work because of their gender, age, disability, race and religious or sexual orientation. The new Equality Act will be enforced, promoting fairness across our society. The public duty to promote equality of opportunity is being extended. We will encourage employers to make greater use of pay reviews and equality checks to eliminate
unfair pay gaps, including inequalities in pay between men and women.

Modern trade unions are an important part of our society and economy, providing protection and advice for employees, and working for equality and greater fairness in the workplace. We welcome their positive role in encouraging partnership and productivity.

More home ownership

Owning your own home is the aspiration of most families. We want as many people as possible to share in the benefits of home ownership, and to have a stake in an affordable home. That everyone has access to a decent home at a price they can afford is a central Labour ambition.

We will widen home ownership: over 160,000 households have been supported into ownership through government action since 1997. We will exempt purchases below £250,000 from stamp duty for the next two years, benefiting more than nine out of ten first-time buyers. This will be paid for by increasing stamp duty to five per cent for homes worth more than £1 million.

Our highly popular Home Buy Direct scheme will continue. We will work with Housing Associations to develop a new form of affordable housing targeted at working families on modest incomes who struggle in the private sector and rarely qualify for social housing. This will focus on enabling working people to rent an affordable home at below market rates while they build up an equity stake.

We have acted decisively to make repossession the last resort, helping over 330,000 families stay in their homes so that repossessions are running at around half the rate of the early 1990s recession. We will now strengthen regulation to ensure consistent standards of consumer protection from repossession, making the FSA responsible for the regulation of all mortgages. This means transferring second charge loans such as debt consolidation loans, which are often issued by sub-prime lenders, into the FSA’s tougher regime – guaranteeing equal protection for homeowners.

We are investing £7.5 billion over two years to 2011 to build new houses, delivering 110,000 additional energy-efficient, affordable homes to rent or buy. We believe local authorities should be able to play their part in providing social housing in the future; and we will reform the council house financing system to enable local authorities to maintain properties at the Decent Home standard and to build up to 10,000 council houses a year by the end of the next Parliament. Tenant involvement in the management of social housing properties will be strongly encouraged.

Better housing

This Government has led the way in making sure that British homes are greener homes through our world-leading commitment to all new homes being zero carbon by 2016 and the construction of new eco-towns, which will have the highest standards of green living yet seen in Britain.

Local authorities now have greater flexibility over the allocation of social housing in order to promote mixed and sustainable communities. We will guarantee the three million households who rent from a private landlord the right to a written tenancy agreement and access to free and impartial advice; and we will establish a new National Landlord Register.
We are committed to ending rough sleeping by 2012, and we will tackle the problems faced by homeless people with multiple needs. We will provide homeless 16 and 17 year olds with Foyer-based supported accommodation and training including help with parenting skills. Once there is enough provision to provide universal coverage we will legislate to change the law so that for 16 and 17 year olds the right to housing is met solely through supported housing.

Our regeneration policies have transformed previously neglected communities, and our great cities are among the best in the world. We will make savings in regeneration funding and focus on tackling worklessness, transforming the prospects of those areas most disconnected from the wider economy.

**Support with saving**

We will do more to support saving and spread wealth across more families. The annual limits for Individual Savings Accounts have been raised to £10,200 and will be index-linked. The Pension Credit capital disregard will increase from £6,000 to £10,000.

The pioneering Savings Gateway account for people on lower incomes will be available to over eight million families from July 2010, providing a match of 50p for each £1 saved up to a limit of £300. We will extend this approach even further, giving a boost to savings for more people on middle incomes. To help encourage the savings habit among young adults, we will develop a matched savings account for all 18-30 basic-rate taxpayers, as set out in the Budget.

For the next generation we will protect – not cut – the Child Trust Fund – the world’s first universal savings policy for young people, already giving 4.8 million children a nest egg for the future. We will contribute an additional £100 a year to the Child Trust Funds of all disabled children.

**A new deal on personal finances**

In the post-crisis economy, we will fight for consumers and stand up to vested interests that treat people unfairly, whether in the private or public sector. We want a fair deal for all.

The Post Office has an invaluable role to play in our communities and in serving local businesses. To promote trusted and accessible banking, we will transform the Post Office into a People’s Bank offering a full range of competitive, affordable products. This will help sustain the network and boost competition in banking. The universal postal service delivered by the Royal Mail connects and binds us together as a country. We are firmly committed to the 28 million homes and businesses across the country receiving mail six days a week, with the promise that one price goes everywhere. The Royal Mail and its staff are taking welcome and needed steps to modernise work practices. For the future, continuing modernisation and investment will be needed by the Royal Mail in the public sector.

We will introduce a universal service obligation on retail banks, so that all consumers with a valid address have a legal right to a basic bank account, and a right to redress if this is refused. Banks will have to publicly report on the extent to which they are under-serving communities. And we will introduce a new levy on the banks to help fund a step-change in the scale of affordable lending by third-sector organisations, including a new partnership with the Post Office, offering an alternative to loan sharks and high-cost doorstep lending.
Over the lifetime of the next Parliament, as more affordable lending becomes available, we will clamp down on the interest rates and other fees charged by instant loan companies and payday or doorstep lenders, tackling the very high cost lending that hits low-income communities hardest. We will introduce a single regulator for consumer finance to restore confidence and trust with responsibility for the supervision of all unsecured lending being passed to the Financial Services Authority. And new rules governing how financial products are sold will be introduced with a crackdown on unfair terms in contracts.

Finally, we will seek to promote competition in high-street banking by introducing portable bank account and cash ISA numbers that stimulate switching where consumers are dissatisfied, along with consistent, easily understood labelling of financial products.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
Excellence in education: every child the chance to fulfil their potential
Education

The challenge for Britain

To raise standards, promote excellence and narrow achievement gaps by giving the best school leaders and federations more schools to run, and by giving parents new rights and clear guarantees of high-quality teaching and support for every pupil – underpinned by increased spending. The Tories want to gamble with our children’s education, putting school improvement at risk and taking away the guarantees of an excellent education for all.

In 1997, half of our secondary schools were below the basic minimum standard. Now, because of sustained investment and reform, it is just one in twelve, with standards rising fastest in disadvantaged areas. Nearly 100,000 more children each year leave primary school secure in reading, writing and maths. School buildings, once characterised by leaking roofs and second-class facilities, are being transformed. The quality of teaching is the best ever and teachers have the status and respect they deserve.

The next stage of national renewal

• Spending increased on frontline Sure Start and free childcare, schools and 16-19 learning.

• An expansion of free nursery places for two year olds and 15 hours a week of flexible, free nursery education for three and four year olds.

• Every pupil leaving primary school secure in the basics, with a 3Rs guarantee of one-to-one and small-group tuition for every child falling behind; and in secondary school, every pupil with a personal tutor and a choice of good qualifications.

• A choice of good schools in every area – and, where parents are not satisfied – the power to bring in new school leadership teams, through mergers and take-overs, with up to 1,000 secondary schools part of an accredited schools group by 2015.

• Every young person guaranteed education or training until 18, with 75 per cent going on to higher education, or completing an advanced apprenticeship or technician level training, by the age of 30.

Frontline spending on Sure Start, childcare, schools and 16-19 learning will be increased, safeguarding our priorities such as an additional 41,000 teachers and 120,000 teaching assistants. But funding will not rise as fast as in recent years, making tough choices necessary to focus resources on the front line, with £950m saved through collaboration and efficiency in back office functions and procurement and £500m from quangos and central budgets.

The range and reach of innovative school providers will increase, spreading excellence to all schools. We will strive to get the best people into teaching and give parents new rights to secure good schooling for their children. Participation in post-school learning will expand, with more and better apprenticeships, improved
vocational education, and wider access to higher education.

**The early years**

Good play-based early learning gets children off to a flying start, so that they begin school ready to learn and achieve. We have expanded high-quality early learning and childcare, which also supports parents to work when they have young children and improves family living standards.

There are now over 3,500 Sure Start Children’s Centres and every three and four year old has access to free nursery education, which is rising to 15 hours a week. Children’s Centres will become the bedrock of a new national under-fives service: ‘one-stop shops’, open to all families, offering excellent affordable childcare, healthcare and parenting advice. The number of free early learning places for disadvantaged two year olds will be expanded, on the way to our long-term goal of universal free childcare for this age group.

**Flexible childcare**

Busy working parents will have more flexibility over the hours their children have access to nursery education, such as taking them over two full working days, as well as greater choice over when children start school. We will also explore allowing parents to carry over their free hours of nursery education from year to year. Childcare vouchers will be retained, with all families receiving income tax relief at the basic rate, and childcare standards will be raised by a more qualified workforce.

We want to strengthen parental engagement with Sure Start Children’s Centres. Some voluntary and third-sector organisations already run networks of Centres, and we will now pioneer mutual federations running groups of local Children’s Centres in the community interest.

**Excellence for all: every school a good school**

Every parent wants their child to attend an excellent school – with the best possible teaching and facilities. So for pupils and parents we will set out in law guarantees of the excellent education and personal support they can expect.

No school can be better than the quality of its teachers. We have the best generation of teachers ever, supported by teaching assistants and the wider workforce. But we must continue to get the very best people into teaching, from the most committed graduates to the highest calibre career switchers. Teach First will be extended to attract more of the best graduates into teaching, including teaching in primary schools.

We have invested heavily in the professionalism and expertise of the workforce, and will build on this success with a new right for every teacher to continuous professional development; in return they will have to demonstrate high standards of teaching to maintain their licence to practise. We will promote new Teacher Training Academies and £10,000 ‘golden handcuffs’ to attract the best teachers into the most challenging schools.

While the number of low-performing schools has decreased dramatically, we cannot tolerate any coasting or persistently poor schools. Over the last decade, we have developed a cadre of world-class head teachers, radically opened up our school system to new providers, and worked with local authorities and school governing bodies to drive up standards.

Our task now is to devolve more power and responsibility to strong school leaders and to spread excellence, with
up to 1,000 schools, through mergers and take-overs, part of an accredited school group by 2015 – a new generation of not-for-profit chains of schools with a proven track record. These will include excellent school leaders from the maintained sector, universities, colleges, faith schools, academy chains and independent schools. We now have 200 academies and over 50 National Challenge Trusts, with another 200 academies in the pipeline. And we are pioneering new co-operative trust schools where parents, teachers and the local community come together to help govern their local school.

More power for parents

Where parents are dissatisfied with the choice of secondary schools in an area, local authorities will be required to act, securing take-overs of poor schools, the expansion of good schools, or in some cases, entirely new provision. Where parents at an individual school want change, they will be able to trigger a ballot on whether to bring in a new leadership team from a proven and trusted accredited provider.

School Report Cards will give every parent clear information on standards, levels of parental satisfaction and behaviour and bullying. They will provide information on the progress being made by all pupils, not just by some. We will consult on giving every school an overall grade for its performance.

We reject a return to the 11-plus or a free-for-all admission system. Our commitment to fair admissions is essential to liberating the potential of every child. Ensuring all pupils make progress also requires a fair funding system, so we will introduce a local pupil premium to guarantee that extra funding to take account of deprivation follows the pupil. Barriers to social mobility will be tackled by giving disadvantaged families free access to broadband to support their child’s learning. All parents will be guaranteed online information about their child’s progress and behaviour.

We have high expectations for children with special educational needs and schools will be held to account for how well they meet the needs of these pupils. We are expanding the number of specialist dyslexia teachers and improving teacher training for children with autism. The statementing process will be improved to give more support to parents, and the supply of teachers with the specialist skills needed to teach pupils with severe learning disabilities in special schools will be increased.

Primary schools: no child left behind

More children than ever leave primary school secure in the basics. Every primary school now offers whole-class teaching of English using phonics, and we are introducing specialist teachers to achieve a similar step-change in Maths. But every parent rightly wants far more, so our primary curriculum reforms will create more flexibility for teachers to offer a broad, challenging and engaging education, with opportunities to play sport, and to take part in arts, culture and music, including the chance to learn a musical instrument. As part of these reforms, all primary schools will teach a modern foreign language. We will create a specialist Mandarin teacher training qualification, so that many more primary schools have access to a qualified primary teacher able to teach Mandarin.

