

# Change

Labour Party Manifesto 2024



## **My plan for change**

This election is about change.

A chance to stop the endless Conservative chaos that has directly harmed the finances of every family in Britain.

A moment where we can turn the page on a set of ideas that, over 14 years, have consistently left us more vulnerable in an increasingly volatile world.

And an opportunity to begin the work of national renewal. A rebuilding of our country, so that it once again serves the interests of working people.

### **Restore hope**

Every great nation is held together by shared beliefs. To outsiders they may not seem exceptional or distinctive, but they are essential for a sense of collective national purpose. Britain is no different, but at this moment two of our most important beliefs are in grave danger.

First, that politics should be driven by a sense of service to the country, not considerations of party or self-interest.

Second, that if you work hard then – whoever you are, wherever you started in life – Britain is a country that will respect your contribution and give you a fair chance to get on.

When I consider these beliefs, it is hard not to think back to my childhood. Then, as now, Britain's place in the world was uncertain. Then, as now, our economy was gripped by stuttering growth and a cost-of-living crisis that hurt working people.

Yet back then, there was at least a degree of security in being able to take those two fundamental beliefs for granted. For families like mine, this was a comfort. The knowledge that Britain would offer your children a better future gave us hope. A hope that may not sound high-minded or particularly idealistic, but which families like mine could build a life around.

## **Stop the chaos**

To restore this hope, we must first end the Conservative chaos. The visible decline in our communities – people waiting on trolleys in A&E; families weighed down by soaring mortgages; sewage in our rivers – is not an accident. Rather, it is a direct result of a governing party that, time and again, puts its own interests and obsessions above the issues that affect families.

The result is a vicious cycle – decline feeding off chaos, chaos feeding off decline – that will continue if they return for five more years. Only a Labour government can break this cycle and stop the chaos.

## **Turn the page**

We must turn the page decisively on the Conservative ideas that have caused the chaos.

The world has become increasingly volatile, with a major war in Europe for the first time in a generation and ever greater threats to the living standards of working people. This 'age of insecurity' requires the government to step up, not stand aside.

This means a return to the foundations of good government: national security, secure borders, and economic stability. But it also requires an enduring partnership with business to deliver the economic growth we need. It needs more focus on long-term strategy, not the short-term distractions that can animate Westminster. And it demands a final and total rejection of the toxic idea that economic growth is gifted from the few to the many.

Because whether it is crashing the pound to give tax cuts to the richest 1%; degrading public services because of a mess made by the banks; or the failure to invest in clean British energy that left us exposed when Putin invaded Ukraine – so much of what Britain has been through in the past 14 years is explained by a Conservative failure to face the future. Only Labour can turn the page.

## **Rebuild our country**

We must rebuild our country. It will not be easy. Not only because there is no quick fix to the mess the Conservatives have made. But also, because their failures have sapped our collective confidence that Britain can still achieve great things. I reject this with every fibre of my being. Despite all the chaos inflicted on Britain, the country I see is one where working people never let each other down. They came together in the pandemic – missed weddings, funerals and last goodbyes – to save the lives of people they will never meet. They dug deep in the years of austerity, to keep delivering the public services people needed. And throughout the cost-of-living crisis, they found a way to support those less fortunate than themselves.

We are still a great nation. We can still achieve great things. What we lack is a government that can match the ambition working people have for their family and community, with a credible long-term plan.

This manifesto is that plan. Fully costed, fully funded – built on a rock of fiscal responsibility.

At its heart are five national missions – with clear first steps to begin the journey of rebuilding – that provide a clear destination for everyone invested in Britain's future. A new Britain, where wealth is created in every community. Where the golden opportunity of clean British power is harnessed for lower bills. Where your

town centre has been revitalised and everyone feels safe to walk the streets. Where you can go to work and know you will be treated with dignity and respect. Where our children are equipped with the skills to thrive in the future. Where our NHS is once again at the cutting edge of healthcare. And where we show that politics can be about serving the country.

### **It's time for change**

I know some people will roll their eyes at this last sentence. Yet serving our country is the only reason I came into politics. The defining purpose of my Labour leadership has been to drag my party away from the dead end of gesture politics and return it once more to the service of working people. I have changed my party. Now I want the chance to bring that change to the country.

But to succeed we need everyone, every community, to play their part. I know, after everything you have been through in the past 14 years, that this is a hard request to make. But I also expect, deep down, that you know this is what our country needs now – an end to the chaos, a turning of the page, and a patient but determined rebuilding of our country.

So, I invite you to join us in this common endeavour of national renewal. It is time to change Britain.

## **My first steps for change**

**1. Deliver economic stability** with tough spending rules, so we can grow our economy and keep taxes, inflation and mortgages as low as possible.

**2. Cut NHS waiting times** with 40,000 more appointments each week, during evenings and weekends, paid for by cracking down on tax avoidance and non-dom loopholes.

**3. Launch a new Border Security Command** with hundreds of new specialist investigators and use counter-terror powers to smash the criminal boat gangs

**4. Set up Great British Energy**, a publicly-owned clean power company, to cut bills for good and boost energy security, paid for by a windfall tax on oil and gas giants.

**5. Crack down on antisocial behaviour**, with more neighbourhood police paid for by ending wasteful contracts, tough new penalties for offenders, and a new network of youth hubs.

**6. Recruit 6,500 new teachers** in key subjects to prepare children for life, work and the future, paid for by ending tax breaks for private schools.



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## **Mission-driven government**

Ending the Conservative chaos is vital, but turning the page with a new government is not in itself enough to tackle the deep-rooted challenges our country now faces. To rebuild Britain, we need to change how Britain is governed.

For too long, Britain has been held back by governments that, because they lack a relentless focus on long-term ends, are buffeted about by events. Politics has enormous potential to change lives for the better, but too often different parts of the government have pursued their own narrow goals rather than working together. Government is at its best when working in partnership with business, trade unions, civil society, faith groups, and communities. But without a shared project those partnerships barely get off the ground.

So, as well as a new administration with new priorities, Britain needs a new approach: mission-driven government.

Mission-driven government means raising our sights as a nation and focusing on ambitious, measurable, long-term objectives that provide a driving sense of purpose for the country. It means a new way of doing government that is more joined up, pushes power out to

communities and harnesses new technology, all with one aim in mind – to put the country back in the service of working people.

Labour's five missions to rebuild Britain are:

- 1) Kickstart economic growth** to secure the highest sustained growth in the G7 – with good jobs and productivity growth in every part of the country making everyone, not just a few, better off.
- 2) Make Britain a clean energy superpower** to cut bills, create jobs and deliver security with cheaper, zero-carbon electricity by 2030, accelerating to net zero.
- 3) Take back our streets** by halving serious violent crime and raising confidence in the police and criminal justice system to its highest levels.
- 4) Break down barriers to opportunity** by reforming our childcare and education systems, to make sure there is no class ceiling on the ambitions of young people in Britain.
- 5) Build an NHS fit for the future** that is there when people need it; with fewer lives lost to the biggest killers; in a fairer Britain, where everyone lives well for longer.

Delivering the change Britain needs will require perseverance. The starting point for delivering these missions is to ensure the foundations of good government are right. Labour will make sure we have

strong national security, secure borders, and economic stability. Building on these secure foundations, we have already set out the first steps for change. Today we present further policies in this manifesto, as part of the journey of rebuilding our country.

# **Strong foundations**

## **National security**

No policy commitment in pursuit of Labour's missions matters unless we uphold the first duty of any government: to keep the country safe. Peace and security are hard earned. They require constant vigilance. Over the last 14 years geopolitical tensions have risen, while the Conservatives have hollowed out our armed forces. Now Putin is attempting to break European security with his full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Labour will meet this challenge by strengthening our armed forces and protecting our national security.

Our commitment to the UK's nuclear deterrent is absolute. It is a vital safeguard for the UK and our NATO allies. As the party that founded NATO, we maintain our unshakeable commitment to the alliance, and we will apply a NATO test to major defence programmes to ensure we meet our obligations in full.

In recent years, threats to our safety and security have multiplied and diversified. Alongside greater conventional threats, we are faced with the growing emergence of hybrid warfare, including cyber-attacks and misinformation campaigns which seek to subvert our democracy. To ensure the UK is fully prepared to deal with these interconnected threats, Labour will conduct a Strategic Defence Review within our first year

in government, and we will set out the path to spending 2.5 per cent of GDP on defence.

From the Skripal poisonings to assassination plots by the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, threats from hostile states or state-sponsored groups are on the rise, but Britain lacks a comprehensive framework to protect us. Labour will take the approach used for dealing with non-state terrorism and adapt it to deal with state-based domestic security threats.

Terrorism remains a significant threat. Labour will bring in 'Martyn's Law' to strengthen the security of public events and venues. We will update the rules around counter-extremism, including online, to stop people being radicalised and drawn towards hateful ideologies. Labour will also ensure the police and intelligence services have the powers and resources they need to protect the British people from terrorism and hostile espionage.

## **Secure borders**

Britain is a tolerant and compassionate country. We have a proud tradition of welcoming people fleeing persecution and abuse. Schemes like Homes for Ukraine, Hong Kong humanitarian visas, and the Syrian resettlement programme have provided important routes for refugees seeking sanctuary. But the system needs to be controlled and managed and we need strong borders. The small boats crisis, fuelled by dangerous criminal smuggler gangs, is undermining our security and costing lives.

Rather than a serious plan to confront this crisis, the Conservatives have offered nothing but desperate gimmicks. Their flagship policy – to fly a tiny number of asylum seekers to Rwanda – has already cost hundreds of millions of pounds. Even if it got off the ground, this scheme can only address fewer than one per cent of the asylum seekers arriving. It cannot work. Chaos in the Channel has been matched by chaos at home. The Conservatives' unworkable laws have created a 'perma-backlog' of tens of thousands of asylum seekers, who are indefinitely staying in hotels costing the taxpayer millions of pounds every week.

Labour will stop the chaos and go after the criminal gangs who trade in driving this crisis. We will create a new Border Security Command, with hundreds of new

investigators, intelligence officers, and cross-border police officers. This will be funded by ending the wasteful Migration and Economic Development partnership with Rwanda. This new Command will work internationally and be supported by new counter-terrorism style powers, to pursue, disrupt, and arrest those responsible for the vile trade. We will seek a new security agreement with the EU to ensure access to real-time intelligence and enable our policing teams to lead joint investigations with their European counterparts.

Labour will turn the page and restore order to the asylum system so that it operates swiftly, firmly, and fairly; and the rules are properly enforced. We will hire additional caseworkers to clear the Conservatives' backlog and end asylum hotels, saving the taxpayer billions of pounds.

Labour will set up a new returns and enforcement unit, with an additional 1,000 staff, to fast-track removals to safe countries for people who do not have the right to stay here. We will negotiate additional returns arrangements to speed up returns and increase the number of safe countries that failed asylum seekers can swiftly be sent back to. And we will also act upstream, working with international partners to address the humanitarian crises which lead people to flee their homes, and to strengthen support for refugees in their home region.



## **Economic stability**

Every commitment a Labour government makes will be based on sound money and economic stability. This is a non-negotiable principle for our changed Labour Party. Siren voices may claim that there are no limits on what government can spend, or that tax cuts pay for themselves. We reject this flawed ideology that was tested to destruction by the disastrous Conservative 'mini budget'. The British people are still paying the price of those unfunded commitments through higher mortgage costs, and taxpayers continue to foot the bill through higher interest payments, meaning less money for investment and public services. The impact was not confined to these shores. The Conservatives' recklessness sent a signal of instability across the world that damaged our standing, making Britain a less attractive place for business to invest.

The chaos is not over. The desperate Conservatives have now made yet more unfunded tax cuts and spending promises at a scale beyond the 'mini budget'. This would be devastating for families across the country.

Labour will turn the page on this economic chaos. Our approach is based on strong fiscal rules which will govern every single decision we make in government.

Our fiscal rules are that:

- The current budget moves into balance, so that day-to-day costs are met by revenues

- Debt must be falling as a share of the economy by the fifth year of the forecast.

These rules allow for prudent investment in our economy. This represents a clear break from the Conservatives who have created an incentive to cut investment; a short-term approach that ignores the importance of growing the economy. Labour will strike a balance between prioritising investment and the urgent need to rebuild our public finances. There will be no return to austerity.

Unlike the Conservatives, Labour will never sideline the Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR) for political convenience. Instead, we will strengthen the role of the OBR. Every fiscal event making significant changes to taxation or spending will be subject to an independent OBR forecast.

Labour will safeguard taxpayers' money. We will end the link between access to ministers and an inside track for public contracts. We will appoint a fixed-term Covid Corruption Commissioner and use every means possible to recoup public money lost in pandemic-related fraud and from contracts which have not delivered. And we will not tolerate fraud or waste anywhere, whether in social security or the excessive use of consultants.

Alongside strong national finances, Britain needs resilient family finances too. The Conservatives have left families struggling with the cost of living. Labour will take

action to support families, by tackling the underlying causes of the crisis.

We will bring down the cost of energy. We will reduce food prices by removing barriers to businesses trading. We will make housing more affordable, expand access to childcare, and make work pay. We will support families with children by introducing free breakfast clubs in every primary school. Labour will also keep mortgage rates as low as possible, with a strong, independent Bank of England – which will continue to target stable inflation of 2 per cent.

The Conservatives have raised the tax burden to a 70-year high. We will ensure taxes on working people are kept as low as possible. Labour will not increase taxes on working people, which is why we will not increase National Insurance, the basic, higher, or additional rates of Income Tax, or VAT.

Labour will address unfairness in the tax system. We will abolish non-dom status once and for all, replacing it with a modern scheme for people genuinely in the country for a short period. We will end the use of offshore trusts to avoid inheritance tax so that everyone who makes their home here in the UK pays their taxes here. Private equity is the only industry where performance-related pay is treated as capital gains. Labour will close this loophole.

We will modernise HMRC and change the law to tackle tax avoidance. We will increase registration and reporting requirements, strengthen HMRC's powers, invest in new technology and build capacity within HMRC. This, combined with a renewed focus on tax avoidance by large businesses and the wealthy, will begin to close the tax gap and ensure everyone pays their fair share.