Parents will be given a ‘3Rs Guarantee’ that every pupil who falls behind at primary school and early in secondary school will receive special one-to-one or small-group catch-up provision. This will include up to 40,000 six and seven
year olds benefiting from extra tuition in English and Maths through ‘Every Child a Reader’ and ‘Every Child Counts’, and 300,000 receiving ten hours of one-to-one tuition in both English and Maths when they are older.

For primary-age children, we are guaranteeing childcare and constructive activities from 8am until 6pm in term-time at their own or a neighbouring school; this entitlement will particularly help busy working parents juggle work and family life. We are extending the provision of free school meals so that an additional half a million primary school children in families on low incomes will benefit from healthy and nutritious food, and we are trialing free school meals for all primary school children in pilot areas across the country. Together, these schemes will thoroughly test the case for universal free school meals, with the results available by autumn 2011.

**Secondary schools: excellence for all, personal to each**

Our secondary schools have been transformed by great school leaders, teachers and support staff. We will build on these achievements, tailoring education to the aspirations and aptitudes of individual pupils. All secondary school pupils will have a Personal Tutor of Studies, and we will work with schools to extend one-to-one or small-group tuition to pupils in the run-up to their GCSEs. Such an education should no longer be the preserve of the wealthiest few, but a central part of the curriculum.

More young people will be able to study single science subjects and modern foreign languages. Diplomas will strengthen the status and quality of vocational study and bring together academic and vocational programmes. And the Gifted and Talented programme will be reformed and improved, guaranteeing additional personalised support. We will review the qualifications system in 2013, with any changes taking place in the Parliament after next. Meanwhile, the new independent exam regulator will ensure that standards are being maintained.

Because the learning environment itself matters, we will take forward our Building Schools for the Future programme to rebuild or refurbish secondary schools, giving our children first-rate facilities that support inspirational teaching and access to ICT, sports and the arts.

**Zero tolerance of poor behaviour**

The vast majority of schools have good or outstanding behaviour. But no child should have their learning disturbed by poor discipline in the classroom. Teachers have strong new powers to ensure order and discipline and we will support their use. Home School Agreements will be strengthened, making clear the responsibilities of families and pupils. Every parent will agree to adhere to the school’s behaviour rules, signing contracts each year facing real consequences if they fail to live up to them, including the option of a court-imposed parenting order. Safer School Partnerships will be extended to every school where the head or parents demand it.

Alternative education for excluded pupils will be transformed. New providers will be encouraged to take over existing Pupil Referral Units, pioneering approaches that bring order and discipline back to young people’s lives. More will be invested in anti-bullying interventions including tackling homophobic bullying.
Cadet forces will move increasingly into state schools and we will expand spare time activities for young people, doubling those available – including sport – on Friday and Saturday nights, with neighbourhood police teams closely involved in areas where youth crime is highest. Teacher training institutions will be asked to provide specialist courses for teachers in promoting pupils’ resilience and responsibility.

### All children safe and thriving

Living in a family on a low income, having special educational needs or disabilities, and being in care all remain strongly linked to children failing to achieve. We are determined to narrow the gap between these children and their peers, and to continue to invest in specialist services, including short breaks for disabled children. Learning from the best systems around the world, we will improve foster and residential care. We will expand specialised foster care for the most vulnerable children and the Care2Work programme for all care leavers.

Through Children’s Trusts, children and youth services will work closely with schools and colleges, increasingly co-locating wider children’s services with schools. Early intervention programmes with a proven impact will be promoted. We will continue to reduce teenage pregnancy rates, with compulsory, high-quality Sex and Relationship Education.

Ensuring all children are safe from abuse and harm will remain a top priority. The new Vetting and Barring system will protect children without being unduly burdensome or interfering in private family arrangements. Social work training will be radically overhauled, raising the status and standards of the profession, and we will establish a National College of Social Work. We will publish detailed Serious Case Review summaries that explain the facts, but keep full reports out of the public domain in order to protect children’s identities.

### Staying on to get ahead

Staying on rates at age 16 are increasing, thanks in part to our school leavers’ guarantee of a place at sixth form, college, training or an apprenticeship.

But to ensure a new wave of social mobility, we are committed to an historic change: raising the education and training leaving age to 18. All young people will stay on in learning until 18, Education Maintenance Allowances will be retained and there will be an entitlement to an apprenticeship place in 2013 for all suitably qualified 16-18 year olds.

Further education colleges are the backbone of our post-school education system and they are leading the way with new Diplomas, working with schools. We will introduce greater freedom for all colleges to respond to local community needs and free them up from red tape. Students will be given clearer information on the quality of courses on offer, with a ‘traffic-light’ grading system for all courses and colleges. To complement vocational learning for 14-19 year olds in schools and colleges, we will pioneer University Technical Colleges and new Studio Schools that offer innovative curricula involving practical learning and paid work.

Advanced apprenticeships will be radically expanded, creating up to 70,000 places a year. These provide well-respected routes into high-skilled careers and further study at university and will support our ambition that three-quarters of young
people enter higher education or complete an advanced apprenticeship or equivalent technician-level qualification by the time they are 30. New apprenticeship scholarships will enable the best apprentices to go on to higher education.

We will open up opportunity for people from families on low incomes to enter professions like the media and law, expanding paid internships for students. To increase social mobility, careers advice for young people, including for younger children, will be overhauled, ensuring much better information and guidance.

**World-class higher education**

Higher education is fundamental to our national prosperity. Demand for high-level skills is strong and growing, and the supply of good graduates is an increasingly important factor in global economic competition.

We have eliminated up-front fees paid by parents and students, and ensured that the repayment of loans is related to ability to pay. The higher education participation rate for young people from the most disadvantaged areas has increased every year since 2004.

The review of higher education funding chaired by Lord Browne will report later this year. Our aim is to continue the expansion of higher education, widening access still further, while ensuring that universities and colleges have a secure, long-term funding base that protects world-class standards in teaching and research. Ahead of the review, we have provided universities with funding to recruit an extra 20,000 students this year.

Universities must continue to raise their game in outreach to state schools, widening participation and boosting social mobility. We will guarantee mentoring and support for higher education applications to all low-income pupils with the potential for university study, with extra summer schools and help with UCAS applications; and expand programmes to encourage highly able students from low-income backgrounds to attend Russell Group universities. We support universities that already widen access by taking into account the context of applicants’ achievement at school.

In the coming years, priority in the expansion of student places will be given to Foundation Degrees and part-time study, and to science, technology, engineering and mathematics degrees, as well as applied study in key economic growth sectors. The choices and views of students should play an important part in shaping courses and teaching. All universities will be required clearly to set out how they will ensure a high-quality learning experience for students.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
World-leading healthcare: a patient-centred NHS
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

Health

The challenge for Britain

To build a better health service by protecting NHS spending and by shifting to more preventative and personal care, clear patient guarantees and greater care in the home. The Tories will not introduce the necessary reforms, would fail to guarantee access to services, usher in a care postcode lottery, and put the interests of patients second.

The next stage of national renewal

• Legally binding guarantees for patients including the right to cancer test results within one week of referral, and a maximum 18 weeks’ wait for treatment or the offer of going private.

• Preventative healthcare through routine check-ups for the over-40s and a major expansion of diagnostic testing.

• More personal care, with the right in law to choose from any provider who meets NHS standards of quality at NHS costs when booking a hospital appointment, one-to-one dedicated nursing for all cancer patients, and more care at home.

• The right to choose a GP in your area open at evenings and weekends, with more services available on the high-street, personal care plans and rights to individual budgets.

• Access to psychological therapy for those who need it.

But to safeguard the NHS in tougher fiscal times, we need sustained reform. To prosper in the future, the NHS will have to respond to the challenges facing healthcare systems across the developed world: new cures and breakthrough treatments, an ageing society, an increased number of people with long-term conditions, ever higher public expectations at the same time.

So we will be tougher in ensuring value for money, more determined in demanding the highest standards of care and in shifting rapidly to preventative care. Above all, the interests of the patient will come first. No longer passive recipients of care, patients will be active partners with enforceable guarantees, real choice, and direct control over services.

These changes are essential to maintain the principle at the core of the NHS: of care provided on the basis of need, not ability to pay.

Protecting the NHS and investing in the front line

In 1997, health spending as a share of national income was the second lowest of all the major industrialised countries. The resulting failures were visible to all: long waits,
outdated buildings, too few doctors and nurses.

Since then, investment and reform have turned around the public’s experience of the NHS. A generation of new hospitals has been built, entirely new services created, and long waits eliminated. We are undertaking fundamental changes to community services, tough decisions on pay, and a shift in care from the hospital to the community.

As we complete our once-in-a-generation programme of hospital building, we will refocus capital investment on primary and community services so that we rival the best healthcare systems in the world with our ability to identify disease early.

The reforms of recent years will allow us to do more than ever to release savings by cutting red tape and directing resources to where they matter most. We will scale down the NHS IT programme, saving hundreds of millions of pounds, and over the next four years, we will deliver up to £20 billion of efficiencies in the frontline NHS, ensuring that every pound is reinvested in frontline care.

**Getting the most from NHS resources: sustained investment and reform**

We will continue to press ahead with bold NHS reforms. All hospitals will become Foundation Trusts, with successful FTs given the support and incentives to take over those that are under-performing. Failing hospitals will have their management replaced. Foundation Trusts will be given the freedom to expand their provision into primary and community care, and to increase their private services – where these are consistent with NHS values, and provided they generate surpluses that are invested directly into the NHS.

We will support an active role for the independent sector working alongside the NHS in the provision of care, particularly where they bring innovation – such as in end-of-life care and cancer services, and increase capacity. We will be uncompromising in expecting high standards from all NHS services – and in the coming period we will expect PCTs to challenge all services to achieve the highest quality. Where changes are needed, we will be fair to NHS services and staff and give them a chance to improve, but where they fail to do so we will look to alternative provision.

Patient power will be increased. Patients requiring elective care will have the right, in law, to choose from any provider who meets NHS standards of quality at NHS costs. And we will also increase year-on-year the payments made to hospitals linked to patient satisfaction and quality outcomes – up to ten per cent of payment.

**Prevention and early intervention**

The NHS must be as effective at preventing ill health as it is at treating those in need of care. Prevention and early intervention will be at the heart of our plans for a reformed healthcare system offering more for every pound we spend, significantly improving survival rates for cancer, heart disease and strokes so that we are among the very best in the world.

We all have a responsibility to look after our own health, supported by our family and our employer. The ban on smoking in public places will be maintained. Wherever necessary, we will act to protect children’s health from tobacco, alcohol and sunbeds.
GP’s will be encouraged to keep their patients healthy through exercise and healthy eating advice. The ambitious Change 4 Life programme will support a more active, health-conscious country.

We will pioneer better mental health care and tackle the scourge of mental illness. Over the next Parliament more than 8,000 new therapists will ensure access to psychological therapy for all who need it as we seek to change our society’s attitudes to mental illness.

Empowering NHS staff and enabling Mutuals

Central to our agenda for improvement is the hardworking NHS workforce. We will continue the process of empowering staff – freeing them from bureaucracy and ensuring they get proper support.

We will expand the role of NHS nurses, particularly in primary care, in line with the best clinical evidence. And across the NHS we will extend the right for staff, particularly nurses, to request to run their own services in the not-for-profit sector. To strengthen local accountability, we will increase the membership of Foundation Trusts to over three million by the end of the next Parliament.

The NHS will benefit from a period of organisational stability: we will make no top-down changes to the structure of Primary Care Trusts or Strategic Health Authorities during the next Parliament, and we will ensure stability in the hospital payment system.

Real guarantees and real choices for patients

People rightly want public services that are not just universal but also personal to their needs. We will expand patient choice, empowering patients with information, and giving individuals the right to determine the time and place of treatment. At the heart of this will be new legally binding guarantees enshrined in the NHS constitution:

- The waiting-time guarantee will ensure that treatment begins within 18 weeks of seeing your GP, or the NHS will find you to go private.
- The cancer guarantee will ensure that all patients see a cancer specialist within two weeks of GP referral and that all cancer tests will be completed and the results received within just one week – helping save tens of thousands of lives over the next ten years.
- The health-check guarantee will ensure that everyone between 40 and 74 will be guaranteed a routine health check on the NHS, preventing up to 10,000 heart attacks and strokes each year.
- The GP access guarantee will ensure everyone has the right to choose a GP in their area offering evening and weekend opening.

A personal NHS

We will ensure the NHS suits the lives of busy families expanding further the availability of GP-led health centres open seven days a week ‘8 til 8’ in towns and cities. NHS organisations will offer telephone and online booking via the NHS Choices website. Online patient comments about the quality of any NHS service will inform people’s choices. A new national 111 telephone number will make non-emergency services far easier for people to access and book.

We will bring the NHS closer to people through a major expansion in care available at home, including chemotherapy and dialysis. More services will be available from GPs and through local pharmacists. Patients will have the right to register with a GP anywhere they choose, including near
their place of work. Choice of when and where you are treated will be extended whenever patients are booking routine appointments.

We will offer more personal healthcare. All cancer patients will be offered one-to-one dedicated nursing for the duration of their care and we will work with Marie Curie Cancer Care and other providers to guarantee everyone who wants it the opportunity to receive palliative care in their own home at the end of their lives.

Everyone with a long-term condition, such as those with diabetes, will have the right to a care plan and an individual budget.

All women will have the right, wherever it is safe, to a home-birth, and every expectant mother will have a named midwife providing continuity of care. More mums and dads will be offered single rooms if they need to stay in hospital overnight, and post-natal care will be further expanded so that every area of the country has a Family Nurse Partnership, supporting families in greatest need.

With new rights to treatment come new responsibilities for patients; patients who fail to turn up for pre-booked appointments will not be guaranteed fast-track treatment. The NHS Constitution will guarantee the legal rights of patients, wherever they live, to all treatments and drugs approved by NICE for use in the NHS. We will continue to improve the process of approving new drugs and treatments so that these can be made available to NHS patients more quickly. We will ensure all leading drugs available internationally are assessed by NICE and those which are deemed effective will be available within six months of referral.

We will establish a new National Care Service working in partnership with the NHS to transform the way care is provided to the elderly and disabled people.

**Safety and cleanliness**

We will ensure all hospitals are clean and safe for both patients and staff. More than 3,000 matrons across the NHS will have the power to manage wards, order deep cleaning, and report problems directly to hospital boards. Every patient who comes into an NHS hospital will be screened for MRSA. We will establish national standards of infection control that get tougher every year and which every hospital and ward must meet. The safety regulator will have the power to close wards, impose fines or order cleaning wherever necessary.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

Crime and immigration

Britain is far safer now than when the Tories left office. Crime is down by more than a third; violent crime is down by over 40 per cent, and the risk of being a victim of crime is the lowest since 1981. But people are still worried about binge drinking, problem families and anti-social behaviour. We are committed to tackling these problems, not talking them up to run Britain down.

We understand people’s concerns about immigration – about whether it will undermine their wages or job prospects, or put pressure on public services or housing – and we have acted. Asylum claims are down to the levels of the early 1990s and net inward migration has fallen. We will use our new Australian-style points-based system to ensure that as growth returns we see rising levels of employment and wages, not rising immigration – but we reject the arbitrary and unworkable Tory quota.

The challenge for Britain

To reduce the fear of crime by protecting frontline policing while making the police more responsive and accountable, and taking faster action on anti-social behaviour. The Tories talk tough but vote soft on issues from gun crime to DNA retention; would cut police and PCSO numbers; and favour political police chiefs over real reform. We will control immigration with our new Australian-style points-based system – unlike the arbitrary Tory quota, which would damage business and growth.

The next stage of national renewal

• Provide the funding to maintain police and PCSO numbers with neighbourhood police teams in every area, spending 80 per cent of their time on the beat visible in their neighbourhood; improve police performance through online police report cards and ensure failing forces are taken over by the best.

• Intervene earlier to prevent crime, with no-nonsense action to tackle the problems caused by 50,000 dysfunctional families.

• Guarantee fast and effective action to deal with anti-social behaviour, including a right to legal injunctions for repeat victims, funded by the police or council who let them down.

• Expand tough ‘Community Payback’ for criminals who don’t go to prison, giving everyone the right to vote on the work they do.

• Control immigration through our Australian-style points-based system, ensuring that as growth returns we see rising levels of employment and wages, not rising immigration, and requiring newcomers to earn citizenship and the entitlements it brings.
assured for the next three years. To protect the front line we are making tough choices elsewhere: continuing to cut bureaucracy and inefficiency in procurement, IT and overtime.

Every community now has a neighbourhood police team committed to spending at least 80 per cent of their time on the beat visible in their neighbourhood, and responding to non-emergency issues within 24 hours. To ensure that communities can determine local policing priorities, neighbourhood police teams will hold monthly beat meetings - at which local people will have a right to hold senior commanders to account.

We will protect the police from politicisation, but take swift action where they are not performing. Online crime maps now give everyone monthly information on crime in their area, and we have supported the Policing Inspectorate in publishing new online ‘report cards’, comparing how forces perform. Where a police force or local Basic Command Unit consistently fails local people, we will ensure either that the senior management team including the borough commander or chief constable is replaced, or it is taken over by a neighbouring force or BCU.

**Early intervention and preventing crime**

We need to do more and act earlier to stop children going down the wrong path. So we will expand Family Nurse Partnerships to all vulnerable young mothers, reducing future crime and behavioural problems. For the 50,000 most dysfunctional families who cause misery to their neighbours, we will provide Family Intervention Projects – proven to tackle anti-social behaviour – a no-nonsense regime of one-to-one support with tough sanctions for non-compliance.

Youth reoffending is now falling, and the numbers in youth custody have fallen by 30 per cent. We will expand US-style street teams which use youth pastors and vetted ex-offenders to reach out to disaffected young people; Youth Conditional Cautions which focus on rehabilitation and reparation; and we will introduce a preventative element for all Anti-Social Behaviour Orders for under 16s. To ensure there are more things for teenagers to do we will double the availability of organised youth activities on Friday and Saturday nights.

We will expand joint working between police and the probation service to supervise prolific young offenders after they get out of prison, and the use of mentors including vetted ex-prisoners to meet offenders ‘at the gate’ so they don’t slip back into crime. And alcohol treatment places will be trebled to cover all persistent criminals where alcohol is identified as a cause of their crimes.

We need to try new approaches to solving the most intractable problems. So we will pioneer Social Impact Bonds, encouraging private investors to support social entrepreneurs and the third sector – and harnessing additional investment for crime prevention at minimal cost to the taxpayer. We have shown that Restorative Justice can increase satisfaction for victims and the police, and we will bring in a Restorative Justice Act to ensure it is available wherever victims approve it.

On drugs, our message is clear: we will not tolerate illegal drug use. We have reclassified cannabis to Class B and banned ‘legal highs’. More addicts are being treated, with a higher proportion going on to drug-free lives. We will switch investment towards those programmes that are shown
Crime and immigration

Tough action on crime and anti-social behaviour

Crime continued to fall during the recession, in marked contrast to the recessions of the 1980s and 1990s. Homicides are at the lowest level for a decade – gun murders are at their lowest for 20 years, and our gun laws are among the toughest in the world. We have strengthened the law on knife crime with jail more likely, sentences longer, and more police searches and scanners – and knife crime has fallen. We are tackling territorial youth gangs with specific police powers, and new approaches that confront gangs while supporting those who want to leave gang life.

Domestic violence has fallen by over 50 per cent since 1997, reporting of rape has doubled, and rape convictions have increased by more than 50 per cent. But we are committed to zero tolerance of violence against women, so we will continue to drive up prosecution rates, tackle causes, and raise awareness – as well as maintaining women-only services including a Sexual Assault Referral Centre in every area.

Labour is proud to be the party that legislated first to criminalise incitement to racial hatred, religious hatred, and homophobic hatred – and we will reverse the Tory attempt to undermine this latest legislation, invoking the Parliament Act if necessary to force it through.

To tackle the binge drinking which can leave people reluctant to venture into town centres at night, we have banned irresponsible promotions and strengthened police and council powers to close down rowdy pubs and clubs, cracking down on under-age and public drinking. We have brought in a right to petition local authorities to end 24-hour licensing where problems arise.

There were no specific powers against anti-social behaviour in 1997. Now there are ASBOs, parenting orders and dispersal powers. Because we know people want faster action on ASB, we will guarantee an initial response to any complaint within 24 hours. Local authorities and other agencies will be required to give people a named case worker who will report back on progress, and escalate action if the problem persists. All relevant agencies – not just neighbourhood police teams – will hold monthly public meetings to hear people’s concerns; all PCSOs will have stronger powers to tackle ASB; a ‘Respect’ standard for the private rented sector will be introduced; and local ASB champions will make agencies work together to tackle cases.

Enforcement will also be strengthened: we will ensure that the great majority of applications for ASBOs take under a month and that whenever an ASBO is breached there is an expectation of prosecution. And when someone suffers repeated ASB and the police, council, courts or other agencies fail to act, there must be a stronger form of redress. So we will legislate to give people financial support to pursue legal injunctions, with the costs met by the agency that let them down.

Using technology to cut crime

We will continue to make full use of CCTV and DNA technology: new weapons deployed to strengthen our fight against crime. We are proud of our record on civil liberties and have taken the DNA profiles of children off the database and tightened the rules around the use of surveillance – but we are also determined to keep our streets safe.
CCTV reduces the fear of crime and anti-social behaviour. We have funded cameras in nearly 700 areas, and brought in a new power for people to petition their local authority for more CCTV.

Advances in DNA technology have been critical in solving serious crimes – last year alone there were 832 positive matches to the DNA database in cases of rape, murder and manslaughter. Labour will ensure that the most serious offenders are added to the database no matter where or when they were convicted – and retain for six years the DNA profiles of those arrested but not convicted.

The new biometric ID scheme which already covers foreign nationals will be offered to an increasing number of British citizens, but will not be compulsory for them. It will help fight the growing threat of identity theft and fraud, as well as crime, illegal immigration and terrorism. In the next Parliament ID cards and the ID scheme will be self-financing. The price of the passport and ID cards together with savings from reduced fraud across the public services will fully cover the costs of the scheme.

**Punishment and reform**

We have provided over 26,000 more prison places since 1997. There are more criminals in prison – not because crime is rising but because violent and serious offenders are going to prison for longer. We will ensure a total of 96,000 prison places by 2014. More EU and other foreign prisoners will be transferred abroad, and we will work to reduce the number of women, young and mentally ill people in prison. Any spare capacity generated will reduce costs while protecting the public.

For offenders not sentenced to prison we have brought in tough new ‘Community Payback’: hard work in public, wearing orange jackets. We will extend nationwide the right for local people to vote on what work offenders do to pay back to the communities they have harmed.

We will always put the victim first in the criminal justice system. We are creating a National Victims Service to guarantee all victims of crime and anti-social behaviour seven-day-a-week cover and a named, dedicated worker offering one-to-one support through the trial and beyond. The compensation offenders have to pay to victims has been increased, and we will now ensure victims get this payment up front.

To help protect frontline services, we will find greater savings in legal aid and the courts system – increasing the use of successful ‘virtual courts’ which move from arrest, to trial, to sentencing in hours rather than weeks or months. We will use the tax system to claw back from higher-earning offenders a proportion of the costs of prison. Asset confiscation will be a standard principle in sentencing, extended from cash to houses and cars. Every community will have the right to vote on how these assets are used to pay back to the community.