**Labour will stop the chaos, turn the page, and return to the foundations of national security, secure borders, and economic stability.**

## **Kickstart economic growth**

- **Deliver economic stability with tough spending rules**
- **A new partnership with business to boost growth everywhere**
- **A National Wealth Fund to invest in jobs**
- **Planning reform to build 1.5 million new homes**
- **Devolution of power across England**
- **A New Deal for Working People**

**Charlie, cafe owner and former Conservative voter**

“Change is overdue. Since we opened our cafe in June 2020 our gas and electric bill has soared. Customers are feeling the pinch so some visit us less often. How can we pass these costs on to customers when they can’t afford to pay more? Continuing like this will ruin us. I voted Conservative before but the only way out of this is Labour’s plan for economic growth. Cheaper bills for us and our customers, and that bit of extra cash to spend. That’s the change we need.”

**RICHARD WALKER OBE**

Executive Chairman of Iceland

“Labour’s plan for the economy is good news for my customers and colleagues in high streets across the country. Labour will bring stability, good jobs and higher living standards. As a business leader, I am sick and tired of chaos under the Conservatives. I am absolutely convinced that Keir Starmer is the leader to deliver the change this country needs. Labour will end division, strengthen our communities and protect the environment. That’s why I’ll be voting Labour and I urge you to do the same.”

Sustained economic growth is the only route to improving the prosperity of our country and the living standards of working people. That is why it is Labour's first mission for government. It means being pro-business and pro-worker. We are the party of wealth creation.

This election follows the chaos of the Conservatives' 'mini-budget' and an unprecedented fall in living standards. Their miserable economic record over the past 14 years has seen productivity and wages flatlining, leaving British families significantly poorer than those in France or Germany.

This decline is rooted in two failures.

First, an inability to accept that a strong economy can only be built on the contribution of every community and every person – the many not the few. Second, a failure to acknowledge that sustainable growth requires government to be a strategic partner with business – that markets must be shaped, not merely served.

These twin failures have led to greater economic insecurity – in the financial resilience of households, but also in our national economy – at the very time when our world has become less stable and secure. The Conservatives have failed to grasp the implications of a new era of rising global competition and tension, instead leaving our economy on an increasingly shallow and insecure footing.

It is time to turn the page. Labour will restore stability, increase investment, and reform our economy.

We will embrace a new approach to economic management – securonomics – that understands sustainable growth relies on a broad base and resilient foundations. Our approach will depend on a dynamic and strategic state. This does not mean ever-growing government, but it does mean a more active, smarter government that works in partnership with business, trade unions, local leaders, and devolved governments.

Labour will stop the chaos and support business through a stable policy environment – strengthening our economic institutions, and giving investors the certainty they need to fuel growth. Labour will seek involvement from industry, trade unions, and civil society in our plans for growth, so they can contribute to building a stronger economy in all parts of the country. We will strategically use public investment where it can unlock additional private sector investment, create jobs, and provide a return for taxpayers.

While stability and greater investment will support growth, parts of our economy require substantial reform if we are to create the wealth our country needs. Britain is hampered by a planning regime that means we struggle to build either the infrastructure or housing the country needs.



The country remains too centralised, with the economic potential of too many regions and communities ignored. Our labour market fails to provide secure jobs and, as a result, for far too many people work does not pay.

The innovation, dynamism and sheer hard work of British business and workers has never been in question. The next Labour government will partner with them to kickstart economic growth and rebuild Britain.

### **Strategic partnership through industrial strategy**

Labour will introduce a new industrial strategy. Our approach will be mission-driven and focused on the future. We will work in partnership with industry to seize opportunities and remove barriers to growth. Critically, we will end short-term economic policy making with the establishment of an Industrial Strategy Council, on a statutory footing, to provide expert advice. We will ensure representation on the Council from all nations and regions, business and trade unions, to drive economic growth in all parts of the country.

Labour will take a sectoral approach and be clear-eyed about where the UK enjoys advantages over other countries. Our approach will back what makes Britain great: our excellent research institutions, professional services, advanced manufacturing, and creative industries. We will ensure a pro-business environment, with a competition and regulatory

framework, that supports innovation, investment, and high-quality jobs. Procurement and trade policy will also be aligned with our industrial strategy priorities.

Financial services are one of Britain's greatest success stories. Labour will create the conditions to support innovation and growth in the sector, through supporting new technology, including Open Banking and Open Finance and ensuring a pro-innovation regulatory framework.

Our other great British industries need certainty over the policies that will apply to them. In opposition, Labour has worked with the automotive, life sciences, and creative sectors, on the approach we will take to policy. In government, we will set out plans for these and other vital sectors of the economy.

## **Boosting investment**

Business has for too long been hampered by a government that does not work with it. As a result, investment in the UK is too low. To address this long-standing problem Labour will use every available lever. Public investment, where it supports and de-risks additional private investment, is one important tool being used successfully across the world. It can create good jobs across the country and would mean British taxpayers can reap the benefits of economic growth. To realise these opportunities Labour will establish a National Wealth Fund.

Capitalised with £7.3 billion over the course of the next Parliament, the National Wealth Fund will have a remit to support Labour's growth and clean energy missions, making transformative investments across every part of the country. The fund will have a target of attracting three pounds of private investment for every one pound of public investment, creating jobs across the country.

We plan to allocate:

- £1.8 billion to upgrade ports and build supply chains across the UK
- £1.5 billion to new gigafactories so our automotive industry leads the world
- £2.5 billion to rebuild our steel industry
- £1 billion to accelerate the deployment of carbon capture
- £500 million to support the manufacturing of green hydrogen.

Labour will also act to increase investment from pension funds in UK markets. We will adopt reforms to ensure that workplace pension schemes take advantage of consolidation and scale, to deliver better returns for UK savers and greater productive investment for UK PLC. We will also undertake a review of the pensions landscape to consider what further steps are needed to improve pension outcomes and increase investment in UK markets.

## **Business taxation**

The business tax regime matters for investors. It is not just the rates of tax that matter, but also certainty. Under the Conservatives there has been constant chopping and changing – corporation tax has changed 26 times – and multiple fiscal events have made drastic changes often at little notice.

Labour will stop the chaos, and turn the page with a strategic approach that gives certainty and allows long-term planning. We are committed to one major fiscal event a year, giving families and businesses due warning of tax and spending policies. We will publish a roadmap for business taxation for the next parliament which will allow businesses to plan investments with confidence.

Labour will cap corporation tax at the current level of 25 per cent, the lowest in the G7, for the entire parliament, and we will act if tax changes in other countries pose a risk to UK competitiveness. We will retain a permanent full expensing system for capital investment and the annual investment allowance for small business. And we will give firms greater clarity on what qualifies for allowances to improve business investment decisions.

The current business rates system disincentivises investment, creates uncertainty and places an undue burden on our high streets. In England, Labour will replace the business rates system, so we can raise the

same revenue but in a fairer way. This new system will level the playing field between the high street and online giants, better incentivise investment, tackle empty properties and support entrepreneurship.

## **Economic infrastructure**

Britain is grinding to a halt. Rail cancellations are at record levels, energy prices have risen faster here than in any other country in Western Europe, and not a single reservoir has been built in the last 30 years. This is not an accident. Conservative chaos has seen major projects abandoned, decades-long delays, cost overruns, uncertainty for supply chains, and our infrastructure crumbling.

Labour will end this chaos by developing a ten-year infrastructure strategy, aligned with our industrial strategy and regional development priorities, including improving rail connectivity across the north of England. The strategy will guide investment plans and give the private sector certainty about the project pipeline. We will work closely with business to map and address the delivery challenges we face. We will create a new National Infrastructure and Service Transformation Authority, bringing together existing bodies, to set strategic infrastructure priorities and oversee the design, scope, and delivery of projects.

The current planning regime acts as a major brake on economic growth. Labour will make the changes we need to forge ahead with new roads, railways, reservoirs, and other nationally significant infrastructure. We will set out new national policy statements, make major projects faster and cheaper by slashing red tape, and build support for developments by ensuring communities directly benefit. We will also update national planning policy to ensure the planning system meets the needs of a modern economy, making it easier to build laboratories, digital infrastructure, and gigafactories. Labour will ensure economic regulation supports growth and investment, promotes competition, works for consumers, and enables innovation.

In an ever more connected world, Britain's communication network is also vital. Under the Conservatives, investment in 5G is falling behind other countries and the rollout of gigabit broadband has been slow. Labour will make a renewed push to fulfil the ambition of full gigabit and national 5G coverage by 2030.

Royal Mail remains a key part of the UK's infrastructure. Labour will ensure that any proposed takeover is robustly scrutinised and that appropriate guarantees are forthcoming that protect the interests of the workforce, customers and the United Kingdom, including the need to maintain a comprehensive universal service obligation.

Labour will also explore new business and governance models for Royal Mail so that workers and customers who rely on Royal Mail services can have a stronger voice in the governance and strategic direction of the company.

## **A modern transport network**

Rebuilding Britain means modernising our transport infrastructure. Our road network is plagued by long-promised projects that are never delivered. The potholes cratering our roads are a visible sign of the decline after 14 years of Conservative rule.

Cars remain by far the most popular form of transport. Labour will maintain and renew our road network, to ensure it serves drivers, cyclists and other road users, remains safe, and tackles congestion. We will fix an additional one million potholes across England in each year of the next parliament, funded by deferring the A27 bypass, which is poor value for money. Labour will further support drivers by tackling the soaring cost of car insurance. And, as set out in our automotive sector plan, Labour will support the transition to electric vehicles by accelerating the roll out of charge points, giving certainty to manufacturers by restoring the phase-out date of 2030 for new cars with internal combustion engines, and supporting buyers of second-hand electric cars by standardising the information supplied on the condition of batteries.

Labour will overhaul Britain's railways. Fourteen years of Conservative neglect have failed passengers, businesses and taxpayers. We will put passengers at the heart of the service by reforming the railways and bringing them into public ownership. We will do this as contracts with existing operators expire or are broken through a failure to deliver, without costing taxpayers a penny in compensation. Great British Railways will deliver a unified system that focuses on reliable, affordable, high-quality, and efficient services; along with ensuring safety and accessibility. It will be responsible for investment, day-to-day operational delivery and innovations and improvements for passengers, working with publicly-owned rail operators in Wales and Scotland. Mayors will have a role in designing the services in their areas. There will be a duty to promote and grow the use of rail freight. Open access operators are an important part of the rail system and will have an ongoing role. Labour will also create a tough new passenger watchdog, focused on driving up standards.

Local communities have lost control over their bus routes. Fares have increased, routes have disappeared, and services are unreliable. Building on the work of Labour mayors, we will reform the broken system through new powers for local leaders to franchise local bus services, and we will lift the ban on municipal ownership. This will give local communities in England control over routes and schedules.



Under the Conservatives, transport services have remained fragmented and inefficient with companies and sectors failing to speak to and plan with each other. Labour will give mayors the power to create unified and integrated transport systems, allowing for more seamless journeys, and to promote active travel networks. Labour will also develop a long-term strategy for transport, ensuring transport infrastructure can be delivered efficiently and on time. Labour will secure the UK aviation industry's long-term future, including through promoting sustainable aviation fuels, and encouraging airspace modernisation.

## **Driving innovation**

Delivering growth and raising productivity depend on fresh thinking and new ideas. Britain has many cutting-edge businesses, but innovation needs to be converted into commercial success in every corner of our country. Labour will make Britain the best place to start and grow a business.

We will ensure our industrial strategy supports the development of the Artificial Intelligence (AI) sector, removes planning barriers to new datacentres.

And we will create a National Data Library to bring together existing research programmes and help deliver data-driven public services, whilst maintaining strong safeguards and ensuring all of the public benefit.

Labour will scrap short funding cycles for key R&D institutions in favour of ten-year budgets that allow meaningful partnerships with industry to keep the UK at the forefront of global innovation. We will work with universities to support spinouts; and work with industry to ensure start-ups have the access to finance they need to grow. We will also simplify the procurement process to support innovation and reduce micromanagement with a mission-driven approach.

Regulators are currently ill-equipped to deal with the dramatic development of new technologies, which often cut across traditional industries and sectors. Labour will create a new Regulatory Innovation Office, bringing together existing functions across government. This office will help regulators update regulation, speed up approval timelines, and co-ordinate issues that span existing boundaries. Labour will ensure the safe development and use of AI models by introducing binding regulation on the handful of companies developing the most powerful AI models and by banning the creation of sexually explicit deepfakes.

Labour will support diverse business models which bring innovation and new products to the market. This includes the co-operative sector, and we will aim to double the size of the UK's co-operative and mutuals sector. We will work with the sector to address the barriers they face, such as accessing finance.

## **Support for small business and the self-employed**

Labour's plan for economic growth has been developed for all UK businesses. But small firms, entrepreneurs, and the self-employed face unique challenges. That is why, in partnership, Labour has developed a plan for small businesses – the lifeblood of communities and high streets across the country.

We will take action on late payments to ensure small businesses and the self-employed are paid on time. We will improve guidance and remove barriers to exporting for small businesses. Reform of the British Business Bank, including a stronger mandate to support growth in the regions and nations, will make it easier for small and medium sized enterprises to access capital. We will also reform procurement rules to give them greater access to government contracts.

The Post Office is an essential service in communities across the country. Labour will look for ways to strengthen the Post Office network, in consultation with sub-postmasters, trade unions and customers, and support the development of new products, services and business models, such as banking hubs, that will help reinvigorate the high street. We will also ensure justice and compensation are delivered swiftly for those sub-postmasters shamefully affected by the Horizon IT scandal.

## **Get Britain building again**

The dream of homeownership is now out of reach for too many young people. The Conservatives have failed to act even though the housing crisis is well known to be one of the country's biggest barriers to growth. Labour will get Britain building again, creating jobs across England, with 1.5 million new homes over the next parliament.

We will immediately update the National Policy Planning Framework to undo damaging Conservative changes, including restoring mandatory housing targets. We will take tough action to ensure that planning authorities have up-to-date Local Plans and reform and strengthen the presumption in favour of sustainable development. Labour will support local authorities by funding additional planning officers, through increasing the rate of the stamp duty surcharge paid by non-UK residents. We will ensure local communities continue to shape housebuilding in their area, but where necessary Labour will not be afraid to make full use of intervention powers to build the houses we need.