**Terrorism and organised crime**

Our counter-terrorism approach is one of the most sophisticated in the world, and investment has trebled since 2001, with thousands more counter-terrorist police and a doubling of security service numbers.

We will continue to give the police the tools they need to fight terrorism while giving Parliament and the courts oversight to ensure these powers are not overused. We condemn torture, and our police and security services will not co-operate with those who use torture. We will develop our Prevent strategy to combat extremism.
We will continue to make Britain a hostile place for organised criminals, harassing them with asset seizures, tax investigations and other powers; strengthening the Serious Organised Crime Agency and encouraging police forces to cooperate across force boundaries and international borders; and responding quickly to new threats including cybercrime.

**Strong borders and immigration controls**

We are committed to an immigration system that promotes and protects British values. People need to know that immigration is controlled, that the rules are firm and fair, and that there is support for communities in dealing with change.

Our borders are stronger than ever. A new Border Agency has police-level powers and thousands more immigration officers, 100 per cent of visas are now biometric, and new electronic border controls will be counting people in and out by the end of the year. Asylum claims are back down to early 1990s levels, and the cost of asylum support to the taxpayer has been cut by half in the last six years. Genuine refugees will continue to receive protection.

Our new Australian-style points-based system is ensuring we get the migrants our economy needs, but no more. We will gradually tighten the criteria in line with the needs of the British economy and the values of British citizenship, and step up our action against illegal immigration. There will be no unskilled migration from outside the EU. Skilled jobs are now advertised here first for four weeks with more vacancies going to local workers, and public procurement will in future give priority to local people. The points-based system will be used to control migration with limits for high-skilled workers and university students. As growth returns we want to see rising levels of employment and wages, not rising immigration.

We recognise that immigration can place pressures on housing and public services in some communities so we will expand the Migration Impact Fund, paid for by contributions from migrants, to help local areas.

We know that migrants who are fluent in English are more likely to work and find it easier to integrate. So as well as making our English test harder, we will ensure it is taken by all applicants before they arrive. Local councils and other public services should keep funding for translation services to a minimum. Many public-sector workers are already required to meet minimum standards of English; we will build on this to ensure that all employees who have contact with the public possess an appropriate level of English language competence.

Because we believe coming to Britain is a privilege and not a right, we will break the automatic link between staying here for a set period and being able to settle or gain citizenship. In future, staying will be dependent on the points-based system, and access to benefits and social housing will increasingly be reserved for British citizens and permanent residents – saving the taxpayer hundreds of millions of pounds each year. We will continue to emphasise the value we place on citizenship, and the responsibilities as well as rights it brings, through the citizenship pledge and ceremony, and by strengthening the test of British values and traditions.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
Supporting families throughout life

Families and older people
The challenge for Britain

To support all families in a rapidly changing world that places new and rising demands on all of us. We will help families to realise their aspirations – whatever their circumstances – and we recognise the huge contribution older people make to society and to family life. The Tories propose a marriage tax allowance that is divisive and unfair, will neglect growing care needs among frail elderly people and disabled adults, and prioritise only the privileged few.

The next stage of national renewal

• More help for parents to balance work and family life, with a ‘Father’s Month’ of flexible paid leave.

• A new Toddler Tax Credit of £4 a week from 2012 to give more support to all parents of young children – whether they want to stay at home or work.

• The right to request flexible working for older workers, with an end to default retirement at 65, enabling more people to decide for themselves how long they choose to keep working.

• A new National Care Service to ensure free care in the home for those with the greatest care needs and a cap on the costs of residential care so that everyone’s homes and savings are protected from care charges after two years in a care home.

• A re-established link between the Basic State Pension and earnings from 2012; and help for ten million people to build up savings through new Personal Pension Accounts.

Our society is ageing as many more of us live long and fulfilling lives, active in our communities as we enjoy retirement. Retired people bring great strengths to our society – as carers for family members, active grandparents, and pillars of local civic life.

Substantial challenges still remain. Today, tough financial times are placing extra pressures on families – adding to the daily challenges many already face in going out to work to earn a decent income, look after a home, and care for children or older relatives. In many families these pressures fall particularly on mothers. And like every industrialised country across the world, we need to adjust to an ageing society – where demand for health provision will grow, and where the need for care will rise rapidly.

We need services that help families manage these new pressures without creating huge additional costs. We need to go further to secure fairness in later life and ensure that those who plan and save for their retirement are rewarded for doing so. The additional costs and burdens of old age must not fall disproportionately on those who have made provision for themselves and their families.
Strengthening family life

Children thrive best in families in which relationships are stable, loving and strong. We support couples who want to get married and for whom marriage offers the best environment to raise children. Marriage is fundamental to our society, but financial support should be directed at all children, not just those with married parents. We reject proposals that would skew resources to the wealthy, or penalise loving and committed adults who, for whatever reason, are not married, and stigmatise their children.

In today’s fast-changing world, parents want to be confident they have the information and choices they need to protect their children. We will continue to promote internet safety for children, building on the recommendations of Dr Tanya Byron’s review. We will support parents who challenge aggressive or sexualised commercial marketing. We will ask Consumer Focus to develop a website for parents to register their concerns about sexualised products aimed at their children.

We have established the Family Justice Review to examine reforms to the family justice system making it more child-focused and family-centred. Parents who are clear their relationship has broken down and cannot be restored need more help to reach agreement about future arrangements early on in the process, for the benefit of their children.

No child left behind in poverty

No child should have to grow up in poverty. The current pressures on the personal finances of families make the goal of ending child poverty more urgent than ever. So we will continue to make progress towards our historic goal of ending child poverty by 2020, building on the 2010 Child Poverty Act.

In the next Parliament, we will focus on helping families into jobs and out of poverty. Where parents, especially mothers, want to stay at home or work part-time we will do more to help families with younger children, reducing poverty in those vital early years of a child’s life. We will ensure that work always pays for hard-working lone parents. The child element of the Child Tax Credit will be increased by £4 a week for families with children aged one and two from 2012, paid regardless of the marital status of the parents – a Toddler Tax Credit.

A better work-life balance

More than ever, families want support in balancing the pressures of work and home. To help parents strike this balance we will extend real choice to parents over how they organise their parental leave.

We have already increased paid maternity leave to nine months. We continue to believe that one year’s paid leave in the baby’s first year would be of great benefit to parents and their children. However, in the current economic circumstances, progress will inevitably be tougher. So we will introduce more flexibility to the nine months’ paid leave that mothers currently enjoy – allowing them to share this entitlement with fathers after a minimum of six months.

We will introduce a new Fathers’ Month, four weeks of paid leave rather than the current two. We will also work with employers on how this can be taken flexibly – for instance, two weeks around the birth, and the remaining two weeks taken flexibly over the first year of the baby’s life, including the option of sharing these extra weeks between parents. This will be paid for as savings accrue from housing benefit through our reforms.
Our new agenda for families must reflect the change in working patterns that has emerged over the last 20 years. A high proportion of parents no longer work the traditional day, while increasing numbers of families depend on part-time work to manage their caring and job responsibilities. Many still struggle to find quality part-time jobs that use their skills, so we will promote the creation of more highly skilled, quality jobs for parents who choose to work more flexibly.

We created the right to request flexible working for parents and carers so that millions of individuals and their families could exercise more choice about how to balance their work and caring responsibilities. But as the burden of caring increases in our society we need to go further. By the end of the next Parliament we will ensure that the right to flexible working is extended for older people, recognising that many, including grandparents, want to vary their hours to the benefit of their families and to accommodate changing lifestyles. We will consult on the age at which this right should apply.

### Helping older people who want to work

Age discrimination in the workplace has been banned. As well as promoting flexible working, we will now proceed to end default retirement at 65, with a review to establish the right way in which to support more people to work longer should they choose to do so. To expand the choices available for those wishing to work after retirement, we will enable people aged 60 and over to claim Working Tax Credit if they work at least 16 hours a week, rather than 30 hours as at present.

### A good quality of life in older age

The vast majority of older people are well and active, helping to strengthen our families, communities and wider society. Many charities, voluntary organisations and schools value and rely on the contribution of older people and we support the growing number of excellent initiatives creating greater understanding across the generations. We will continue to support older people in getting involved in their community by providing matched funding for community projects.

Parents who are able to call on grandparents to help with childcare, or during emergencies, know how essential their support is to a strong family life. Grandparents who give up work to help care for their grandchildren must not lose out, so they will receive National Insurance Credits towards their state pension. We will remove the requirement on grandparents to apply for the court’s permission before making an application for contact with their grandchildren and we will ensure that grandparents and other family members are always given first consideration for adoption or fostering.

### Better pensions for all, tackling pensioner poverty

Our commitment to fairness has put pensioner poverty at the top of our agenda for Britain. Older-age poverty has been dramatically reduced compared to a generation ago. We recognise that it is right that pensions should rise in line with the nation’s wealth. So to increase security in retirement, we will restore the link between the basic state pension and earnings from 2012 – a link broken by the Tories in 1980. Pension credit, which ensures that no pensioner need live on less than £132.60 per week.
or £202.40 for couples, and supports the income of 2.7 million pensioner households, will also rise in line with earnings. Six in ten pensioners currently pay no income tax.

We will continue to provide help to pensioners, with the Winter Fuel Payments (maintained this winter at £250 for those over state retirement age and £400 for those aged 80 or over); concessionary public-transport fares; free TV licences for the over-75s; and free eye tests and prescriptions.

Saving for pensions

As a country, we need to save more for retirement – individuals, employers, and the Government will all need to play their part. We will support ten million low-and middle-income people to build up savings through automatic enrolment in occupational pensions and new Personal Pension Accounts, ensuring that everyone in work is entitled to matched contributions from employers and government.

We will continue to make pension saving more attractive for individuals through favourable tax treatment. And we will promote stakeholder pensions offering simple, low-cost and flexible products, obliging employers to provide access to a pension for all employees. We will continue to protect pension schemes when a firm’s company scheme goes bust. We are also introducing more flexibility to make it easier for companies to run good schemes.

Between now and 2020 the State Pension Age for woman will rise to 65; and between 2024 and 2046, it will rise to 68 for both men and women, helping to keep state pensions affordable in the long term. The reforms we are making to public-sector pensions will keep them sustainable and affordable over the long term.

The National Care Service and an age-friendly NHS

The cornerstone of a fair future is ensuring everyone who needs care and support, whether through old age or disability, is properly looked after. We will establish a new National Care Service and forge a new settlement for our country as enduring as that which the Labour Government built after 1945. It will be a new settlement for all those who need care, for the carers who devote their time and energy for the good of others, and for families across the country. The care of both older people and disabled adults will be transformed; unfair postcode lotteries removed; more people will be looked after at home; and family homes and savings will be protected from catastrophic care costs. To provide independence and control for everyone with a care need we will continue to expand the use of individual budgets. And to drive up standards, we will develop a skilled and highly motivated workforce.

The first stage of reform will be to create a step-change in the provision of services in the home and in our communities. From 2011 we will protect more than 400,000 of those with the greatest needs from all charges for care in the home, and we will create a national physio support service helping people in every area of the country to regain their independence and confidence after a crisis or the first time they need care. These services are essential if we are to ensure more people are looked after in their homes and overall costs are to be controlled. They will be funded through savings and efficiencies in the health budget and in local government.

During the next Parliament, the second stage of reform will centre on the development of national standards and entitlements to ensure high-quality care for all, and an end
to the unfair postcode lotteries that affect too many families. We also want to remove the fear that families will lose the family home in order to pay for care bills. So, from 2014, the National Care Service will cap the costs of residential care so that everyone’s homes and savings are protected from care charges after two years. We will pay for this through our decision to freeze Inheritance Tax Thresholds until 2014-15, by supporting more people over the State Pension Age to stay in work if they so wish, and through efficiencies across the NHS and the care system.

The final stage of reform, after 2015, will be a comprehensive National Care Service, free at the point of use not just for older people, but all adults with an eligible care need whoever they are, wherever they live and whatever condition leads to them needing care. At the start of the next Parliament we will establish a Commission to reach a consensus on the right way of financing this system. The Commission will determine the options which should be open to individuals so that people can have choice and flexibility about how they pay and to ensure that the National Care Service is funded in a fair way. The Commission will make recommendations in time for implementation of the third stage of reform after 2015, once these proposals have been put to the public at a general election.

Across the NHS we will improve and personalise care for the elderly and their families. This will mean more NHS services available in the home, with greater use of tele-care and personal nursing; reform of the GP contract to help ensure those with late-life depression and anxiety are diagnosed and supported; and better services for those with dementia and Alzheimer’s so that every area of the country has access to psychological therapy, counselling and memory clinics. There will be an end to the age-discrimination that has too often seen older people disadvantaged in the provision of health services.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
Creative Britain: active and flourishing communities

Communities and creative Britain
The challenge for Britain

To build on the renaissance that British sport, culture and the arts have enjoyed in the last decade in the new climate of financial restraint. The voluntary and community sector has a new lease of life, but needs its potential to be fully harnessed. The Tories have always neglected the arts and sport, regarding them as an easy target for cuts.

The next stage of national renewal

- A golden decade of sport with the 2012 Olympics as a great national and world-wide celebration.
- Registered Supporters Trusts enabled to buy stakes in their club bringing mutualism to the heart of football.
- Operational independence for major museums and galleries, with more lottery funding returning to the arts, sport and culture after 2012.
- Protection for the post offices and pubs on which community life depends.
- The BBC’s independence upheld; and Britain equipped with a world-leading digital and broadband infrastructure.

The sporting, artistic and cultural life of Britain is rich and diverse, internationally renowned, and as vital to our quality of life as it is to our national prosperity. Since 1997, our creative industries, arts and sport have become the envy of the world. As the 2012 Olympics draw near, we will make the most of our place in the world’s spotlight to showcase Britain, getting more people playing sport and attracting more visitors to the UK.

Culture and the arts are vital to a modern economy. But they stand for more than material success, reminding us that society is not just a marketplace. Promoting well-being means sustaining the community institutions that we most cherish, and protecting those areas of our public life that embody the common good.

2012: creating an Olympic generation

Hosting the 2012 Olympics provides a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to showcase our country’s great sporting talent. The eyes of the world will be on us as Team GB inspires enthusiasm and national pride. Our aim is to achieve outstanding medal success at the Olympics and Paralympics, with a talent development system striving for excellence, and successful British athletes spanning all disciplines and events.

The Games will deliver a golden legacy for future generations, ushering in a new era of sporting excellence. The Olympics are already inspiring a new generation of British volunteers: over a quarter of a million young people have signed up to help run the Games.

We will ensure that the Olympics are delivered on time and on budget, to the highest standards. Britain will be the first Olympic hosts to create a world-class sports system, from elite level to the grass roots. The
apply to join one of the tens of thousands of sports clubs receiving public funding. And there are over half a million more adults taking part in regular sporting activity than a decade ago.

Protecting the integrity of professional sport is vital: we will toughen measures to combat cheating and the use of illegal substances in sport. We will work with governing authorities to ensure that professional clubs are accountable to their stakeholders, and run transparently on sound financial principles, with greater involvement of local communities and supporter representation. Sports governing bodies will be empowered to scrutinise takeovers of clubs, ensuring they are in the long-term interests of the club and the sport. We will develop proposals to enable registered Supporters Trusts to buy stakes in their club.

The 2010s promise to be a golden decade for British sport: as well as the 2012 Olympics, we will host the 2013 Rugby League World Cup, the 2014 Commonwealth Games, and the 2015 Rugby Union World Cup. We aim to bring more major international sporting competitions to Britain, beginning with our current partnership with the English FA to bring the 2018 World Cup to England.

Arts, culture and museums

We have made unprecedented investment in Britain’s cultural life, widening access by introducing free admission to museums and galleries. Every child and young person should be entitled to five hours of art, music and culture per week, through learning to play a musical instrument, visiting local museums and joining film clubs, or taking part in local theatre. Through Creative Partnerships we are ensuring that young people in the most deprived parts of the country are able to fulfil their artistic talents by working with local arts and cultural organisations.

We have provided the first nationwide programme of free theatre to young people; now we will build on the success of the National Theatre’s £10 Season to work with theatres and sponsors to provide reduced-rate tickets for theatrical productions around Britain. Our national cultural life and creative industries can prosper only by developing young artistic talent. Creative Bursaries will support the most
National Lottery funding is more in tune with people’s priorities than ever. We will promote greater public involvement in the way that National Lottery proceeds are spent on good causes. A proportion of Lottery funding is going to the Olympics. After 2012, this proportion will return to culture, heritage and sport.

Improving your community

The nature of the places in which we live matters enormously. We are happier, more engaged and better able to enjoy family life where there are safe and welcoming public spaces, good local amenities and buildings in which we can take pride.

Britain’s towns and cities have undergone a renaissance in the last decade. Our great cities have been rebuilt and revitalised and dilapidated schools and hospitals replaced with modern buildings. We will continue to promote excellence in architecture and design, helping to foster civic pride and build world-class places in which people want to live and work.

We have introduced new design standards for schools, to ensure the very best architecture and building design; we will extend these to all new government-funded building programmes.

Protecting community life

Strong community life also depends on protecting the places in which people come together. To give families access to good recreational facilities, we are investing £235 million to create new or refurbished play spaces and adventure playgrounds. We will protect the Post Office network, so that it can fulfil its historic role as a trusted institution serving the community.

The local pub and social club are also hubs of community life. Too many pubs have closed that could have been sustained by local people. We will support pubs that have a viable future with a new fund for community ownership in 2010-11. Councils must take full account of the importance of pubs to the local community when assessing proposals that change their use, and we will make it more difficult to demolish pubs. Restrictive covenants applied by pub companies to property sales will be curbed and flexibility for pubs to provide related services promoted, making it easier to have live entertainment without a licence. A non-tie option should be available for pub tenants; we will act if the
industry fails to make progress on this.

To protect the character of their areas, local authorities now have greater powers to reject applications for lap-dancing clubs and we will give councils new powers to oppose gambling licences if there are too many betting shops operating in a high street. The ‘cleaner neighbourhoods’ legislation will be used to clamp down on litter, fly-tipping and vandalism. We will extend the use of participatory budgeting to give local people a stronger say. Community Land Trusts enable local people to purchase and run local amenities and assets in their area such as youth facilities, parks and open spaces. We will promote the transfer of buildings and land to the ownership or control of voluntary and community groups.

**Supporting social enterprise**

The Social Investment Bank will make additional capital available to social enterprises with an initial endowment of £75 million funded by dormant accounts alongside existing funding streams. We will promote the creation of more social enterprise hubs in every community – helping more to get off the ground.

We will extend the right of public-sector workers to request that they deliver frontline services through a social enterprise. Public-sector workers in the NHS currently enjoy this right. We will extend this to more public services, including social care, with greater community involvement in their governance.

**The new mutualism**

There is growing interest in co-operative and mutual organisations that people trust, and that have the capacity to unleash creativity and innovation, creating new jobs and services – particularly in disadvantaged neighbourhoods where traditional approaches have failed in the past. We want to see more local organisations run on co-operative principles with an expansion of Community Interest Companies and third-sector mutual organisations that reinvest profits for the public good. We will promote this through the Co-operative Party, Business Link, enterprise education and the Regional Development Agencies. To give more people a stake in a highly valued national asset, British Waterways will be turned into a mutually owned co-operative. We will promote the use of community shares that support investment in football clubs, pubs, renewable energy and shops.

**A vibrant voluntary sector**

Britain has among the highest levels of voluntary membership in the world. We strongly value the independence of the voluntary and community sector, including its campaigning role, and will act to maintain it. There will be greater support for third-sector organisations in competing for public-sector contracts, ensuring there is a level playing field with the public and private sectors. We will consult on putting the Compact Commission – which sets guidelines for effective partnership working between government and the third sector in Britain – on a statutory footing, and ensure greater support for the Compact at local level.

All young people should be active and engaged in their communities, so that it becomes a normal part of growing up to undertake service in the community. We are taking forward plans for a National Youth Community Service, with the goal that all young people contribute at least 50 hours to
their communities by the age of 19, building on citizenship education and community engagement in schools.

Faith is enormously important to millions of people in Britain, shaping their values and the way they live. We respect the importance of belief and welcome the contribution that people of faith make to our communities and society more widely. We will actively combat extremist groups who promote fear, hatred and violence on the basis of faith or race.

**Britain’s creative industries**

In every nation and region of Britain a wealth of creative talent – in industries ranging from film to fashion, design and video games – has flourished, and creative industries now account for ten per cent of the national economy.

The strength of Britain’s film industry is a source of pride. Through Labour’s film tax credit we have ensured that Britain – with its unique range of skills and facilities – is the right place to invest in film production. So that films can be enjoyed more widely too, we will maintain the film tax credit and create a merged British Film Institute and UK Film Council to establish a single body to promote film production and film heritage. Subject to state aid clearance, we will introduce a tax relief for the UK video games industry. We will support film festivals around the country, and establish a new biennial Festival of Britain, beginning in 2013, showcasing our major cultural achievements and young British talent across all of our creative industries.

The BBC is the most admired and trusted broadcaster in the world: respected internationally for its objectivity and its creative excellence, and here in Britain as a pillar of our cultural life. We support an independent and world-class BBC at the heart of a vibrant public broadcasting system. Our strong support for its editorial independence and the licence fee that finances the BBC’s programmes and activities will continue. The BBC Trust should fully involve the public in decision-making. The licence-fee is guaranteed for the ten-year Royal Charter that took effect on 1 January 2007.

Channel 4 will continue as a public-service broadcaster providing distinctive competition to the BBC, alongside ITV and Channel 5. We are committed to maintaining plurality in regional news provision. We will fund three regional news programme pilots from the digital switchover under-spend in the current licence-fee period.

The digital revolution is transforming the world of broadcasting. We are working with the BBC and Digital UK to ensure that TV’s digital switch-over takes place smoothly by 2012, providing financial support and helping elderly people and the most vulnerable households in the UK. To ensure we preserve competition and protect children and consumers on the Internet, we will safeguard the independence of Ofcom.

We are extending broadband access to every business and home, ensuring universal access within a decade to high-speed broadband across the country. We will update the intellectual property framework that is crucial to the creative industries – and take further action to tackle online piracy.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
A green future for Britain

A green recovery

labour.org.uk/manifesto
The challenge for Britain

To be on track for the transition to a low-carbon economy in a way that is fair, secure and helps create the jobs of the future, as we protect and enhance our natural environment and quality of life. For the Tories the environment has been all about image — by failing to deliver on our renewable energy targets, reversing our planning reforms and giving up on our new industrial strategy, they would put Labour’s low-carbon revolution in jeopardy.

The next stage of national renewal

• Achieve around 40 per cent low-carbon electricity by 2020 and create 400,000 new green jobs by 2015.
• Make greener living easier and fairer through ‘pay as you save’ home energy insulation, energy-bill discounts for pensioners and requiring landlords to properly insulate rented homes.
• Move towards a ‘zero waste’ Britain, banning recyclable and biodegradable materials from landfill.
• Link together new protected areas of habitat; maintain the Green Belt; increase forest and woodland areas.
• Ensure fairness for food producers through EU reform and a Supermarkets Ombudsman; and support post offices, shops and pubs in rural communities.

Labour’s environmental agenda reflects our values. Only active government can shape markets to prioritise green growth and job creation. Environmental sustainability cannot be left to individuals and businesses acting alone. We believe that people have the right to a healthy environment. That means giving everyone access to the beauty and amenity of natural places; we want to make it easier to live in a sustainable way whatever your standard of living.

We believe in local community action — enabling both elected councils and community and social enterprises to provide environmental benefits to local people. We are internationalists too: only co-operative global action — including a strong European Union — can tackle climate change and protect the world’s precious environments.