Labour will take a brownfield first approach, prioritising the development of previously used land wherever possible, and fast-tracking approval of urban brownfield sites. But brownfield development alone will not be enough to meet our housing need.

Labour is committed to preserving the green belt which has served England's towns and cities well over many decades. Under the Conservatives, greenbelt land is regularly released for development but haphazardly and often for speculative housebuilding. Without changing its purpose or general extent, Labour will take a more strategic approach to greenbelt land designation and release to build more homes in the right places. The release of lower quality 'grey belt' land will be prioritised and we will introduce 'golden rules' to ensure development benefits communities and nature.

In partnership with local leaders and communities, a Labour government will build a new generation of new towns, inspired by the proud legacy of the 1945 Labour government. Alongside urban extensions and regeneration projects, these will form part of a series of large-scale new communities across England.

Housing need in England cannot be met without planning for growth on a larger than local scale so we will introduce effective new mechanisms for cross-boundary strategic planning. Labour will require all Combined and Mayoral Authorities to strategically plan for housing growth in their areas. We will give Combined Authorities new planning powers along with new freedoms and flexibilities to make better use of grant funding.

Labour will further reform compulsory purchase compensation rules to improve land assembly, speed

up site delivery, and deliver housing, infrastructure, amenity, and transport benefits in the public interest. We will take steps to ensure that for specific types of development schemes, landowners are awarded fair compensation rather than inflated prices based on the prospect of planning permission.

Labour will deliver the biggest increase in social and affordable housebuilding in a generation. We will strengthen planning obligations to ensure new developments provide more affordable homes; make changes to the Affordable Homes Programme to ensure that it delivers more homes from existing funding; and support councils and housing associations to build their capacity and make a greater contribution to affordable housing supply. Labour will prioritise the building of new social rented homes and better protect our existing stock by reviewing the increased right to buy discounts introduced in 2012 and increasing protections on newly-built social housing.

Labour wants exemplary development to be the norm not the exception. We will take steps to ensure we are building more high-quality, well-designed, and sustainable homes and creating places that increase climate resilience and promote nature recovery. We will implement solutions to unlock the building of homes affected by nutrient neutrality without weakening environmental protections.

Labour will work with local authorities to give first-time buyers the first chance to buy homes and end the farce of entire developments being sold off to international investors before houses are even built. And we will introduce a permanent, comprehensive mortgage guarantee scheme, to support first-time buyers who struggle to save for a large deposit, with lower mortgage costs.

## **Economic growth across the country**

Every town and city across the country has a vital contribution to make to our economy. But too many areas have been held back because decisions are often taken in Westminster, and not by local leaders who understand local ambitions and strengths. This means we fail to make the most of the contribution everyone can make, hampering economic growth. So, Labour will transfer power out of Westminster, and into our communities, with landmark devolution legislation to take back control.

In England, Labour will deepen devolution settlements for existing Combined Authorities. We will also widen devolution to more areas, encouraging local authorities to come together and take on new powers. Towns and cities will be able to take hold of the tools they need to pursue growth, create jobs, and improve living standards. Local areas will be able to gain new powers

over transport, adult education and skills, housing and planning, and employment support. We will ensure those places have the strong governance arrangements, capacity, and capability to deliver, providing central support where needed.

At the centre of our approach is a new statutory requirement for Local Growth Plans that cover towns and cities across the country. Local leaders will work with major employers, universities, colleges, and industry bodies to produce long-term plans that identify growth sectors and put in place the programmes and infrastructure they need to thrive. These will align with our national industrial strategy.

Labour will review the governance arrangements for Combined Authorities to unblock decision making. We will provide greater flexibility with integrated settlements for Mayoral Combined Authorities that can show exemplary management of public money. On housing and planning we will seek to consolidate powers to allow for improved decisionmaking.

Our approach will require partnership with local authorities. Local government is facing acute financial challenges because of the Conservatives' economic mismanagement which sent interest rates soaring, along with their failures on public services. To provide greater stability, a Labour government will give councils multi-year funding settlements and end wasteful competitive bidding. We recognise good jobs deliver



better services that local communities can rely on. Labour will provide capacity and support to councils, and will overhaul the local audit system, so taxpayers get better value for money.

Improving public services is essential to growing our economy across the country. Public service workers have a critical role to play, but services are suffering from recruitment and retention crises. Labour will act to improve public service workers' living standards throughout the parliament, and ensure any independent mechanisms have the confidence of all involved.

Labour will also work with the Scottish and Welsh Governments, and the Northern Ireland Executive, to drive growth across the country. Our industrial strategy will support successful industries across all nations of the UK.

## **A fair and properly managed immigration system**

People who have come to the UK to work make a substantial contribution to our economy, our public services, and our communities.

But under the Conservatives, our economy has become overly dependent on workers from abroad to fill skills shortages. As a result, we have seen net migration reach record highs; more than triple the level than at the last election in 2019. The overall level must be properly controlled and managed. Failure to do so reduces the

incentives for businesses to train locally. So, Labour will reduce net migration.

We will reform the points-based immigration system so that it is fair and properly managed, with appropriate restrictions on visas, and by linking immigration and skills policy. Labour will not tolerate employers or recruitment agencies abusing the visa system. And we will not stand for breaches of employment law. Employers who flout the rules will be barred from hiring workers from abroad.

Conservative policy is incoherent, with decisions on migration, skills and sectoral pay determined in isolation. Labour will bring joined-up thinking, ensuring that migration to address skills shortages triggers a plan to upskill workers and improve working conditions in the UK. We will strengthen the Migration Advisory Committee, and establish a framework for joint working with skills bodies across the UK, the Industrial Strategy Council and the Department for Work and Pensions. We will end the long-term reliance on overseas workers in some parts of the economy by bringing in workforce and training plans for sectors such as health and social care, and construction.

The days of a sector languishing endlessly on immigration shortage lists with no action to train up workers will come to an end.

## **Supporting people into work**

Too many people are out of work or not earning enough. Long waits for treatment of health conditions, particularly mental health, are contributing to the rise in economic inactivity. Labour will reform employment support so it drives growth and opportunity. Our system will be underpinned by rights and responsibilities – people who can work, should work – and there will be consequences for those who do not fulfil their obligations.

We will bring Jobcentre Plus and the National Careers Service together to provide a national jobs and careers service, focused on getting people into work and helping them get on at work. We will ensure the service is responsive to local employers, inclusive for all users, and works in partnership with other local services.

Labour will work with local areas to create plans to support more disabled people and those with health conditions into work. We will devolve funding so local areas can shape a joined-up work, health, and skills offer for local people. We will tackle the backlog of Access to Work claims and give disabled people the confidence to start working without the fear of an immediate benefit reassessment if it does not work out. We believe the Work Capability Assessment is not working and needs to be reformed or replaced, alongside a proper plan to support disabled people to work.

One in eight young people are not in education, employment, or training, with those lacking good qualifications and with poor mental health facing particular disadvantages. Drawing together existing funding and entitlements, Labour will establish a youth guarantee of access to training, an apprenticeship, or support to find work for all 18- to 21-year-olds, to bring down the number of young people who are not learning or earning. We will also guarantee two weeks' worth of work experience for every young person, and improve careers advice in schools and colleges.

We will work with the Scottish and Welsh Governments, and Mayors and Combined Authorities in England, to ensure all aspects of our new approach to Jobcentre Plus and employment support partner effectively with devolved provision, to offer the best opportunities for people right across the country.

## **Making work pay**

Greater in-work security, better pay, and more autonomy in the workplace improve the lives of working people and bring substantial economic benefits.

Britain's outdated employment laws are not fit for the modern economy, and recent Conservative legislation has fuelled hostility and confrontation leading to the worst period in industrial relations since the 1980s.

For too many people a job does not offer the route out of poverty it should: either because work is insecure, inflexible, or low paid; or because people face barriers when trying to move into a better job. Responsible businesses face being undercut when rights are not enforced properly.

Labour will stop the chaos and turn the page to create a partnership between business and trade unions, by implementing 'Labour's Plan to Make Work Pay: Delivering a New Deal for Working People' in full – introducing legislation within 100 days. We will consult fully with businesses, workers, and civil society on how to put our plans into practice before legislation is passed. This will include banning exploitative zero hours contracts; ending fire and rehire; and introducing basic rights from day one to parental leave, sick pay, and protection from unfair dismissal. We will strengthen the collective voice of workers, including through their trade unions, and create a Single Enforcement Body to ensure employment rights are upheld. These changes will improve the lives of working people across the entire UK.

Labour will also make sure the minimum wage is a genuine living wage. We will change the remit of the independent Low Pay Commission so for the first time it accounts for the cost of living. Labour will also remove the discriminatory age bands, so all adults are entitled to the same minimum wage, delivering a pay rise to hundreds of thousands of workers across the UK.

**Labour will stop the chaos, turn the page, and kickstart economic growth by reforming our economy.**

# **Make Britain a clean energy superpower**

- **Set up Great British Energy to cut bills for good**
- **Energy independence from dictators like Putin**
- **650,000 new high-quality jobs**
- **Warmer homes to slash fuel poverty**
- **Water companies forced to clean up our rivers**

## **Gary, pensioner**

“Energy bills have shot up so much. I’ve lived in this house all my life and I’ve never struggled this much to keep warm. I can only afford to heat one room with a small portable heater. Sometimes I sleep in my armchair to save money. It’s no way to live. Labour is the only party with a proper plan to cut energy bills for good and get us back on track. The savings people will get through things like Great British Energy will make a real difference to me. No question.”

## **SIR PATRICK VALLANCE**

Former Chief Scientific Adviser

“A national mission for clean power by 2030 is achievable and should be prioritised. We desperately need to end the era of high energy bills, excessive carbon emissions and energy insecurity by accelerating the transition to clean, homegrown energy. Britain can lead on this by treating this mission like the vaccine challenge. We can be the innovators and the implementers, helping ourselves and exporting our solutions worldwide. But if we choose to go slowly, others will provide the answers, and ultimately we’ll end up buying these solutions rather than selling them.”



The climate and nature crisis is the greatest long-term global challenge that we face. The clean energy transition represents a huge opportunity to generate growth, tackle the cost-of-living crisis and make Britain energy independent once again. That is why clean energy by 2030 is Labour's second mission.

The Conservatives have failed to grasp opportunities in this area for two related reasons. First, because they simply do not accept that economic growth, energy security, lower bills, and addressing climate change can be complementary. Second, because they are ideologically opposed to using the role of the state, including public investment, to guarantee that they are.

The damage done by 14 years of chaotic 'sticking plaster' policies was exposed when Putin invaded Ukraine. The cost of fossil fuel energy on the international market rocketed. The Conservatives' ban on new onshore wind, failure to build new nuclear power stations, and decision to scrap investment in home insulation landed British families with amongst the highest energy bills in Europe. That is just one way we are paying the price. While countries around the world are racing ahead to claim the jobs and wealth that the transition offers, Britain is losing out.

But it is not too late to stop the chaos and turn the page.

We have tremendous untapped advantages: our long coast-line, high winds, shallow waters, universities, and

skilled offshore workforce combined with our extensive technological and engineering capabilities. With a serious industrial strategy and a genuine partnership between the public and private sectors, we can still make Britain a clean energy superpower.

Labour will take decisive action to seize this economic opportunity. We will shape markets and use public investment to crowd in private funding. At the heart of our approach will be our Green Prosperity Plan where, in partnership with business through our National Wealth Fund, we will invest in the industries of the future. Our plan will create 650,000 jobs across the country by 2030.

We will end the chaotic Conservative chopping and changing on policy, harness clean power to boost our energy security, and invest in home insulation upgrades. We will save families hundreds of pounds on their bills, not just in the short term, but for good.

We will provide leadership at home so we can influence others to ensure every country plays their part in meeting our collective obligations to future generations.

At home we will also tackle the Conservatives' nature emergency, including the unforgivable pollution of our rivers and seas. We will improve access to nature, promote biodiversity, and protect our landscapes and wildlife.

Labour understands the road ahead. We have been clear that this transition presents an opportunity to

create good jobs, with no community left behind, and support well-paying jobs in existing and future industries. The Conservatives propose an alternative course. A denial of reality; delaying action; increasing costs for Britain; exposing us to insecurity; and a failure to win the jobs of the future. They tried this chaotic approach in the 1970s and 80s, and communities are still scarred by what happened. That is the choice facing Britain.

## **Clean power by 2030**

Families and businesses will have lower bills for good, from a zero-carbon electricity system. We have chosen this mission not because it is easy, but because working people can never again be left vulnerable to dictators like Putin.

To deliver our clean power mission, Labour will work with the private sector to double onshore wind, triple solar power, and quadruple offshore wind by 2030. We will invest in carbon capture and storage, hydrogen and marine energy, and ensure we have the long-term energy storage our country needs. A new Energy Independence Act will establish the framework for Labour's energy and climate policies.

Labour will end a decade of dithering that has seen the Conservatives duck decisions on nuclear power. We will ensure the long-term security of the sector, extending

the lifetime of existing plants, and we will get Hinkley Point C over the line. New nuclear power stations, such as Sizewell C, and Small Modular Reactors, will play an important role in helping the UK achieve energy security and clean power while securing thousands of good, skilled jobs.

Labour will maintain a strategic reserve of gas power stations to guarantee security of supply. We will ensure a phased and responsible transition in the North Sea that recognises the proud history of our offshore industry and the brilliance of its workforce, particularly in Scotland and the North East of England, and the ongoing role of oil and gas in our energy mix.

We will embrace the future of energy production and storage which will make use of existing offshore infrastructure and the skills of our offshore workforce. Labour will not revoke existing licences and we will partner with business and workers to manage our existing fields for the entirety of their lifespan. Crucially, oil and gas production in the North Sea will be with us for decades to come, and the North Sea will be managed in a way that does not jeopardise jobs. And our offshore workers will lead the world in the industries of the future.

We will not issue new licences to explore new fields because they will not take a penny off bills, cannot make us energy secure, and will only accelerate the worsening climate crisis. In addition, we will not grant new coal licences and will ban fracking for good.