Towards a green economy

We have established low-carbon policy as one of the principal engines of our economic recovery and future growth. Our aim is to create 400,000 new green jobs by 2015. The foundation of Labour’s approach has been leadership
on climate change. The 2008 Climate Change Act made Britain the first country in the world to put its carbon targets into law.

Internationally, we will continue to work for an ambitious, fair and legally binding climate change agreement, building on the Copenhagen Accord to limit global temperature rises to two degrees Celsius. In the next Parliament, we will use our leadership in the EU to push for a strengthening of Europe’s 2020 emission reductions from 20 to 30 per cent by 2020 as part of an ambitious global deal. This would mean the UK increasing its current target of a 34 per cent reduction. As part of the negotiations, we believe Europe should agree a second Kyoto commitment period, provided all countries are brought within a clear legal framework.

Developing countries need help to adapt, reduce deforestation and emissions. From 2013 we will provide climate assistance additional to our commitment to provide 0.7 per cent of national income in overseas aid. No more than ten per cent of our aid will be counted towards climate finance.

**Clean energy**

This Government is revolutionising Britain’s energy policy. We are building a clean energy system which will reduce Britain’s dependence on imported oil and gas and increase our energy security. We are planning for around 40 per cent of our electricity to come from low-carbon sources by 2020 – renewables, nuclear and clean fossil fuels. A major drive for energy efficiency will be enhanced by a 'smart grid' using new information technologies.

We are committed to meeting 15 per cent of our energy demand from renewables by 2020. We already have more offshore wind-power than any other country in the world, and our plans could see this increase up to 40 times, alongside other renewable technologies such as tidal and marine, solar and sustainable bio-energy. We will make a decision early in the next Parliament on the feasibility of alternative options for a tidal energy project on the Severn, taking full account of the environmental impacts.

We have taken the decisions to enable a new generation of nuclear power stations, and a programme of four clean coal plants with carbon capture and storage technology with a levy to fund them. We are the only Government in the world to have banned new unabated coal-fired power stations.

To secure this investment – likely to be worth around £150 billion over the next decade – we have reformed the planning system to reduce delays for major infrastructure. We will now reform the regulatory system to provide the certainty that investors need, and create a Green Investment Bank to help finance this transformation.

In stimulating the sustainable use of resources, we will move towards a ‘zero waste’ Britain, banning recyclable and biodegradable materials from landfill and continuing the move towards universal water metering in areas of water stress.

Our industrial strategy will ensure that the drive to green our economy will create jobs and businesses in Britain in the manufacture and installation of low-carbon and environmental technologies.
Making green living easier and fairer

Everyone can play their part in reducing carbon emissions and protecting the environment. Through our requirement that energy companies provide subsidies for insulation, we will ensure that all household lofts and cavity walls are insulated, where practical, by 2015. By 2020 every home will have a smart meter to help control energy use and enable cheaper tariffs; and we will enable seven million homes to have a fuller ‘eco-upgrade’.

We will legislate to introduce ‘Pay As You Save’ financing schemes under which home-energy improvements can be paid for from the savings they generate on energy bills. Already with our new ‘feed-in tariffs’ and incentive for renewable heat, households fitting micro-generation technologies such as solar can earn financial rewards from the energy they generate themselves.

Labour is determined to end fuel poverty and create a fair energy system for all. We will introduce a new Warm Home Standard for social housing and regulate landlords so that privately rented accommodation is properly insulated. We have legislated for compulsory contributions from energy companies to protect the vulnerable.

To deliver the fairest deal for consumers, we will ensure greater competition in the energy supply market. And we will review the role of the water regulator, Ofwat, to ensure customers get the best deal and their voice is heard in price-setting.

Encouraging greener living is about communities, not just individuals. We will devolve power to local councils to hold energy companies to account for community energy efficiency programmes, and give them powers to develop local energy systems such as renewables and district heating. We want local people to have a stake in local renewable energy projects such as wind farms. So we will support community organisations, co-ops and social enterprises to provide energy services, meaning lower prices through bulk purchasing, and the development of small-scale renewables.

We have made it far easier for everyone to recycle. From nine per cent when we came to office, now 37 per cent of municipal waste is recycled or composted. Next we will drive the introduction of ‘recycling on the go’, with separated public bins on the street and in shopping centres.

We have championed the increasing desire of many to grow their own food, encouraging local authorities to provide more allotments and getting kids to learn about growing food in school. We will work with community organisations to make it easier to find and use sites for ‘grow your own’ schemes.

Valuing nature for everyone

For millions of people the British countryside, and the parks and commons of our towns and cities, provide solace from the pressures of modern life. The riches of Britain’s biodiversity – our native species, both rare and commonplace – depend on them.

We are committed not only to protecting but also to enhancing our natural environment, and enabling it to be enjoyed by all. The area of Green Belt has increased over the last decade – and we intend to sustain it. We will maintain the target that 60 per cent of new development should be on brownfield land.
We have created two National Parks in the New Forest and South Downs, and given the public a Right to Roam our mountains, moors and heaths. We will now extend this to the whole English coastline.

Competing pressures – from greater food production to housing and natural flood defences – are making the management of land resources ever more challenging. We will introduce a new framework for managing our land that can more effectively reconcile these pressures. We will put forward new areas for protected landscape and habitat status, focusing on green corridors and wildlife networks to link up existing sites. And we will commit to increasing the area covered by forest and woodland.

Our air, rivers and beaches are now the cleanest they have been since the height of the industrial revolution. We will continue to ensure progress. Having doubled spending on flood defence over the last decade we will bring forward legislation to improve floods and water management.

We have banned foxhunting and animal testing for cosmetics and tobacco, and we will bring forward further animal welfare measures. We will campaign internationally to end illegal trading in ivory and to protect species such as polar bears, seals and bluefin tuna, as well as for an EU-wide ban on illegally logged timber, banning it domestically if this does not succeed.

**Sustainable farming, healthy food**

We want British farming to be profitable and competitive. We need our farmers to produce more food, nurturing our countryside and biodiversity. We will continue to seek reform of the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) to facilitate the creation of fairer and better-functioning agricultural markets, enabling farmers to return a reasonable profit from food production at lower cost to the consumer.

In order to protect farmers and food suppliers from unfair and uncompetitive practices by major retailers, we will create a Supermarket Ombudsman. Consumers have the right to know where food comes from. We are working with the food industry and retailers to ensure proper food labelling, including tougher and clearer ‘country of origin’ information. This will also help to level the playing field for British farmers.

An economically viable and environmentally sustainable fishing industry is vital for our coastal communities. We will push for fundamental reform of the EU Common Fisheries Policy.

**Thriving rural communities**

Those who live in rural areas are entitled to excellent amenities and services, as are those who live in towns and cities. Rural communities face unique challenges. We are committed to continued investment in frontline services in rural areas.

Already £3.9 billion is being spent on support for the rural economy and we will continue to provide specific support to rural businesses. We are building 10,000 homes in rural areas up to 2011. We are protecting rural bus services and making it more difficult for rural schools to be closed.

Rural businesses and communities must have the broadband connections they need. We are committed to universal broadband access, irrespective of location. The levy on fixed phone lines will pay for expansion of fast broadband connections to rural areas.
Rural villages should never be left without essential services. Councils now have to ensure that the importance of local services to the community is taken into account before granting planning permission to change their use, and we will strengthen this to protect viable shops, pubs and community facilities. We will continue to encourage and support imaginative solutions in rural communities to the provision of locally owned services.
Democratic reform
The challenge for Britain

To forge a new constitutional and political settlement in Britain so that we restore trust in politics, and our political institutions are properly held to account by the people. The Tories oppose any real reform of the political system that has let the public down. Their policies would result in a postcode lottery based on ‘free-for-all’ localism rather than genuine empowerment and a future fair for all.

The next stage of national renewal

- Referenda, held on the same day, for moving to the Alternative Vote for elections to the House of Commons and to a democratic and accountable Second Chamber.
- Improved citizenship education for young people followed by a free vote in Parliament on reducing the voting age to 16.
- Legislation to ensure Parliaments sit for a fixed term and an All Party Commission to chart a course to a Written Constitution.
- A statutory register of lobbyists, with MPs banned from working for lobbying companies and required to seek approval for paid outside appointments.
- Stronger local government, with increased local democratic scrutiny over all local public services.

We face a deep crisis of trust in politics following the parliamentary expenses scandal. Faith in our political institutions was seriously eroded by the abuses of the expenses system. Only radical change can begin to renew our democracy.

Cleaning up politics

We acted swiftly to clean up politics by creating an Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority (IPSA) to set pay and pensions for MPs, as well as their allowances. And we will take further measures to restore trust in our politics. MPs who are found responsible for financial misconduct will be subject to a right of recall if Parliament itself has failed to act against them. The House of Lords and the new Second Chamber will be brought under the aegis of IPSA. We will create a Statutory Register of Lobbyists to ensure complete transparency in their activities. We will ban MPs from working for generic lobbying companies and require those who want to take up paid outside appointments to seek approval from an independent body to avoid jobs that conflict with their responsibilities to the public.

But this is only the start. People want a greater say in how the country is governed and for politicians to be more accountable to those they serve. So while we are proud of our record of devolving power and reforming the constitution, we believe that further and more radical reform is imperative if we are to renew our democratic public life. Britain needs a new constitutional and political settlement for a new era.

A new politics

To begin the task of building a new politics, we will let the British people decide on whether to make Parliament
more democratic and accountable in referenda on reform of the House of Commons and House of Lords, to be held on the same day, by October 2011.

To ensure that every MP is supported by the majority of their constituents voting at each election, we will hold a referendum on introducing the Alternative Vote for elections to the House of Commons.

We will ensure that the hereditary principle is removed from the House of Lords. Further democratic reform to create a fully elected Second Chamber will then be achieved in stages. At the end of the next Parliament one third of the House of Lords will be elected; a further one third of members will be elected at the general election after that. Until the final stage, the representation of all groups should be maintained in equal proportions to now. We will consult widely on these proposals, and on an open-list proportional representation electoral system for the Second Chamber, before putting them to the people in a referendum.

To further strengthen our democracy and renew our constitution, we will legislate for Fixed Term Parliaments and set up an All Party Commission to chart a course to a Written Constitution. We are proud to have brought in the Human Rights Act, enabling British citizens to take action in British courts rather than having to wait years to seek redress in Strasbourg. We will not repeal or resile from it.

Our society rightly demands respect from young people. At the same time, society should respect young people’s views and aspirations. The success of elections for local Youth Mayors and the UK Youth Parliament strengthens the case for reducing the voting age to 16, a change to which Labour is committed. However, we believe that prior to this happening, we need further to improve citizenship education in schools so that young people are better prepared for their democratic responsibilities; a report will be commissioned on how best to achieve this so that we can raise standards in citizenship education, before providing a free vote in Parliament on reducing the voting age to 16, for which we will make government time available.

**Stronger accountability**

A new politics also means strengthening the power of Parliament to hold the executive to account. We have supported changes to how Parliament functions in order to strengthen Select Committees and to give a stronger voice to backbenchers. The public will be given a new right to petition the House of Commons to trigger debates on issues of significant public concern. Parliament must better reflect the diversity of modern Britain. Labour already has a higher proportion of female and black and ethnic minority MPs than any other party. We will take forward the proposals of the recent Speaker’s Conference so that the House of Commons properly reflects the diversity of modern Britain.

We strongly support measures that improve the transparency of parliamentary institutions and government, and want to see this principle extended throughout public life. To encourage freedom of speech and access to information, we will bring forward new legislation on libel to protect the right of defendants to speak freely.

The cost of politics to the taxpayer must be minimised, but we reject using this as
Democratic reform

an excuse to gerrymander constituency boundaries in the interests of one political party. We will establish a non-partisan Parliamentary Boundaries Review to examine the rules for constructing parliamentary constituencies. We have already legislated to enable the individual registration of voters. We will now act, legislating further if necessary, to end the unacceptable situation where three million eligible voters cannot vote because they are not registered to do so.

We believe that the funding of political parties must be reformed if the public is to regain trust in politics. Our starting point should be the Hayden Phillips proposals of 2008. We will seek to reopen discussions on party-funding reform, with a clear understanding that any changes should only be made on the basis of cross-party agreement and widespread public support.

**Devolving power**

The new politics also means radical change to local public services. Our goal is for much greater local flexibility and responsiveness, so that services are shaped around the personal needs of citizens, not the silos of government departments. Greater accountability – with public services built around users, scrutinised by democratically elected local councils, and with clear rights of redress for citizens – will strengthen support for collectively provided services, while driving efficiency and effectiveness in expenditure.

Local government and its partners in public services are already pooling budgets across localities. Our radical Total Place agenda will take this further, giving local areas additional freedom to achieve better services and more savings, cutting bureaucracy and management costs, while placing a greater on early intervention. Ring-fenced budgets, central targets and indicators will be cut back. Local government is at the forefront of tackling the major challenges our society faces, from climate change to ageing. Increasingly, councils are the motors of economic growth and regeneration, particularly in our great cities. We will give local government new powers to lead in the provision and financing of social and affordable housing, tackle climate change and work with the NHS in our new National Care Service.

These reforms provide the foundations for fundamental change. In contrast to ‘no frills’ councils that charge twice for all but the most basic services, we believe that local government must further empower residents to hold it to account and deliver better, more personalised services. Alongside enhanced scrutiny powers for councillors, we are introducing petitioning powers for local residents to demand action, and extending neighbourhood agreements where citizens set out the standards of services they expect locally.

We will also extend the powers available to our major city-regions, building upon the pioneering arrangements in Greater Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham. City-regions will be able to gain additional powers to improve transport, skills and economic development and acquire greater borrowing flexibility. Where new city-region authorities are created, we will give residents the opportunity to trigger a referendum for directly electing a Mayor, with London-style powers. More towns should be encouraged to apply for city status and have the chance to acquire it in future competitions.
Our towns and cities need modern, sustainable transport infrastructure. We will support tram schemes into the major cities, including upgrades to the Manchester, Nottingham, Birmingham and Tyne & Wear light-rail systems, a modern trolley bus in Leeds, and more Oyster-style electronic ticketing promoting cheap and easy interchange between public transport in cities.

We recognise that buses are a lifeline, having doubled investment since 1997. We will provide punctuality data on all bus routes so passengers can hold services to account. We want greater use of London-style powers to regulate bus routes where local bus services are not serving communities well, and we will work with the Competition Commission to ensure that the bus companies do not make excess profits at the expense of passengers.

We have increased funding for local government by 45 per cent in real terms since 1997. Through tough capping powers and efficiencies, this year we have seen the lowest Council Tax rises on record and we expect them to stay low. Excessive rises will be capped. We will not hold a Council Tax revaluation in the next Parliament and we will establish a cross-party commission to review the future of local government finance to ensure it is meeting our goals of accountability, equity and efficiency across the country.

Public services in the digital age

Citizens expect their public services to be transparent, interactive and easily accessible. We will open up government, embedding access to information and data into the very fabric of public services. Citizens should be able to compare local services, demand improvements, choose between providers, and hold government to account.

We have led the world with the creation of data.gov.uk, putting over 3,000 government datasets online. Entrepreneurs and developers have used these datasets to unleash social innovation, creating applications and websites for citizens from local crime maps to new guides to help find good care homes or GPs. We will now publish a Domesday Book of all non-personal datasets held by government and its agencies, with a default assumption that these will be made public. We will explore how to give citizens direct access to the data held on them by public agencies, so that people can use and control their own personal data in their interaction with service providers and the wider community.

Opening up government – central and local – in this way offers huge potential for Britain. We can use new technologies to give people a say on policy-making; enable citizens to carry out more of their dealings with government online; and save money for taxpayers as we switch services over to digital-only delivery.

Digital government also demands digital inclusion. So we will build on our network of UK Online centres and public libraries to spread free internet access points within the community, and develop new incentives for users to switch to online services.

Protecting the UK and supporting the Union

Devolution has strengthened the UK, preserving the union on the basis of a fairer partnership. The UK is strong enough and flexible enough to devolve power while retaining the benefits of staying together.

The Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly have put
more power in the hands of local people. All the evidence is that devolution works, and is popular. We will implement the recommendations of the Calman Commission, including giving the Scottish Parliament additional tax-raising powers, and seek ways to build consensus behind these changes.

In Wales, we will work with the Welsh Assembly Government on a referendum to enhance the powers to make laws affecting Wales in Wales; and to ensure that Wales is not disproportionately disadvantaged by the application of the central government funding formula.

For the first time, Northern Ireland can look forward to a stable and prosperous future as a result of the Good Friday, St Andrews and Hillsborough Agreements. Supported by unprecedented public funding, we will continue to invest in the institutions of devolution, so that the Unionist and Republican traditions can work together for all the people of Northern Ireland.

Our constitutional monarchy is the source of deep pride and strength for our country. We believe that there is a case for reform of the laws concerning marriage to Roman Catholics and the primacy of male members of the Royal family. However, any reform would need the agreement of all the Commonwealth countries of which the Queen is the Sovereign.
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
Meeting the challenges of the new global age

A global future

labour.org.uk/manifesto
The Labour Party Manifesto 2010
A global future

The challenge for Britain

To harness our strengths and values, as we develop Britain’s world role in a global era, using our alliances and networks in order to promote security, economic prosperity, development and to safeguard the environment. The contrast with the Tory view could not be starker: they are stuck in the past, spurning alliances in Europe and helpless to defend our interests or secure the global change we need.

The next stage of national renewal

• Conduct a Strategic Defence Review to equip our Armed Forces for 21st Century challenges, and support our troops and veterans.

• Use our international reach to build security and stability – combating terrorism and extremism, curbing proliferation, preventing and resolving conflict, and tackling climate change.

• Lead the agenda for an outward-facing European Union that delivers jobs, prosperity and global influence.

• Re-energise the drive to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, supporting sustainable growth and combating poverty.

• Reform the UN, International Financial Institutions, the G8 and G20, and NATO to adapt to the new global challenges.

Afghanistan: our commitment

There is no greater responsibility than to commit our troops into action. That is why we take our responsibilities in Afghanistan and to our Armed Forces so seriously. A stable Afghanistan and a stable Pakistan means a safer Britain: if Afghanistan fell to the Taliban, Al Qaeda could regroup, and Pakistan’s stability and our national security would be threatened.

Our Armed Forces are serving with incredible courage and skill alongside representatives of more than 40 other nations. They are a credit to the country and an example to the world. We have met every request for extra equipment for Afghanistan: in the last four years we have doubled the number of helicopters, and spent £1.7 billion on 1,800 new vehicles – including the Mastiff, brought into service in record time and saving lives with world-leading protection against mines and roadside bombs.

Our forces are working to a clear strategy – to protect the Afghan people and train Afghan security forces. The London conference in January 2010 agreed there should be 300,000 Afghan Army and Police by the end of 2011, with British forces and other countries shifting more of their effort into training to begin the process of handing over responsibility for districts and provinces to Afghan forces later this year.

Afghanistan is not a war without end. Together the military and civilian effort is designed to create the conditions for a political settlement that keeps Al Qaeda out, reconciles tribal interests, and involves Afghanistan’s neighbours. It will lock in the long-term gains delivered by our aid programme since 2002.
– with millions more children, especially girls, going to school, big reductions in child mortality, and better access to basic healthcare. It requires stronger local administration and less corruption, combined with a way back for former fighters who are prepared to renounce links to Al Qaeda and abide by the Afghan constitution.

**Strengthening our Armed Forces and national security**

The first duty of government is to protect the security of its citizens. We have created Britain’s first ever National Security Strategy to strengthen our response to fast-moving and interconnected threats, from terrorism and nuclear proliferation to new challenges like cybersecurity. We have trebled investment in counter-terrorism at home, combined with multilateral action against terrorism and extremism abroad, not just in the Afghan-Pakistan border areas – still the main source of the threat – but also in Yemen and Somalia.

Our commitment to defence is non-negotiable. Defence spending has increased by ten per cent in real terms since 1997. Funding for Iraq and Afghanistan is additional to that, with the Treasury Reserve providing £18 billion in total so far and an estimated £5 billion in the next year.

Despite this continued investment, acute cost pressures remain in long-term defence projects. We are reforming defence procurement, making further reductions in civilian staff, and cutting lower-priority spending on headquarters costs, travel and consultancy.

A Strategic Defence Review will look at all areas of defence, but we will maintain our independent nuclear deterrent. We will fight for multilateral disarmament, working for a world free of nuclear weapons, in the Non Proliferation Treaty Review conference and beyond – combining support for civilian nuclear energy with concerted action against proliferation.

We are committed to a strong Navy based on the new aircraft carriers, an Air Force with two state-of-the-art fast-jet fleets as well as additional helicopters, transport planes and unmanned drones, and a strong, high-tech Army, vastly better equipped than it was in 1997.

The growth in the core defence budget has also enabled us to guarantee fair pay for all our forces, including the first ever tax-free bonus for those on operations abroad, while strengthening our support for their welfare. Service families can now retain their place on NHS waiting lists when they are deployed to another part of the country. Further education is free for those leaving the forces with six years’ service or more.

We have invested hundreds of millions of pounds to reverse a legacy of decades of neglect of forces’ accommodation, and we are helping service personnel get onto the housing ladder. Homelessness among service leavers has been sharply reduced, and the law changed to give them better access to social housing.

The new Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham will have a military-run ward and the largest single-floor critical care unit in the world. Headley Court and the new Army Recovery Capability will continue to offer world-leading support to those rehabilitating after serious injury. We have doubled the lump-sum payments for the most seriously injured to £570,000, and increased the lifetime-income payments by up to a third.

As a sign of our continued commitment to the military community, we will introduce a Forces Charter to enshrine
in law the rights of forces, their families, and Veterans. A Veterans ID card will help Veterans access their improved benefits and will be free to service leavers. We will continue to strengthen mental health provision in partnership with the Combat Stress charity, and roll out our Welfare Pathway to give personnel and their families better support and advice.

A strong Britain in a reformed Europe

We are proud that Britain is once again a leading player in Europe. Our belief is that Britain is stronger in the world when the European Union is strong, and that Britain succeeds when it leads in Europe and sets the agenda for change. Sullen resistance and disengagement achieve nothing.

Stronger competitiveness must be Europe’s economic priority. Europe will only grow and prosper if it is dynamic and knowledge-based, with excellent universities, competitive companies, and thriving start-ups, underpinned by a modern infrastructure of digital communications and low-carbon transport. The EU should strive to improve the regulatory environment, in particular for small and medium sized business. But we reject any attempt to renegotiate or unravel social rights for the British people, and believe that economic strength and social protection go hand-in-hand – a modern EU must enhance competitiveness and growth while guaranteeing security and fair rights at work.

Fundamental reform of the EU budget remains necessary, with further changes to the Common Agricultural Policy on the way to ending export subsidies. Transfers within the EU must target those areas that are least well off. On the Euro, we hold to our promise that there will be no membership of the single currency without the consent of the British people in a referendum.

We support the enlargement of EU membership to include Croatia, and believe that all Western Balkan states should open negotiations on EU accession by 2014 – one hundred years after the start of the First World War. Turkey’s future membership is a key test of Europe’s potential to become a bridge between religions and regions; there must be continued progress on its application to join the EU. In its foreign policy, Europe should play a key role in conflict resolution and the promotion of security, and work bilaterally to achieve its goals with the leading global powers in each region of the world.

On climate change, the EU has a critical leadership role to play in securing a legally binding UN agreement, reducing its emissions by 30 per cent on 1990 levels in the context of an ambitious global deal. It must also offer stronger leadership on global poverty reduction.