To support investment in this plan, Labour will close the loopholes in the windfall tax on oil and gas companies. Companies have benefitted from enormous profits not because of their ingenuity or investment, but because of an energy shock which raised prices for British families. Labour will therefore extend the sunset clause in the Energy Profits Levy until the end of the next parliament. We will also increase the rate of the levy by three percentage points, as well as removing the unjustifiably generous investment allowances. Labour will also retain the Energy Security Investment Mechanism.

## **Switch on Great British Energy**

To drive forward investment in clean, home-grown energy production, Labour will create a new publicly-owned company, Great British Energy. It will be owned by the British people and deliver power back to the British people.

Great British Energy will partner with industry and trade unions to deliver clean power by co-investing in leading technologies; will help support capital-intensive projects; and will deploy local energy production to benefit communities across the country. To support this, Labour will capitalise Great British Energy with £8.3 billion, over the next parliament.

The company will create jobs and build supply chains in every corner of the UK. Scotland will be the powerhouse

of our clean energy mission, with Great British Energy headquartered there.

Local power generation is an essential part of the energy mix and reduces pressures on the transmission grid. Labour will deploy more distributed production capacity through our Local Power Plan. Great British Energy will partner with energy companies, local authorities, and co-operatives to install thousands of clean power projects, through a combination of onshore wind, solar, and hydropower projects. We will invite communities to come forward with projects, and work with local leaders and devolved governments to ensure local people benefit directly from this energy production.

## **Energy system reform**

Under the Conservatives, the broken energy market has let customers down. The government has allowed scandalous abuses on their watch, including poor customer service, companies going to the wall with the costs falling on billpayers, and the mass forced installation of pre-payment meters.

Labour will ensure a much tougher system of regulation that puts consumers first and attracts the investment needed to cut bills. Too much of the burden of the bill is on standing charges and we will work with the regulator to reduce them. We will strengthen the regulator to ensure it can hold companies to account for

wrongdoing, require higher standards of performance, and ensure there is automatic customer compensation for failure.

The national grid has become the single biggest obstacle to the deployment of cheap, clean power generation and the electrification of industry. With grid connection dates not being offered until the late 2030s, important business and infrastructure investment is being stalled or lost overseas. Labour will work with industry to upgrade our national transmission infrastructure and rewire Britain.

## **High-quality jobs**

As Britain becomes a clean energy superpower, Labour is determined that we will create new high-quality jobs, working with business and trade unions, as we manage the transition. We will rebuild supply chains at home. And, as the first major economy to transition to a clean-energy system, we will export the technologies of the future.

Labour's National Wealth Fund will directly invest in ports, hydrogen and industrial clusters in every corner of the country. We will also secure the future of Britain's automotive and steel industries.

We will reward clean energy developers with a British Jobs Bonus, allocating up to £500 million per year from 2026, to incentivise firms who offer good jobs, terms and

conditions and build their manufacturing supply chains in our industrial heartlands, coastal areas, and energy communities.

Labour will end the injustice of the Mineworkers' Pension Scheme. We will review the unfair surplus arrangements and transfer the Investment Reserve Fund back to members, so that the mineworkers who powered our country receive a fairer pension.

## **Warm homes plan**

The energy shock of recent years has highlighted the urgent importance of improving energy efficiency in British homes. Labour will invest an extra £6.6 billion over the next parliament, doubling the existing planned government investment, to upgrade five million homes to cut bills for families.

The Warm Homes Plan will offer grants and low interest loans to support investment in insulation and other improvements such as solar panels, batteries and low carbon heating to cut bills. We will partner with combined authorities, local and devolved governments, to roll out this plan. Labour will also work with the private sector, including banks and building societies, to provide further private finance to accelerate home upgrades and low carbon heating. We will ensure homes in the private rented sector meet minimum energy efficiency standards by 2030, saving renters hundreds of pounds



per year. Nobody will be forced to rip out their boiler as a result of our plans.

Labour will save families hundreds of pounds, slash fuel poverty, and get Britain back on track to meet our climate targets. Our plan will mean good skilled jobs for tradespeople in every part of the country.

## **Accelerating to net zero**

British industry is also held back by high electricity costs, which has often made investing here uncompetitive. Labour's clean energy mission will drive down those bills, making British businesses internationally competitive while our National Wealth Fund supports the most energy intensive sectors to decarbonise.

Labour supports the introduction of a carbon border adjustment mechanism. This will protect British industries as we decarbonise, prevent countries from dumping lower-quality goods into British markets, and support the UK to meet our climate objectives.

Labour will ensure the institutional framework for policy making reflects our commitments to reach net zero and meet our carbon budgets. The Conservatives' decision to prevent the Bank of England giving due consideration to climate change in its mandates will be reversed.

Britain's world-leading financial services industry has a major role to play in mobilising trillions of pounds

in private capital to address the greatest long-term challenge of our age. Labour will make the UK the green finance capital of the world, mandating UK-regulated financial institutions – including banks, asset managers, pension funds, and insurers – and FTSE 100 companies to develop and implement credible transition plans that align with the 1.5°C goal of the Paris Agreement.

## **Improving resilience**

Preparing for the future not only means tackling the climate and nature emergencies, but also adapting to the changes they will bring to our environment. Without action, flooding and coastal erosion will pose greater risks to lives, livelihoods and people’s wellbeing. The Conservatives’ poor risk management, and a disjointed approach across government and regulators have left Britain badly exposed.

Labour will improve resilience and preparation across central government, local authorities, local communities, and emergency services. This includes formally working with all stakeholders in the Fire and Rescue services to inform policy and establish national standards.

## **Protecting nature**

The climate crisis has accelerated the nature crisis. Whilst Britain enjoys remarkable natural beauty, the

Conservatives have left Britain one of the most nature-depleted countries in the world. Labour will deliver for nature, taking action to meet our Environment Act targets, and will work in partnership with civil society, communities and business to restore and protect our natural world.

As part of our plans to improve responsible access to nature, Labour will create nine new National River Walks, one in each region of England, and establish three new National Forests in England, whilst planting millions of trees and creating new woodlands. Labour will expand nature-rich habitats such as wetlands, peat bogs and forests so families can explore and wildlife can thrive, including on public land. Labour is committed to reducing waste by moving to a circular economy.

## **Clean water**

Britain's coasts, rivers, and lakes are being polluted by illegal sewage dumping. The Conservatives have turned a blind eye and weakened rather than strengthened regulation, with serious damage being done to our countryside, our tourism industry, and people's health.

Labour will put failing water companies under special measures to clean up our water. We will give regulators new powers to block the payment of bonuses to executives who pollute our waterways and bring criminal charges against persistent law breakers. We will

impose automatic and severe fines for wrongdoing and ensure independent monitoring of every outlet

## **Supporting British farmers**

Labour recognises that food security is national security. That is why we will champion British farming whilst protecting the environment. We will set a target for half of all food purchased across the public sector to be locally produced or certified to higher environmental standards. We will introduce a land-use framework and make environment land management schemes work for farmers and nature. And we will work with farmers and scientists on measures to eradicate Bovine TB, protecting livelihoods, so that we can end the ineffective badger cull.

## **Stronger animal welfare**

Labour will improve animal welfare. We will ban trail hunting and the import of hunting trophies. We will end puppy smuggling and farming, along with the use of snare traps. And we will partner with scientists, industry, and civil society as we work towards the phasing out of animal testing.

**Labour will end the climate and energy chaos, turn the page on 14 years of failed policies, and make Britain a clean energy superpower.**

## **Take back our streets**

- **Crack down on antisocial behaviour with more neighbourhood police**
- **Tough new penalties for offenders**
- **A plan to get knives off our streets**
- **A specialist rape unit in every police force**
- **A new network of Young Futures hubs**

## **Nour: sister, aunt and campaigner for Raneem's Law**

“On the night my niece Raneem Oudeh and her mother were murdered they called 999 not once, not twice, not three times, but four times. No one came. Raneem faced abuse, stalking and threats to kill from her ex-partner. She repeatedly asked the police for help. But nothing was done. No woman should ever be ignored like this. And this was preventable. It's the result of police cuts and the Conservatives serving themselves. As Director of Public Prosecutions Keir gave victims a voice in the justice system. I'm backing Labour's plan to halve levels of violence against women and girls within a decade.”

## **GAVIN THOMAS**

Former Detective Chief Superintendent and Former President of the Police Superintendents Association

“Labour has serious and credible plans to take back our streets, with ambitious missions to halve serious violence – including knife crime – finally tackle the scourge of violence against women and girls, and rebuild public confidence in policing by getting bobbies back on the beat. These plans will require us to do things differently and to work hard to offer better protection to our communities. But they can only happen if you vote for them.”

Labour has a straightforward vision for policing and criminal justice.

When you call the police, they should come. When you report a crime, it should be properly investigated no matter who you are, or where you live. Police should have the trust of communities. Victims must have faith that justice will be delivered, and criminals will be punished. Prisons should not be academies of crime. These are not outlandish expectations. They are the basics of a safe, secure, law-abiding society.

Sadly, this vision is a world away from Britain today. Our sense of security has been badly eroded. Serious violence is too high. Growing numbers of young people are drawn into gangs, drug dealing and violence at ever earlier ages. Antisocial behaviour blights our town and city centres. Fewer criminals are being caught and punished. More victims are being let down.

This is not an accident, but the result of Conservative choices over the last 14 years. Community policing has been downgraded, with neighbourhood officers pulled off the beat to plug shortages elsewhere, weakening connections with communities they serve. Trust in the police has been undermined by failures in vetting and appalling misconduct of some officers. Powers to combat antisocial behaviour and shoplifting have been weakened, leaving our town centres exposed. Our justice system has been allowed to grind to a halt.

This must change. Labour will restore neighbourhood policing with thousands of extra officers, and we will equip officers with the powers they need. We will tackle the epidemic of serious violence, with a greater focus on prevention, including by holding those companies and executives cashing in on knife crime personally to account. We will no longer tolerate the violence against women and girls that stains our society. And we will reform the justice system to put the needs of victims first, tackle the prisons crisis and cut reoffending.

In short, Labour will stop the Conservative chaos and return law and order to our streets.

## **Visible neighbourhood policing**

Visible neighbourhood policing was the cornerstone of the British consent-based model. In too many areas it has been eroded, leaving the police a reactive service focused on crisis response, rather than preventing crime.

Labour will introduce a new Neighbourhood Policing Guarantee, restoring patrols to our town centres by recruiting thousands of new police officers, police and community support officers, and special constables. Communities and residents will have a named officer to turn to when things go wrong.

These new recruits will be paid for by tackling waste through a new Police Efficiency and Collaboration programme for England and Wales. The programme



will set nation-wide standards for procurement and establish shared services and specialist functions to drive down costs.

## **Cracking down on antisocial behaviour**

Antisocial behaviour is not merely a 'low-level' nuisance. It hits the poorest communities hardest and, if left unchecked, leads to more serious offending. Yet, the Conservatives weakened enforcement powers. Labour will fix this by introducing new Respect Orders – powers to ban persistent adult offenders from town centres, which will stamp out issues such as public drinking and drug use. Fly-tippers and vandals will also be forced to clean up the mess they have created.

With shoplifting soaring, retail workers increasingly find themselves in harm's way. Labour will scrap the effective immunity for some shoplifting introduced by the Conservatives and create a new specific offence for assaults on shopworkers that will protect them from threats and violence.

## **Knife crime action plan**

Knife crime has been rising for a decade, claiming far too many young lives. It is a national crisis, requiring urgent action. Yet, under the Conservatives, too often when a teenager is found with a knife, nothing happens,

and carrying a knife becomes normalised. There are virtually no services for vulnerable teenagers at risk of being drawn into a life of violence. The next Labour government will change this. We aim to halve knife crime in a decade.

Labour will end the practice of empty warnings by ensuring knife carrying triggers rapid intervention and tough consequences. Every young person caught in possession of a knife will be referred to a Youth Offending Team and will receive a mandatory plan to prevent reoffending, with penalties including curfews, tagging, and custody for the most serious cases.

To get knives off our streets Labour will ban ninja swords, lethal zombie-style blades and machetes, and strengthen rules to prevent online sales. Executives of online companies that flout these rules will be personally held to account through tough sanctions.

Labour will intervene earlier to stop young people being drawn into crime, creating a new Young Futures programme with a network of hubs reaching every community. These hubs will have youth workers, mental health support workers, and careers advisers on hand to support young people's mental health and avoid them being drawn into crime.

We will not wait for those at risk to come forward. Local prevention partnerships will identify young people who could be drawn into violence and intervene. And

to offer young people a pathway out of violence, we will place youth workers and mentors in A&E units and Pupil Referral Units, funded by full recovery of the cost of firearm licensing.

Labour will also introduce a new offence of criminal exploitation of children, to go after the gangs who are luring young people into violence and crime.

## **Tackling violence against women and girls**

For too long, violence against women and girls has been ignored. Our landmark mission to halve violence against women and girls in a decade will require a national effort. We will use every government tool available to target perpetrators and address the root causes of abuse and violence.

That starts with tougher enforcement and protection. With Labour, there will be specialist rape and sexual offences teams in every police force. The most prolific and harmful perpetrators will be relentlessly targeted, using tactics normally reserved for terrorists and organised crime.

Prosecution rates for rape are shamefully low with many victims dropping out of the justice system when faced with years of delays. Labour will fast-track rape cases, with specialist courts at every Crown Court location in England and Wales.

Victims deserve better support. Building on the success of the approach adopted by Labour Police and Crime Commissioners, we will introduce domestic abuse experts in 999 control rooms so that victims can talk directly to a specialist, and ensure there is a legal advocate in every police force area to advise victims from the moment of report to trial.

Violence and abuse against women and girls does not come from nowhere. Misogyny is one root cause, and therefore Labour will ensure schools address misogyny and teach young people about healthy relationships and consent. We will ensure police forces have the powers they need to track and tackle the problem.

Stalking has not been treated with the seriousness it deserves. Labour will strengthen the use of Stalking Protection Orders and give women the right to know the identity of online stalkers. Spiking is a devastating crime for victims, leaving many women feeling vulnerable when they go out. Labour will introduce a new criminal offence for spiking to help police better respond to this crime.

We will strengthen the rights and protections available to women in co-habiting couples, as well as for whistleblowers in the workplace, including on sexual harassment.