We will strengthen cooperation with our EU partners in fighting crime and international terrorism, and support practical European co-operation on defence, in partnership with NATO. To symbolise its commitment to global peace and justice, and energise its young people, we propose a European Peace Corps.

The poverty of the Tory vision is summed up by their false choice between an alliance with the United States and one with Europe. In Europe they are not just isolated, but marginalised – in a tiny group of far-right parties that endorses extreme views and is stuck in climate-change denial. Elsewhere in the world their anti-European attitudes are seen as undermining British influence. They are helpless to shape change, or defend our interests.
**Strengthening global security and preventing conflict**

We strongly believe in cooperation between nations for a safer world. We will continue to press for stronger international action against terrorism and learn the lessons of recent experience to prevent and defuse conflict and build stability and the rule of law in places that would otherwise shelter terrorist networks. We have shown in Afghanistan and elsewhere that our military, diplomats and development staff can set an international standard for joint working, but we will not put the aid budget under military control. We will spend at least half of our new bilateral aid in fragile and conflict-affected states.

Having played a leading role in the international agreement to ban cluster bombs, we are leading the campaign for a legally binding global arms trade treaty in 2012.

We will continue to drive reform of the humanitarian agencies at the UN and work to build an international consensus on ‘responsibility to protect’, while supporting the International Criminal Court in bringing previously untouchable criminals to justice. We will advocate a new international convention to enable the prosecution of perpetrators of genocide and crimes against humanity.

There is no more important part of the world for global security than the Middle East. We support the creation of a viable Palestinian state that can live alongside a secure Israel. All the countries of the region have a role to play in delivering the vision of the Arab Peace Initiative – normalised relations between Arab states and Israel in return for a Palestinian state. They also have a shared interest in preventing the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Iran. This is the gravest nuclear threat to global security since the foundation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in the 1960s. We support engagement and pressure on the Iranian regime; it is threatening its own people as well as the security of the region and the world.

In Africa, Labour has made aid, trade, conflict prevention and good governance a priority. We will support the final stages of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan, and maintain the pressure for Zimbabwe to transition back to democracy as quickly as possible.

We will work with Greece and Turkey for long-term stability in Cyprus; and continue to support bilateral efforts by India and Pakistan to improve relations. The two countries have profound ties to the UK, which we are determined to nurture. We will keep up the pressure for the release of Aung Sang Suu Kyi and a return to democracy in Burma.

We strongly support reconstruction and reconciliation in Sri Lanka. We believe that both the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka must be held to account for the loss of civilian life, and we will continue to urge the Sri Lankan Government to fulfil its commitment to a full and fair investigation into war crimes committed in the final months of the civil war.

Human rights and democracy are a central feature of our foreign policy for a simple reason – we believe human rights are universal, and it is the job of strong and mature democracies to support the development of free societies everywhere – while upholding our own legal and moral obligations.
The global poverty emergency: our moral duty, our common interest

Labour’s international leadership on development has helped transform the lives of millions across the world. Yet too many people still live in extreme poverty, die from treatable diseases, or are denied the chance to go to school.

We will lead an international campaign to get the Millennium Development Goals back on track. We remain committed to spending 0.7 per cent of national income on aid from 2013, and we will enshrine this commitment in law early in the next Parliament. Our aid will target the poorest and most excluded – spent transparently and evaluated independently. We will fight corruption, investing more to track, freeze, and recover assets stolen from developing countries. Further action will be taken to strengthen developing countries’ tax systems, reduce tax evasion, improve reporting, and crack down on tax havens. To increase accountability, we will allocate at least five per cent of all funding developing country budgets for the purpose of strengthening the role of Parliaments and civil society.

Our leadership on debt cancellation has freed 28 countries from the shackles of debt. We will continue to drive this agenda, building on legislation to clampdown on vulture funds.

Access to health, education, food, water and sanitation are basic human rights. We will spend £8.5 billion over eight years to help more children go to school; maintain our pledge to spend £6 billion on health between 2008 and 2015 and £1 billion through the Global Fund to support the fight against HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria; fight for universal access to prevention, treatment and care for HIV/AIDS by 2010; and deliver at least 30 million additional anti-malarial bednets over the next three years.

We will provide £1 billion for water and sanitation by 2013, driving this issue up the international agenda, and over £1 billion on food security and agriculture. We will push for the establishment of a Global Council on Child Hunger. We will help save the lives of six million mothers and babies by 2015 and, because international focus on the needs of women and girls is vital, we will double core funding to the new UN Women’s agency. While the Tories would favour private schemes, we will work closely with NGOs and developing countries to eliminate user fees and promote healthcare and education free at the point of access. We will encourage other countries to ratify the ILO conventions on labour standards, as we have done.

Trade can lift millions out of poverty. We will work with the private sector, trade unions and co-operatives to promote sustainable development, quadruple our funding for fair and ethical trade, and press for a fair World Trade Organisation deal, with no enforced liberalisation for poor countries, and increased duty-free and quota-free access.

Reforming global institutions

In today’s world, power is shifting, flowing downwards and outwards towards new non-state actors, networked by modern communications. Governments and global institutions must respond to this change – and reform to meet new challenges. They need to be more effective but also more inclusive. To secure global change, we will make the case for:

• The extension of the G8.

• A clearer mandate for the World Bank to focus on the
poorest countries and promote low-carbon development; and for the IMF to focus on financial stability, with both becoming more inclusive.

• Radical UN reform, including new membership of the Security Council, budgetary reform, and an overhaul of UN agencies.

• Continuing reform of NATO and stronger international co-operation to tackle security challenges, while building the capacity of regional security organisations including the African Union.

• The enduring role of the Commonwealth – a unique organisation for fostering understanding and trust, spanning a quarter of the world’s population.

International commitments and a voice for Britain in global affairs are not an optional extra for Labour. They are central to our vision of a better Britain. We have strengthened our international alliances and will continue to do so in ways that speak to our deepest values as a nation.
50 steps to a future fair for all

1. Secure the recovery by supporting the economy now, and more than halve the deficit by 2014 through economic growth, fair taxes and cuts to lower priority spending.

2. Realise our stakes in publicly controlled banks to secure the best deal for the tax-payer, introduce a new global levy, and reform the rules for banking to ensure no repeat of past irresponsibility.

3. Create UK Finance for Growth, bringing £4 billion together to provide capital for growing businesses, investing in the growth sectors of the future.

4. Build a high-tech economy, supporting business and industry to create one million more skilled jobs and modernising our infrastructure with High Speed Rail, a Green Investment Bank and broadband access for all.

5. Encourage a culture of long-term commitment to sustainable company growth, requiring a super-majority of two-thirds of shareholders in corporate takeovers.

6. 200,000 jobs through the Future Jobs Fund, with a job or training place for young people who are out of work for six months, but benefits cut at ten months if they refuse a place; and anyone unemployed for more than two years guaranteed work, but no option of life on benefits.


8. More advanced apprenticeships and Skills Accounts for workers to upgrade their skills.

9. No stamp duty for first-time buyers on all house purchases below £250,000 for two years, paid for by a five per cent rate on homes worth more than £1 million.

10. A People’s Bank at the Post Office; a Universal Service Obligation on banks to serve every community; a clampdown on interest rates for doorstep and payday loans.
11. Spending increased on frontline Sure Start and free childcare, schools and 16-19 learning.

12. An expansion of free nursery places for two year olds and 15 hours a week of flexible, free nursery education for three and four year olds.

13. Every pupil leaving primary school secure in the basics, with a 3Rs guarantee of one-to-one and small-group tuition for every child falling behind; and in secondary school, every pupil with a personal tutor and a choice of good qualifications.

14. A choice of good schools in every area – and, where parents are not satisfied – the power to bring in new school leadership teams, through mergers and take-overs, with up to 1,000 secondary schools part of an accredited schools group by 2015.

15. Every young person guaranteed education or training until 18, with 75 per cent going on to higher education, or completing an advanced apprenticeship or technician level training, by the age of 30.

16. Legally binding guarantees for patients including the right to cancer test results within one week of referral, and a maximum 18 weeks’ wait for treatment or the offer of going private.

17. Preventative healthcare through routine check-ups for the over-40s and a major expansion of diagnostic testing.

18. More personal care, with the right in law to choose from any provider who meets NHS standards of quality at NHS costs when booking a hospital appointment, one-to-one dedicated nursing for all cancer patients, and more care at home.

19. The right to choose a GP in your area open at evenings and weekends, with more services available on the high-street, personal care plans and rights to individual budgets.

21. Provide the funding to maintain police and PCSO numbers with neighbourhood police teams in every area, spending 80 per cent of their time on the beat visible in their neighbourhood; improve police performance through online report cards and ensure failing forces are taken over by the best.

22. Intervene earlier to prevent crime, with no-nonsense action to tackle the problems caused by 50,000 dysfunctional families.

23. Guarantee fast and effective action to deal with anti-social behaviour, including a right to legal injunctions for repeat victims, funded by the police or council who let them down.

24. Expand tough ‘Community Payback’ for criminals who don’t go to prison, giving everyone the right to vote on the work they do.

25. Control immigration through our Australian-style points-based system, ensuring that as growth returns we see rising levels of employment and wages, not rising immigration, and requiring newcomers to earn citizenship and the entitlements it brings.

26. More help for parents to balance work and family life, with a ‘Father’s Month’ of flexible paid leave.

27. A new Toddler Tax Credit of £4 a week from 2012 to give more support to all parents of young children – whether they want to stay at home or work.

28. The right to request flexible working for older workers, with an end to default retirement at 65, enabling more people to decide for themselves how long they choose to keep working.

29. A new National Care Service to ensure free care in the home for those with the greatest care needs and a cap on the costs of residential care so that everyone’s homes and savings are protected from care charges after two years in a care home.

30. A re-established link between the Basic State Pension and earnings from 2012; help for ten million people to build up savings through new Personal Pension Accounts.
31. A golden decade of sport with the 2012 Olympics as a great national and world-wide celebration.

32. Registered Supporters Trusts enabled to buy stakes in their club bringing mutualism to the heart of football.

33. Operational independence for major museums and galleries, with more lottery funding returning to the arts, sport and culture after 2012.

34. Protection for the post offices and pubs on which community life depends.

35. The BBC’s independence upheld; and Britain equipped with a world-leading digital and broadband infrastructure.

36. Achieve around 40 per cent low-carbon electricity by 2020 and create 400,000 new green jobs by 2015.

37. Make greener living easier and fairer through ‘pay as you save’ home energy insulation, energy-bill discounts for pensioners and requiring landlords to properly insulate rented homes.

38. Move towards a ‘zero waste’ Britain, banning recyclable and biodegradable materials from landfill.

39. Link together new protected areas of habitat; maintain the Green Belt; increase forest and woodland areas.

40. Ensure fairness for food producers through EU reform and a Supermarkets Ombudsman; and support post offices, shops and pubs in rural communities.
41. Referenda, held on the same day, for moving to the Alternative Vote for elections to the House of Commons and to a democratic and accountable Second Chamber.

42. Improved citizenship education for young people followed by a free vote in Parliament on reducing the voting age to 16.

43. Legislation to ensure Parliaments sit for a fixed term and an All Party Commission to chart a course to a Written Constitution.

44. A statutory register of lobbyists, with MPs banned from working for lobbying companies and required to seek approval for paid outside appointments.

45. Stronger local government, with increased local democratic scrutiny over all local public services.

46. Conduct a Strategic Defence Review to equip our Armed Forces for 21st Century challenges, and support our troops and veterans.

47. Use our international reach to build security and stability – combating terrorism and extremism, curbing proliferation, preventing and resolving conflict, and tackling climate change.

48. Lead the agenda for an outward-facing European Union that delivers jobs, prosperity and global influence.

49. Re-energise the drive to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, supporting sustainable growth and combating poverty.

50. Reform the UN, International Financial Institutions, the G8 and G20, and NATO to adapt to the new global challenges.