## **Better policing**

Under the Conservatives, poor policing performance has been tolerated, with forces spending years in special measures. Trust in the police has been undermined by the appalling acts of some officers. Labour will turn the page and raise standards by reforming the police.

Labour will give His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire & Rescue Services new powers to intervene with failing forces. We will introduce mandatory professional standards on vetting, checks and misconduct for individual officers; and stronger training on racism and violence against women and girls. Anyone with a history of violence against women and girls will be barred from the service and we will introduce automatic suspensions if officers are investigated for domestic abuse and sexual offences. Particular care is required when investigating children. Labour will introduce new legal safeguards around strip-searching children and young people.

Fraud accounts for almost two in five crimes, but the Conservatives have failed to respond to the scale of the challenge. Labour will introduce a new expanded fraud strategy to tackle the full range of threats, including online, public sector and serious fraud. We will work with technology companies to stop their platforms being exploited by fraudsters.

Criminals never stop looking for new ways to target victims. Police must change the way they operate too, with technology and investigative techniques keeping pace with modern threats. We will work with national policing bodies and police staff to standardise approaches to procurement, IT, professional standards and training. And we will ensure the service is organised so as to enable investment in specialist capabilities, such as digital forensics, and to more effectively tackle cross-border issues such as serious organised crime.

## **Solving crime**

Under the Conservatives, plummeting charge and prosecution rates have emboldened criminals. Rather than working together, police and prosecutors often engage in a blame game, which lets down victims.

Labour will reverse this, driving up the proportion of crimes solved by reducing barriers to bringing charges, cutting bureaucracy, and improving collaboration. We will make it easier for high-performing police forces to charge domestic abuse suspects to speed up the process.

Labour recognises recruitment challenges, particularly for detectives, so we will roll out a direct entry scheme for detectives to boost investigation skills.

## **A justice system that puts victims first**

After 14 years of neglect, the criminal justice system is broken. Victims wait months, sometimes years, for their case to come to trial, unable to move on with their lives. As an initial step to address the courts backlog, Labour will ensure more prosecutors are available by allowing Associate Prosecutors to work on appropriate cases.

We will introduce new protections for victims of crime and persistent antisocial behaviour, by increasing the powers of the Victims' Commissioner, and ensuring victims can access the information and support they need.

Even when criminals are found guilty, the sentences they receive often do not make sense either to victims or the wider public. This is particularly worrying for offences against women and girls. Labour will carry out a review of sentencing to ensure it is brought up to date.

## **Getting a grip of our prisons and reducing reoffending**

Prisons in England and Wales are in crisis. The Conservatives' failure to build sufficient places has led to overcrowding and chaos. Judges are being advised to delay sentencing. Prisoners are being released early. And fewer dangerous criminals are locked up because of a lack of space.

The Conservatives have failed to get prisons built. Labour recognises that prisons are of national importance and therefore will use all relevant powers to build the prisons so badly needed.

As a result of overcrowding, our prisons are increasingly dangerous, plagued by drug use and violent disorder – putting prison officers in a dangerous position. Far from being places where offenders are punished and rehabilitated, prisons are a breeding ground for more crime. Prison leavers are more likely to reoffend if they do not have the tools to move away from crime, if they have nowhere to live and if they do not have a job on release.

Labour will act to reduce reoffending. We will work with prisons to improve offenders' access to purposeful activity, such as learning, and ensure they create pre-release plans for those leaving custody. We will support prisons to link up with local employers and the voluntary sector to get ex-offenders into work. The children of those who are imprisoned are at far greater risk of being drawn into crime than their peers. We will ensure that those young people are identified and offered support to break the cycle.

After 14 years of chaotic reorganisations, the national probation service is struggling to keep the public safe. A lack of co-ordination between prisons, probation and other local services also means prison-leavers are not getting the right support, raising the risk that they go straight back to crime.



In some areas of the country, we have seen Labour Mayors pioneering a more joined-up approach to reduce reoffending. In Greater Manchester, probation is linked up with housing and health services to ensure offenders leaving custody receive the support they need. Labour will conduct a strategic review of probation governance, including considering the benefits of devolved models.

## **Historical injustices**

Under the Conservatives, too many victims of historical injustices have had insult added to injury by years of legal delays. Without justice and the truth, victims and their families cannot move forward. Labour will right this wrong, act on the findings of the Infected Blood Inquiry, and respond to the findings of the Grenfell Inquiry and the Covid-19 Inquiry, to ensure swift resolution.

Labour will introduce a 'Hillsborough Law' which will place a legal duty of candour on public servants and authorities, and provide legal aid for victims of disasters or state-related deaths. We will ensure the victims of the appalling Windrush scandal have their voices heard and the compensation scheme is run effectively, with a new Windrush Commissioner. Labour will also ensure, through an investigation or inquiry, that the truth about the events at Orgreave comes to light.

**Labour will stop the chaos that lets too many criminals act with impunity, turn the page with stronger policing, and rebuild our criminal justice system.**

## **Break down the barriers to opportunity**

- **Recruit 6,500 new expert teachers in key subjects**
- **3,000 new primary school-based nurseries**
- **Free breakfast clubs in every primary school**
- **A modern curriculum so young people are ready for work and life**
- **High-quality apprenticeships and specialist technical colleges**

## **Zahida, Trust School Improvement Partner**

“I went into education to make a difference for all children, especially those from council estates like the one I grew up on. I taught Spanish to Labour’s Shadow Secretary of State for Education Bridget Phillipson. Having been a headteacher, it is my privilege to support Labour’s plans for 6,500 new teachers, free breakfast clubs in every primary school, and to give all children the chance to take part in music, sport, and the arts. Bridget and her colleagues in government will continue to make that difference.”

## **IMELDA STAUNTON CBE**

Actor

“ I welcome Labour’s proposals set out by Keir Starmer to broaden opportunity and make sure all young people have access to the arts. Opening up access to creativity in our schools is critical, not just so that our children have a better chance at a career in the arts, but because access is what will fuel growth in the creative industries – one of the most important sectors for the future of the economy – creating good jobs in all corners of the country.”

## **Introduction**

Whoever you are, wherever you come from, Britain should be a country where hard work means you can get on in life. Under the Conservatives, this basic promise – that if you work hard, you will enjoy the rewards – has been broken. We are a country where who your parents are – and how much money they have – too often counts for more than your effort and enterprise. Too many people see success as something that happens to others. This is an appalling waste of talent as well as a huge injustice. So, breaking the pernicious link between background and success will be a defining mission for Labour.

First, we must recognise that greater opportunity requires greater security. Tackling economic insecurity – at work, at home, in our communities and public services – is the golden thread that runs through all of Labour's missions. On that secure foundation, we can build an education system that prepares our children for life, work, and the future.

Our education system is struggling to cope after years of chronic mismanagement under the Conservatives. Childcare and early education are increasingly unaffordable and unavailable. Too many children arrive at primary school not ready to learn. Too many children are not even getting to school. Teachers are burnt out and leaving in droves. Fewer people are participating in apprenticeships and training. Higher education is in

crisis. Meanwhile, too many of our young people leave school unprepared for the future.

Labour will transform our education system so that young people get the opportunities they deserve. We will expand our childcare and early-years system, drive up standards, modernise the school curriculum, reform assessment, and create higher-quality training and employment paths by empowering local communities to develop the skills people need. We will also put employers at the heart of our skills system.

Every child should believe that success belongs to them. Education has so often been the spark that can light a fire within, transforming life chances. It is time to light that fire for the whole country.

## **Family security**

The last Labour government lifted over half a million children and over a million pensioners out of poverty. That progress transformed life chances and ensured security in retirement. The next Labour government will build on that legacy of pursuing opportunity and social justice.

Good work will be the foundation of our approach to tackling poverty and inequality. We will create more good jobs, reform employment support, and make work pay so that many more people benefit from the dignity and purpose of work.

Labour is committed to reviewing Universal Credit so that it makes work pay and tackles poverty. We want to end mass dependence on emergency food parcels, which is a moral scar on our society.

Child poverty has gone up by 700,000 under the Conservatives, with over four million children now growing up in a low-income family. Last year, a million children experienced destitution. This not only harms children's lives now, it damages their future prospects, and holds back our economic potential as a country. Labour will develop an ambitious strategy to reduce child poverty. We will work with the voluntary sector, faith organisations, trade unions, business, devolved and local government, and communities to bring about change.

We will take initial steps to confront poverty by introducing free breakfast clubs in every primary school, protecting renters from arbitrary eviction, slashing fuel poverty, banning exploitative zero hours contracts, and improving support to help people get into good work.

Our system of state, private, and workplace pensions provide the basis for security in retirement. Labour will retain the triple lock for the state pension. We will also adopt reforms to workplace pensions to deliver better outcomes for UK savers and pensioners. Our pensions review will consider what further steps are needed to improve security in retirement, as well as to increase productive investment in the UK economy.

Security also means having a secure roof over your head. That is not the case for too many renting their homes privately. Labour will legislate where the Conservatives have failed, overhauling the regulation of the private rented sector. We will immediately abolish Section 21 'no fault' evictions, prevent private renters being exploited and discriminated against, empower them to challenge unreasonable rent increases, and take steps to decisively raise standards, including extending 'Awaab's Law' to the private sector.

Labour will also take decisive action to improve building safety, including through regulation, to ensure we never again see a repeat of the Grenfell fire. We will review how to better protect leaseholders from costs and take steps to accelerate the pace of remediation across the country. We will put a renewed focus on ensuring those responsible for the building safety crisis pay to put it right.

For far too many leaseholders, the reality of home ownership falls woefully short of the dream they were promised. Labour will act where the Conservatives have failed and finally bring the feudal leasehold system to an end. We will enact the package of Law Commission proposals on leasehold enfranchisement, right to manage and commonhold. We will take further steps to ban new leasehold flats and ensure commonhold is the default tenure. We will tackle unregulated and unaffordable ground rent charges. We will act to bring



the injustice of 'fleecehold' private housing estates and unfair maintenance costs to an end.

The last Labour government made huge strides in ending homelessness. Under the Conservatives, that progress has been undone, with rough sleepers an all-too-common sight in our towns and cities, and a sharp rise in hidden homelessness. Building on the lessons of our past, Labour will develop a new cross-government strategy, working with Mayors and Councils across the country, to put Britain back on track to ending homelessness.

## **Best start in life**

High-quality early education and childcare is a crucial opportunity to transform life chances. Too often it is unavailable, or unaffordable.

As an initial step, Labour will open an additional 3,000 nurseries through upgrading space in primary schools, to deliver the extension of government funded hours families are entitled to.

Supporting children in the early part of their life also means giving parents the flexibility they need to care for their children. Labour will review the parental leave system, so it best supports working families, within our first year in government.

Every child should have a loving, secure home. Labour will work with local government to support children in care, including through kinship, foster care, and adoption, as well as strengthening regulation of the children's social care sector.

Sadly, too often we see families falling through the cracks of public services. Labour will improve data sharing across services, with a single unique identifier, to better support children and families.

## **Raising school standards**

Labour is determined to raise school standards for every child, and ensure they are prepared for the future. Most children attend schools where the Conservatives are failing to provide the support and teaching that they need. Labour will end the VAT exemption and business rates relief for private schools to invest in our state schools.

The factor that makes the biggest difference to a child's education is high-quality teaching; but there are shortages of qualified teachers across the country. Labour will recruit an additional 6,500 new expert teachers. We will get more teachers into shortage subjects, support areas that face recruitment challenges, and tackle retention issues. The way bursaries are allocated, and the structure of retention payments, will be reviewed.

Teaching is a hard-earned and hard-learned skill, Labour will work to further raise its status. We will update the Early Career Framework, maintaining its grounding in evidence, and ensure any new teacher entering the classroom has, or is working towards, Qualified Teacher Status. We will introduce a new Teacher Training Entitlement to ensure teachers stay up to date on best practice with continuing professional development.

School support staff play a vital role in children's education and development. Labour will reinstate the School Support Staff Negotiating Body, which will help address the acute recruitment and retention crisis in support roles.

Raising school standards starts with early education. The last Labour government's promotion of phonics put rocket boosters under the reading and writing ability of a generation of children. We will do the same for numeracy, improving the quality of maths teaching across nurseries and primary schools.

Developing early communication skills is another key foundation for life, with serious knock-on consequences when development is delayed. Labour will fund evidence-based early-language interventions in primary schools, so that every child can find their voice.

Alongside high-quality teaching, driving up standards in education requires outstanding leadership. Labour will create a new Excellence in Leadership Programme,

a mentoring framework that expands the capacity of headteachers and leaders to improve their schools. Labour will introduce new Regional Improvement Teams, to enhance school-to-school support, and spread best practice.

Accountability is non-negotiable, which is why Labour supports school inspection. Under the Conservatives our inspection regime has been broken. A system which declares nine in ten schools are good or outstanding fails to provide sufficient information on school performance. We will enhance the inspection regime by replacing a single headline grade with a new report card system telling parents clearly how schools are performing. We will also bring Multi-Academy Trusts into the inspection system and introduce a new annual review of safeguarding, attendance, and off-rolling.

Every child should have a broad curriculum with an excellent foundation in reading, writing and maths, and support to develop essential digital, speaking, and creative skills. Yet today, too many are missing out. Labour will launch an expert-led review of curriculum and assessment, working with school staff, parents and employers to change this.

Our reforms will build on the hard work of teachers who have brought their subjects alive with knowledge-rich syllabuses, to deliver a curriculum which is rich and broad, inclusive, and innovative. To capture this breadth, our review will consider the right balance of assessment

methods whilst protecting the important role of examinations.

Too often our education and care systems do not meet the needs of all children, including those with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND). Labour will take a community-wide approach, improving inclusivity and expertise in mainstream schools, as well as ensuring special schools cater to those with the most complex needs. We will make sure admissions decisions account for the needs of communities and require all schools to co-operate with their local authority on school admissions, SEND inclusion, and place planning.

Too many children's life chances are being scarred by rising poverty. Too many arrive at school not ready to learn, and too many are absent. Breakfast clubs improve behaviour, attendance, and learning. Labour will fund free breakfast clubs in every primary school, accessible to all children. Our breakfast clubs will support parents through the cost-of-living crisis. We will also bring down the cost of school by limiting the number of branded items of uniform and PE kit that schools can require.

Poor mental health is another barrier to learning. The struggle to access support is paralysing children and young people through their formative years. Labour will provide access to specialist mental health professionals in every school, so every young person has access to early support to address problems before they escalate. This will complement our plan for Young Futures Hubs,

which will make sure every community has an open-access hub for children and young people with drop-in mental health support.

## **Reforming further and higher education**

After years of Conservative chaos and policy churn, the skills system in England is confusing for young people, adults, and employers. Apprenticeship numbers have plummeted. Skills shortages are widespread. Young people have been left without the opportunities they need. The result is an economy without the necessary skills, nor any plan for the skills needs of the future. Labour will address this by bringing forward a comprehensive strategy for post-16 education. And we will guarantee training, an apprenticeship, or help to find work for all 18- to 21-year-olds.

We will establish Skills England to bring together business, training providers and unions with national and local government to ensure we have the highly trained workforce needed to deliver Labour's Industrial Strategy. Skills England will formally work with the Migration Advisory Committee to make sure training in England accounts for the overall needs of the labour market. And we are committed to devolving adult skills funding to Combined Authorities, empowering local leaders to have greater control of skills development in their areas, alongside a greater role in supporting

people into work. Skills England will co-ordinate between local areas to ensure everyone can access all the opportunities available.

Labour will transform Further Education colleges into specialist Technical Excellence Colleges. These colleges will work with businesses, trade unions, and local government to provide young people with better job opportunities and the highly trained workforce that local economies need.

Labour will also reform the Conservatives' broken Apprenticeships Levy. The current rigid rules ignore vital skills and training needed to access apprenticeships. Labour will create a flexible Growth and Skills Levy, with Skills England consulting on eligible courses to ensure qualifications offer value for money.

Labour will continue to support the aspiration of every person who meets the requirements and wants to go to university.

We recognise that UK higher education creates opportunity, is a world-leading sector in our economy, and supports local communities. To better integrate further and higher education, and ensure high-quality teaching, Labour's post-16 skills strategy will set out the role for different providers, and how students can move between institutions, as well as strengthening regulation. We will act to improve access to universities and raise teaching standards.

The current higher education funding settlement does not work for the taxpayer, universities, staff, or students. Labour will act to create a secure future for higher education and the opportunities it creates across the UK. We will work with universities to deliver for students and our economy.

## **Access to arts, music and sport**

With Labour, the arts and music will no longer be the preserve of a privileged few. Culture is an essential part of supporting children and young people to develop creativity and find their voice. There is huge potential for growth in the creative industries that benefit every corner of the UK.

Labour will implement our creative industries sector plan as part of our Industrial Strategy, creating good jobs and accelerating growth in film, music, gaming, and other creative sectors. We will work constructively with the BBC and our other public service broadcasters so they continue to inform, educate and entertain people, and support the creative economy by commissioning distinctively British content.

Labour will support children to study a creative or vocational subject until they are 16, and ensure accountability measures reflect this. We will get more children active by protecting time for physical education,



and supporting the role grassroots clubs play in expanding access to sport.

Labour will improve access to cultural assets by requiring publicly funded national museums and galleries to increase the loans they make from their collections to communities across the country. We will also launch a new National Music Education Network – a one-stop shop with information on courses and classes for parents, teachers and children. Access to music, drama and sport has become difficult and expensive because of ticket touting. Labour will put fans back at the heart of events by introducing new consumer protections on ticket resales.

From the Men's UEFA European Football Championship to the ICC Women's T20 World Cup to the Invictus Games, Labour will deliver international events with pride and seek new opportunities where we can, creating a legacy to inspire the next generation of talent while promoting exercise and healthy living.

Labour is committed to making Britain the best place in the world to be a football fan. We will reform football governance to protect football clubs across our communities and to give fans a greater say in the way they are run. We will introduce a Football Governance Bill, which will establish an independent regulator to ensure financial sustainability of football clubs in England. We will never allow a closed league of select clubs to be siphoned off from the English football pyramid.

## **Respect and opportunity for all**

Everyone in this country deserves a government that matches their ambition. Labour will ensure no matter whatever your background, you can thrive, and therefore we will enact the socio-economic duty in the Equality Act 2010.

Women's equality will be at the heart of our missions. Our plan to Make Work Pay will transform the lives of working women, including by strengthening rights to equal pay and protections from maternity and menopause discrimination and sexual harassment. And Labour will take action to reduce the gender pay gap, building on the legacy of Barbara Castle's Equal Pay Act.

Labour will introduce a landmark Race Equality Act, to enshrine in law the full right to equal pay for Black, Asian, and other ethnic minority people, strengthen protections against dual discrimination and root out other racial inequalities. Labour will also reverse the Conservatives' decision to downgrade the monitoring of antisemitic and Islamophobic hate.

Labour is committed to championing the rights of disabled people and to the principle of working with them, so that their views and voices will be at the heart of all we do. We will introduce the full right to equal pay for disabled people. Building on gender pay gap reporting, we will introduce disability and ethnicity pay gap reporting for large employers. We will support

disabled people to work by improving employment support and access to reasonable adjustments. We will also tackle the Access to Work backlog and make sure people can try out a job without fear of an immediate benefit reassessment if it does not work out.

Delivering opportunities for all means that everyone should be treated with respect and dignity. Labour will protect LGBT+ and disabled people by making all existing strands of hate crime an aggravated offence.

So-called conversion therapy is abuse – there is no other word for it – so Labour will finally deliver a full trans-inclusive ban on conversion practices, while protecting the freedom for people to explore their sexual orientation and gender identity.

We will also modernise, simplify, and reform the intrusive and outdated gender recognition law to a new process. We will remove indignities for trans people who deserve recognition and acceptance; whilst retaining the need for a diagnosis of gender dysphoria from a specialist doctor, enabling access to the healthcare pathway.

Labour is proud of our Equality Act and the rights and protections it affords women; we will continue to support the implementation of its single-sex exceptions.

**Labour will stop the chaos, end the failure and division of the last 14 years, and turn the page to ensure everyone can thrive.**

## **Build an NHS fit for the future**

- **Cut NHS waiting times with 40,000 more appointments every week**
- **Double the number of cancer scanners**
- **A new Dentistry Rescue Plan**
- **8,500 additional mental health staff**
- **Return of the family doctor**

**Haruna, security manager, former Conservative voter**

“I’ve always voted Conservative but I won’t be again. They’ve let the country down badly. My wife is a teacher at a local school and I’m a security manager in London. We love living in Thurrock. But over the last ten years things have gotten worse. Booking the dentist for my daughter was a nightmare. We had to wait over a year for an appointment. We switched and voted Labour at the local elections. Keir Starmer is a good man. His plan to get more NHS appointments is so important. He’ll deliver it.”

**DAME JULIE MOORE**

Former CEO of Birmingham NHS Trust

“ I’ve worked in the NHS for a long time and I remember how Labour, the party who created the NHS, transformed it to be the best-performing health system in the world. It is heartbreaking to see its decline over the last 14 years. It will be difficult but I believe that, under Keir Starmer, Labour’s plans, short and long term, will once again restore the NHS to deliver top-class health care for the people of this nation, reducing waiting lists and times and transforming it to be fit for the future.”

The 1945 Labour government founded our National Health Service on principles that have stood the test of time:

The best health services should be available, free for all. Money should no longer be the passport to the best treatment. People should get the best that modern science can offer.

For decades the NHS has served us well, with those values enduring. These are the principles which will underpin the next Labour government's plan to reform the NHS.

But as we look at the NHS now, it is clearly broken – and the Conservatives broke it. Whilst the Covid-19 pandemic placed the NHS under unprecedented stress, the reality is waiting lists were at record highs even before it struck. Rather than healthcare being 'free for all', we now find ourselves with a de facto two-tier system – with working people regularly forced to scrape together the means to go private. Meanwhile, over the past 14 years, the 'winter crisis' cycle has become part of the national calendar. Every year, a new crisis is declared. Then, every year, the Conservatives reach for a sticking plaster patch-up to get through the winter, without ever addressing the root cause.

This is a situation Labour is familiar with: we have saved the NHS before, and the next Labour Government will do so again. With Labour, it will always be publicly owned

and publicly funded. But our ambition goes beyond returning the NHS to what it was. Labour's mission is to build an NHS fit for the future. Investment alone won't be enough to tackle the problems facing the NHS; it must go hand in hand with fundamental reform.

We must change the NHS so that it becomes not just a sickness service, but able to prevent ill health in the first place. It must also reflect the change in the nature of disease, with a greater focus on the management of chronic, long-term conditions. And we will deliver a renewed drive to tackle the biggest killers; cutting the lives lost to cancer, cardiovascular disease and suicide, while ensuring people live well for longer.

Labour's reforms will shift our NHS away from a model geared towards late diagnosis and treatment, to a model where more services are delivered in local communities. We will harness the power of technologies like AI to transform the speed and accuracy of diagnostic services, saving potentially thousands of lives. And we will embed a greater focus on prevention throughout the entire healthcare system and supporting services. As we knew in 1945, much avoidable ill health can be prevented.

The factor that is markedly different from the past decades is our understanding of mental health.

Across society, mental health has stepped out of the shadows, yet it is difficult to argue the NHS has kept up. Indeed, Britain is currently suffering from a mental

health epidemic that is paralysing lives, particularly those of children and young people. This is a tragedy – arguably nothing says more about the state of a nation than the wellbeing of its children. So right at the core of our mission will be a bold new ambition to raise the healthiest generation of children in our history. And, as a crucial part of that, we will reform the NHS to ensure we give mental health the same attention and focus as physical health.

### **Get the NHS back on its feet**

We should all be able to trust that the NHS will be there for us when we need it, whether it is a GP appointment, an ambulance, or help at A&E. Labour's immediate priority on health will be to get a grip on the record waiting list. We will return to meeting NHS performance standards. That means patients should expect to wait no longer than 18 weeks from referral for consultant-led treatment of non-urgent health conditions. This standard was achieved with the last Labour government and will be again under the next.

As a first step, in England we will deliver an extra two million NHS operations, scans, and appointments every year; that is 40,000 more appointments every week. We will do this by incentivising staff to carry out additional appointments out of hours. Labour will pool resources across neighbouring hospitals to introduce shared



waiting lists to allow patients to be treated quicker. Recognising the urgent need to bring down waiting lists, Labour will use spare capacity in the independent sector to ensure patients are diagnosed and treated more quickly.

Getting the NHS back to working for patients means ending the workforce crisis across both health and social care. When one in seven people in hospital do not need to be there, joint working is essential. Labour will ensure the publication of regular, independent workforce planning, across health and social care. We will deliver the NHS long-term workforce plan to train the staff we need to get patients seen on time.

Too many patients have seen their treatment affected by strikes. Labour will reset relations with NHS staff, moving away from the Conservatives' failed approach.

## **Modernising the NHS**

A system reliant on pagers and fax machines is not fit for this decade let alone the next. Too many cancer deaths could have been prevented with earlier diagnosis. The NHS has fewer diagnostic scanners per person than other countries, with many ageing machines operating for long after they should. State of the art scanners with embedded AI are faster and more effective at finding smaller tumours, saving lives. Therefore, Labour will introduce a new 'Fit For the Future' fund to double the

number of CT and MRI scanners, allowing the NHS to catch cancer and other conditions earlier, saving lives.

It is also clear that NHS estates are in a state of disrepair after years of neglect. Labour is therefore committed to delivering the New Hospitals Programme.

The revolution taking place in data and life sciences has the potential to transform our nation's healthcare. The Covid-19 pandemic showed how a strong mission-driven industrial strategy, involving government partnering with industry and academia, could turn the tide on a pandemic. This is the approach we will take in government. As part of Labour's life sciences plan, we will develop an NHS innovation and adoption strategy in England. This will include a plan for procurement, giving a clearer route to get products into the NHS coupled with reformed incentive structures to drive innovation and faster regulatory approval for new technology and medicines.

Drawing on the strength of our National Health Service, Labour will also maximise our potential to lead the world in clinical trials. This means making the process more efficient and accessible, by speeding up recruitment and giving more people a chance to participate through the NHS app. This will mean putting Britain at the forefront of transforming treatment for dementia.

## **Power to patients**

At the heart of every medical decision must be patients and their families. Too many are not treated with the respect they deserve or given the information they need to adequately access services and navigate the system.

Labour will therefore transform the NHS app, putting patients in control of their own health to better manage their medicine, appointments, and health needs.

This will include giving performance information on local services, and notifications of vaccinations and health checks. Patients will be able to see the medical guidelines for the treatment they should get, to hold health services to account and understand what their choices are.

## **Ensuring patient safety**

Childbirth should not be something women fear or look back on with trauma. Labour will ensure that trusts failing on maternity care are robustly supported into rapid improvement. We will train thousands more midwives as part of the NHS Workforce Plan and set an explicit target to close the Black and Asian maternal mortality gap.

Labour will digitise the Red Book record of children's health, improving support for new families. We will also enable vaccinations for babies and children as part of health visits.

So much of the treatment in the NHS is dependent on the effective administration of services. Managers need support and accountability. Labour will implement professional standards and regulate NHS managers, ensuring those who commit serious misconduct can never do so again. And we will establish a Royal College of Clinical Leadership to champion the voice of clinicians.

We will work to implement the expert recommendations of the Cass Review to ensure that young people presenting to the NHS with gender dysphoria are receiving appropriate and high-quality care.

## **Healthcare closer to home**

The National Health Service needs to move to a Neighbourhood Health Service, with more care delivered in local communities to spot problems earlier. To achieve this, we must over time shift resources to primary care and community services.

GPs are the front door to the health service for most people. Excellent primary care is the key to earlier diagnosis, but too often it is not possible to get an appointment, so Labour will reform the system. We will train thousands more GPs, guarantee a face-to-face appointment for all those who want one and deliver a modern appointment booking system to end the 8am scramble. We will bring back the family doctor by

incentivising GPs to see the same patient, so ongoing or complex conditions are dealt with effectively.

Labour will also take the pressure off GP surgeries, by improving access to services and treatment through new routes. We will create a Community Pharmacist Prescribing Service, granting more pharmacists independent prescribing rights where clinically appropriate. We will allow other professionals, such as opticians, to make direct referrals to specialist services or tests, as well as expanding self-referral routes where appropriate.

The principle of integrating health and care services will improve the treatment patients receive. We know that more of this care needs to happen outside hospitals. Therefore, we will trial Neighbourhood Health Centres, by bringing together existing services such as family doctors, district nurses, care workers, physiotherapists, palliative care, and mental health specialists under one roof.

## **Dentistry Rescue Plan**

Getting an NHS dentist is increasingly a lottery and the consequences are dire. The most common reason children aged five to nine are admitted to hospital is to have rotting teeth removed. Labour will tackle the immediate crisis with a rescue plan to provide 700,000 more urgent dental appointments and recruit new

dentists to areas that need them most. To rebuild dentistry for the long term, Labour will reform the dental contract, with a shift to focusing on prevention and the retention of NHS dentists. We will also introduce a supervised tooth-brushing scheme for 3- to 5-year-olds, targeting the areas of highest need.

## **Social care reform**

Labour is committed to ensuring everyone lives an independent, prosperous life. Social care is vital to achieving this, but hundreds of thousands of people suffer without the care they need for a dignified life. The sector needs deep reform: there are inconsistent standards, chronic staff shortages, and people are not always treated with the care, dignity and respect they deserve.

Labour will undertake a programme of reform to create a National Care Service, underpinned by national standards, delivering consistency of care across the country. Services will be locally delivered, with a principle of 'home first' that supports people to live independently for as long as possible. Our new standards will ensure high-quality care and ongoing sustainability, and ensure providers behave responsibly. Labour will develop local partnership working between the NHS and social care on hospital discharge.

We will enhance partnership working across employers, workers, trade unions and government and establish a Fair Pay Agreement in adult social care. This sector collective agreement will set fair pay, terms and conditions, along with training standards. Labour will consult widely on the design of this agreement, before beginning the process and learn from countries where they operate successfully.

Labour is committed to ensuring families have the support they need. We will guarantee the rights of those in residential care to be able to see their families. As part of the efforts to move healthcare into local communities and professionalise the workforce, we will task regulators with assessing the role social care workers can play in basic health treatment and monitoring.

Alongside these changes, we will build consensus for the longer-term reform needed to create a sustainable National Care Service. We will explore how we best manage and support an ageing population; how integration with the NHS can be secured; how to best support working age disabled adults; and how to move to a more preventative system.

## **Improving mental health**

The NHS has struggled to keep up with greater awareness of the challenges of mental health. Waiting

lists for those referred for support are too high, and shamefully so for young people.

Labour will bring waiting times down and intervene earlier. We will recruit an additional 8,500 new staff to treat children and adults through our first term. As part of our mission to reduce the lives lost to suicide, these new staff will be specially trained to support people at risk. Labour's new Young Futures hubs will provide open access mental health services for children and young people in every community.

Mental health legislation is also woefully out of date. The treatment of people with autism and learning difficulties is a disgrace. The operation of the Mental Health Act discriminates against Black people who are much more likely to be detained than others. Labour will modernise legislation to give patients greater choice, autonomy, enhanced rights and support, and ensure everyone is treated with dignity and respect throughout treatment.

## **Action on public health**

Prevention will always be better, and cheaper, than a cure. So, we must take preventative public health measures to tackle the biggest killers and support people to live longer, healthier lives.

That starts with smoking. Labour will ensure the next generation can never legally buy cigarettes and ensure all hospitals integrate 'opt-out' smoking cessation



interventions into routine care. Labour will ban vapes from being branded and advertised to appeal to children to stop the next generation from becoming hooked on nicotine.

We face a childhood obesity crisis. So, Labour is committed to banning advertising junk food to children along with the sale of high-caffeine energy drinks to under-16s.

Children and young people face significant harm online, with inappropriate content too easily available at their fingertips on a smartphone. We have seen an increase in extreme misogynistic content online driving a culture of violence against women. Labour will build on the Online Safety Act, bringing forward provisions as quickly as possible, and explore further measures to keep everyone safe online, particularly when using social media. We will also give coroners more powers to access information held by technology companies after a child's death.

Labour is committed to reducing gambling-related harm. Recognising the evolution of the gambling landscape since 2005, Labour will reform gambling regulation, strengthening protections. We will continue to work with the industry on how to ensure responsible gambling.

## **Reducing health inequalities**

The UK has stark health inequalities. It cannot be right that life expectancy varies so widely across and within communities. As part of our health mission, Labour will tackle the social determinants of health, halving the gap in healthy life expectancy between the richest and poorest regions in England. Never again will women's health be neglected. Labour will prioritise women's health as we reform the NHS.

We are currently on the cusp of eradicating new cases of HIV. Labour will commission a new HIV action plan in England, in pursuit of ending HIV cases by 2030.

**Labour will stop the chaos in our health and care services, turn the page, and reform them in line with the principles of the NHS that Labour founded.**

## **Serving the country**

- **A new Ethics and Integrity Commission**
- **Modernise the House of Commons**
- **Immediate reform of the House of Lords**
- **A reset between Westminster and Holyrood, Cardiff Bay, and Stormont**
- **Votes at 16**

Over the last 14 years, trust in politics has been shattered. Partying in Downing Street whilst the whole country sacrificed their freedom. Handing lucrative Covid contracts to friends and donors. Failing to expel MPs caught breaking the rules. The behaviour of the Conservatives has understandably led to a widespread belief that many politicians are in it for themselves. As a result, there is now a crisis of confidence in our political system's ability to deliver any change.

This is not limited to Westminster – in Scotland, the Scottish National Party has also failed to uphold the standards expected in public life. The scandals may be different, but the SNP has also sought to protect its own and failed to address the behaviour of its MPs and MSPs, from sexual harassment scandals to accusations of financial mismanagement and defending the inappropriate use of public expenses. The people of Scotland also deserve better from their representatives.

It is not just sleaze and scandal that have eroded trust. Just as corrosive has been the inability of politicians to keep promises made to the British people. Over the last 14 years, the vast chasm between Conservative slogans and reality has shown a contempt for democracy. From claiming “we’re all in it together” while decimating public services, to the empty promises to “level up”, gimmicks and gestures have shamefully replaced the hard graft of governing.

In contrast, Labour has been transformed from a party of protest to one that always puts the interests of the country first. Now we are determined to do the same with our politics, returning government to the service of working people. This will require a reset in our public life; a clean-up that ensures the highest standards of integrity and honesty. We will make sure MPs focus on serving their constituents. We will deepen our democracy by reforming Parliament and devolving power to communities. And rather than stoking division – as do both the Conservatives and the SNP – we will ensure there is respect and collaboration across the different governments that make up the United Kingdom.

Setting the highest of standards in public life is not just about better behaviour or decision-making, though it will improve both. It is also central to restoring trust between the public and politics. After 14 years of chaos, division and disrespect, the British people are understandably cynical about appeals to come together in the national interest. But the challenges we face demand nothing less – it is the lifeblood of national renewal. This plan recognises that politics must make the first move in repairing that bond.

### **Restoring public service in Westminster**

Labour will restore confidence in government and ensure ministers are held to the highest standards. We

will establish a new independent Ethics and Integrity Commission, with its own independent Chair, to ensure probity in government.

Labour will review and update post-government employment rules to end flagrant abuses seen under the Conservatives. This includes enforcing restrictions on ministers lobbying for the companies they used to regulate, with meaningful sanctions for breaching the rules. We will give the Independent Adviser on Ministerial Interests the powers to start investigations into misconduct and ensure they have access to the evidence they need.

Most MPs work hard to serve their constituents but can be hamstrung by arcane procedures and outdated working practices. Labour will establish a new Modernisation Committee tasked with reforming House of Commons procedures, driving up standards, and improving working practices. The absence of rules on second jobs also means some constituents end up with MPs who spend more time on their second job, or lobbying for outside interests, than on representing them. Therefore, as an initial step, Labour will support an immediate ban on MPs from taking up paid advisory or consultancy roles. We will task the Modernisation Committee to take forward urgent work on the restrictions that need to be put in place to prevent MPs from taking up roles that stop them serving their constituents and the country.

## **Constitutional reform**

Although Labour recognises the good work of many peers who scrutinise the government and improve the quality of legislation passed in Parliament, reform is long over-due and essential. Too many peers do not play a proper role in our democracy. Hereditary peers remain indefensible. And because appointments are for life, the second chamber of Parliament has become too big.

The next Labour government will therefore bring about an immediate modernisation, by introducing legislation to remove the right of hereditary peers to sit and vote in the House of Lords. Labour will also introduce a mandatory retirement age. At the end of the Parliament in which a member reaches 80 years of age, they will be required to retire from the House of Lords.

Labour will ensure all peers meet the high standards the public expect of them, and we will introduce a new participation requirement as well as strengthening the circumstances in which disgraced members can be removed. We will reform the appointments process to ensure the quality of new appointments and will seek to improve the national and regional balance of the second chamber.

Whilst this action to modernise the House of Lords will be an improvement, Labour is committed to replacing the House of Lords with an alternative second chamber that is more representative of the regions and nations.

Labour will consult on proposals, seeking the input of the British public on how politics can best serve them.

## **Upholding democracy**

Labour is committed to strengthening our democracy and upholding the integrity of elections. Rather than encouraging full participation in our democracy, the Conservatives have brought in partisan changes that make it harder to vote, whilst doing nothing to strengthen protections against foreign interference.

To encourage participation in our democracy, Labour will improve voter registration and address the inconsistencies in voter ID rules that prevent legitimate voters from voting. For example, in the case of HM Armed Forces Veteran Cards. We will increase the engagement of young people in our vibrant democracy, by giving 16- and 17-year-olds the right to vote in all elections. And we will protect democracy by strengthening the rules around donations to political parties.

## **Greater collaboration and respect across the country**

As part of Labour's plans to clean up politics and return it to the service of working people, we will reset the UK Government's relationship with devolved governments in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.



The Conservatives weakened our country by disrespecting the legitimate role of devolved governments and parliaments. We will ensure members of devolved legislatures have the same free speech protections enjoyed by MPs at Westminster, so elected representatives can hold power to account.

Labour will ensure the structures and institutions of intergovernmental working improve relationships and collaboration on policy. Labour will strengthen the Sewel Convention by setting out a new memorandum of understanding outlining how the nations will work together for the common good.

Labour will renew opportunities for the Prime Minister and Heads of Devolved Government to collaborate with each other. As recommended in the Report of the Commission on the UK's future, we will establish a new Council of the Nations and Regions. This will bring together the Prime Minister, the First Ministers of Scotland and Wales, the First and deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland, and the Mayors of Combined Authorities.

The next Labour government will also ensure that UK-wide bodies are more representative of our nations and regions. UK trade negotiators will work with devolved governments to promote our fantastic businesses and services internationally. Labour will restore decision-making over the allocation of structural funds to the representatives of Scotland, Wales, and Northern

Ireland. The planned investments in public services outlined in this manifesto by a UK government will result in additional funding for Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

## **Scottish devolution and the Scotland Office**

The people of Scotland deserve governments that are focused on delivering for them. Labour does not support independence or another referendum, but we know that after 14 years of the Conservatives, the people of Scotland need change. Labour will take a different approach in Scotland: we will protect and respect devolution and reset relations between governments.

Labour will strengthen Scottish democracy and devolution, championing Scotland at home and abroad. We will ensure the devolution settlement for Scotland enables collaboration on Labour's national missions for government. We will maintain the arrangements in the new Scottish fiscal framework.

A UK Labour government will have a more collaborative approach to the Scottish Government on their international engagement. We recognise that within devolved competencies, the Scottish Government has an important role to play. In respect to wholly devolved issues, Labour will support the Scottish Government to partner with international bodies where relevant and appropriate, for example to collaborate on global

health initiatives. The UK Government will retain full responsibility over foreign policy.

The Scotland Office will maximise Scotland's influence, and with Labour it will once again become an advocate for Scotland, both at home and abroad. The Scotland Office will ensure the voice of Scotland is properly heard on issues under the competence of the UK Government. Scotland has an enviable international reputation. Its culture, products and services are internationally renowned – from whisky and salmon to computer game development, bioscience and financial services. Labour will champion 'Brand Scotland' across the world through the Scotland Office, and our diplomatic and trade networks.

## **Welsh devolution and the Wales Office**

Wales has been failed by a chaotic and divisive Conservative Government that does not understand the ambitions of the Welsh people and refuses to work with the Welsh Government to achieve them. Labour will serve Wales with a plan that matches those ambitions.

We will strengthen the relationship between the governments in Westminster and Cardiff Bay. The two governments will work collaboratively to deliver Labour's national missions. Labour recognises that the Welsh Fiscal Framework is out of date. We are committed to working in partnership with the Welsh Government to

ensure the framework delivers value for money with two Labour governments committed to fiscal responsibility.

Labour recognises the value of integrated public services, which are more efficient and create better outcomes. As part of the strategic review into probation, we will explore the devolution of services to enable them to be more locally responsive. We will work with the Welsh Labour Government to consider devolution of youth justice. In line with our commitment to devolve employment support in England, Labour will devolve employment support funding to the Welsh Government.

Welsh culture, products and services are renowned around the world – from the thriving tourism sector and highest-quality steel to Welsh Lamb and semi-conductors. Labour will harness the UK's diplomatic and trade networks, working with the Welsh Government to champion Wales across the world.

With Labour, the Wales Office will once again become an advocate for Wales at home and abroad and facilitate closer collaboration between our governments. The Wales Office will ensure on issues under the competence of the UK government the voice of Wales is properly heard.

## **Northern Ireland**

Northern Ireland needs stability and long-term certainty after the challenges of recent years. Labour will work

with the Executive and Assembly to improve public services and generate economic growth, and with all political parties and communities to ensure the stability of devolved government.

Labour is committed to implementing the Windsor Framework in good faith and protecting the UK internal market. Northern Ireland's economy has enormous strengths - with a highly skilled workforce, strong services, manufacturing and life sciences sectors, and great opportunities for inward investment. A Labour government will champion Northern Ireland around the world and work with the Executive to encourage more businesses to invest in Northern Ireland's future.

Labour is committed to taking forward discussions with the Executive about a fiscal framework for Northern Ireland.

The Good Friday Agreement, and the peace and prosperity it has brought to Northern Ireland, is one of the proudest achievements of the last Labour government. As a guarantor of the Good Friday Agreement, a Labour government will uphold both the letter and the spirit of the Agreement, along with the principle of consent on which it rests. We will work with the Irish Government to strengthen the relationship between our two countries.

The Legacy Act denies justice to the families and victims of the Troubles. Labour will repeal and replace

it, by returning to the principles of the Stormont House Agreement, and seeking support from all communities in Northern Ireland.

**Labour will end the chaos of sleaze and division, turn the page, and reset politics to put it back in the service of working people.**

## **Britain reconnected**

- **Unshakeable commitment to NATO and our nuclear deterrent**
- **Standing up for our armed forces and veterans**
- **New trade agreements**
- **Britain leading a Clean Power Alliance**
- **Modernise international development**

With Labour, Britain will once again be strong on the world stage, confident in the pursuit of our national interest, and progressive but realistic about the challenges we face. We will reconnect with allies and forge new partnerships to deliver security and prosperity at home and abroad.

Over the last 14 years, the world has grown more volatile and insecure. War has returned to Europe for the first time in a generation, there is devastating violence in the Middle East, rapid technological change and the climate crisis are fuelling geopolitical tensions, and malign actors are seeking to divide us.

This darkening global landscape demands a strong and connected Britain.

Instead, chaotic Conservative foreign policy has weakened our alliances, squandered our climate leadership – a huge diplomatic opportunity – and undermined our reputation as upholders of international law. At home, Conservative attacks on our globally respected institutions – universities, courts and the BBC – have undermined our soft power, traditionally a source of great strength, and diminished our influence.

This failure on the international stage has cost the British people. We are less secure, with families exposed to high energy bills and food prices as a result.

Labour will turn the page and reverse this, reinvigorating alliances and forging new partnerships. Our commitment



to NATO as the cornerstone of European and global security is unshakeable. We will be confident in our status outside of the EU, but a leading nation in Europe once again, with an improved and ambitious relationship with our European partners. We will once again be a good partner for international development, and a defender of the international rule of law. And we will return to the forefront of climate action by creating the green jobs of the future at home and driving forward the energy transition on the global stage.

Britain will be a reliable partner, a dependable ally, and a good neighbour. An optimistic country at the start of an era of renewal.

## **Rebuilding relationships**

Britain is always stronger when we work with others. The United States is an indispensable ally. Our special relationship is crucial for security and prosperity, and transcends whatever political parties and individuals are in office. We will continue to work with the United States on the basis of our shared values and common interests including on economic co-operation, defence and intelligence.

With Labour, Britain will stay outside of the EU. But to seize the opportunities ahead, we must make Brexit work. We will reset the relationship and seek to deepen ties with our European friends, neighbours and allies.

That does not mean reopening the divisions of the past. There will be no return to the single market, the customs union, or freedom of movement.

Instead, Labour will work to improve the UK's trade and investment relationship with the EU, by tearing down unnecessary barriers to trade. We will seek to negotiate a veterinary agreement to prevent unnecessary border checks and help tackle the cost of food; will help our touring artists; and secure a mutual recognition agreement for professional qualifications to help open up markets for UK service exporters.

Labour will seek an ambitious new UK-EU security pact to strengthen co-operation on the threats we face. We will rebuild relationships with key European allies, including France and Germany, through increased defence and security co-operation. We will seek new bilateral agreements and closer working with Joint Expeditionary Force partners. This will strengthen NATO and keep Britain safe.

Multilateral institutions remain indispensable, but they are struggling under the strain of new global challenges. Labour will work with allies to build, strengthen and reform these institutions. We will use the UK's unique position in NATO, the UN, G7, G20 and the Commonwealth to address the threats we face, and to uphold human rights and international law. Labour values international law because of the security it brings. Britain will unequivocally remain a member of the European Convention on Human Rights.

## **Defending the UK's security**

Labour's first duty in government will be to keep our country safe. We will launch a Strategic Defence Review to assess the threats we face and the capabilities needed to address them. At the heart of our security are the men and women who serve and risk their lives for this country. We will strengthen support for our Armed Forces communities by putting the Armed Forces Covenant fully into law and establishing an independent Armed Forces Commissioner to improve service life. Labour will ensure veterans have access to the mental health, employment, and housing support and in other areas they need. We will also scrap visa fees for non-UK veterans who have served for four or more years and their dependents.

Strengthening Britain's security requires a long-term partnership with our domestic defence industry. Labour will bring forward a defence industrial strategy aligning our security and economic priorities. We will ensure a strong defence sector and resilient supply chains, including steel, across the whole of the UK. We will establish long-term partnerships between business and government, promote innovation, and improve resilience. We will prioritise UK businesses for defence investment and will reform procurement to reduce waste. Labour will support industry to benefit from export opportunities, in line with a robust arms export regime committed to upholding international law.

Strengthening our defences also requires stronger leadership, clearer accountability, faster delivery, less waste, and better value for money. Labour will establish a fully functioning military strategic headquarters and a national armaments director to create a strong defence centre capable of leading Britain in meeting the increasing threats we face.

With Labour, the UK's military, financial, diplomatic and political support for Ukraine will remain steadfast. Labour will support efforts to hold Putin's Russia to account for its illegal war, backing calls for a Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression. We will work with our allies to enable the seizure and repurposing of frozen Russian state assets to support Ukraine. And we will play a leading role in providing Ukraine with a clear path to NATO membership.

Labour will also work with our allies and international financial centres to tackle corruption and money laundering, including in Britain, Crown Dependencies, and in British Overseas Territories.

Labour is fully committed to AUKUS, the trilateral security partnership with Australia and the United States. We will ensure it delivers its full economic as well as security potential, increasing jobs and investment in communities across the UK.

After 14 years of damaging Conservative inconsistency over China, Labour will bring a long-term and strategic

approach to managing our relations. We will co-operate where we can, compete where we need to, and challenge where we must. We will improve the UK's capability to understand and respond to the challenges and opportunities China poses through an audit of our bilateral relationship. We will always act in our interests and defend our sovereignty and our democratic values. We will stand with and support members of the Hong Kong community who have relocated to the UK.

Defending our security also means protecting the British Overseas Territories and Crown Dependencies, including the Falklands and Gibraltar. Labour will always defend their sovereignty and right to self-determination.

## **Championing UK prosperity**

Labour's first mission in government will be to grow our economy. This will be at the heart of everything we do, including our foreign policy. We will use our diplomatic network to attract foreign direct investment into the UK, expand markets for British exporters, and shape emerging regulatory frameworks.

Britain is a proud trading nation and flourishing international business is a vital part of our plan for growth. Openness to trade allows our firms to grow and delivers greater choice and value for consumers. Rather than prioritising insubstantial agreements which do not bring meaningful benefits to the UK, Labour will seek

targeted trade agreements aligned with our industrial strategy and economic strengths, to bring prosperity to communities across England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

We will publish a trade strategy and use every lever available to get UK business the access it needs to international markets. This will promote the highest standards when it comes to food production. As well as striking new free trade agreements, Labour will seek to negotiate standalone sector deals, such as digital, or mutual recognition agreements, to promote our services exports.

We will lead international discussions to modernise trade rules and agreements so they work for Britain, promoting deeper trade and co-operation including through the World Trade Organisation and the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. Labour supports implementation of the OECD global minimum rate of corporate taxation and backs international efforts to make sure multinational tech companies pay their fair share of tax.

Labour will build and strengthen modern partnerships with allies and regional powers. We will seek a new strategic partnership with India, including a free trade agreement, as well as deepening co-operation in areas like security, education, technology and climate change. We will deepen our co-operation with partners across

the Gulf on regional security, energy and trade and investment.

Recognising the growing political and economic importance of African countries, we will deliver a new approach to the continent to foster opportunities for mutual long-term benefit.

## **Climate leadership**

We cannot address the urgency of the climate and nature crisis without co-ordinated global action. A failure to act will cause environmental devastation, fuelling displacement, conflict and famine. By being climate leaders at home, including meeting our agreed targets, Labour will restore the strong global leadership needed to tackle the climate crisis.

International allies and competitors have already recognised the opportunities and are racing ahead, investing in new technology and creating the jobs of the future. Under the Conservatives, Britain has squandered our leadership, wasting the opportunity of our COP26 presidency to make historic progress. Labour will move faster by working together with our international partners, especially those at the forefront of the climate crisis, including Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the COP30 hosts, Brazil.

Labour will create a new Clean Power Alliance, bringing together a coalition of countries at the cutting edge of

climate action. This will help to deliver lower energy bills while accelerating the energy transition and protecting and enhancing clean energy supply chains.

## **Strengthening diplomacy**

Labour will strengthen Britain's influence abroad, defending our national interests, promoting progressive values, and protecting UK nationals.

Our diplomatic leadership is bolstered by the soft power of our world-leading cultural institutions. Rather than running these institutions down, we will work across government to bring leading creative and cultural institutions together to increase the UK's international clout. And we will work with our proud diaspora communities to enhance our cultural links across the world.

Long-term peace and security in the Middle East will be an immediate focus. Labour will continue to push for an immediate ceasefire, the release of all hostages, the upholding of international law, and a rapid increase of aid into Gaza. Palestinian statehood is the inalienable right of the Palestinian people. It is not in the gift of any neighbour and is also essential to the long-term security of Israel. We are committed to recognising a Palestinian state as a contribution to a renewed peace process which results in a two-state solution with a safe and secure Israel alongside a viable and sovereign Palestinian state.



Labour will also strengthen support for British nationals abroad. We will introduce a new right to consular assistance in cases of human rights violations.

## **Modernising international development**

With previous Labour governments, Britain gained world-leading expertise in international development, with the aim of making the world a safer, more prosperous place. Under the Conservatives, this capacity has been degraded, and as a result Britain has lost influence.

Labour will turn the page to rebuild Britain's reputation on international development with a new approach based on genuine respect and partnership with the global South to support our common interests.

To counter the growing influence of malign actors and boost efforts to combat threats like climate change, the UK's development work must be closely aligned with our foreign policy aims, co-ordinated to tackle global poverty, instability, and the climate and nature crisis. Our mission statement will be 'to create a world free from poverty on a liveable planet' as a signal of our commitment to greater multilateral action, and our intention to lead on this agenda.

Regaining Britain's global leadership on development is a key part of our plan to reconnect with our allies and partners. Labour will strengthen international

development work within the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office. We will renew expertise and focus, especially in priority areas such as supporting economic transformation, tackling unsustainable debt, empowering women and girls, supporting conflict prevention, and unlocking climate finance.

Labour is committed to restoring development spending at the level of 0.7 per cent of gross national income as soon as fiscal circumstances allow. We will deliver value for money for the British taxpayer by working closely with the Independent Commission for Aid Impact to apply the highest standards to our aid spend – bringing in robust measures of development effectiveness, transparency, and scrutiny.

**Labour will end the chaotic approach to foreign affairs, turn the page and reconnect with our allies, to once again stand strong on the world stage.**

## **Labour's fiscal plan**

Our fiscal rules are non-negotiable and will apply to every decision taken by a Labour government.

This means that the current budget must move into balance, so that day-to-day costs are met by revenues and debt must be falling as a share of the economy by the fifth year of the forecast.

Costs for Labour's additional public services spending are set out below. We have used the last year of the most recent Office for Budget Responsibility forecast (2028-29) which represents the highest annual cost of the policies. However, we will begin to put these policies in place from day one of a Labour government, moving as quickly as possible in a way that also ensures value for money for the taxpayer.

We have not allocated all additional revenue to potential spending. This is a prudent approach in line with our commitment to economic stability.

Policies not listed here will be funded from existing budgets or do not have a cost.

## Public Services<sup>1</sup>

Revenue (2028-29)	£m	Policies funded (2028-29)	£m
		40,000 more operations, scans and appointments every week	1,010
		Double the number of NHS CT and MRI scanners	250
Revenue from closing further non-dom tax loopholes and investment in reducing tax avoidance 2	5,230	Dentistry package including 700,000 urgent appointments every year	125
		Free breakfast clubs in every primary school	315
		Investment in HMRC to reduce tax avoidance	855

6,500 new expert teachers	450
Increased teacher and headteacher training	270
Delivering work experience and careers advice for all young people	85
Early language development in primary schools	5
Ofsted reform	45
Over 3,000 new nurseries	35
Mental health support for every school	175
Young Futures Hubs	95
Recruit 8,500 new mental health staff	410
Legal aid for victims of disasters or state-related deaths <sup>3</sup>	30
Waive visa costs for non-UK veterans who have served four years or more in the British forces <sup>4</sup>	10
Revenue from applying VAT and business rates to private schools	1,510
Revenue from closing carried interest tax loophole	565

Revenue from increasing stamp duty on purchases of residential property by non-UK residents by 1%	40	Appoint 300 new planning officers	20
		Barnett consequential <sup>5</sup>	650
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,350</b>	<b>Total including Barnett consequential<sup>5</sup></b>	<b>4,835</b>

1 May not sum due to rounding.

2 Revenue from tax avoidance driven by additional £855m per year investment in HMRC. Does not include £600m revenue from removing non-dom discount loophole in 2025-26.

3 Costs are England and Wales.

4 Costs are UK wide.

5 Scotland (£320m), Wales (£195m), Northern Ireland (£135m).

## **Green Prosperity Plan<sup>6</sup>**

The Green Prosperity Plan will be funded in part by a time-limited windfall tax on the oil and gas giants making record profits, with the rest of the funding coming from responsible borrowing to invest within Labour's fiscal rules – catalytic investment that will leverage higher private investment and boost economic growth.

For transparency, we have given an annual average across the parliament given the exact profile of projects will be driven by partnership with business.

Funding (annual average)	£bn	Policies funded (annual average)	£bn
		Great British Energy	1.7
Windfall tax on oil and gas giants	1.2	National Wealth Fund	1.5
		British Jobs Bonus <sup>7</sup>	0.3
		Warm Homes Plan <sup>7</sup>	1.1
		Barnett consequentials	0.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.2</b>		
Borrowing to invest within fiscal rules	3.5	Total including Barnett consequentials	4.7

<sup>6</sup> May not sum due to rounding.

<sup>7</sup> Elements of the British Jobs Bonus (up to £500m per year from 2026-27) and Warm Homes Plan will be devolved.



## Changes within departmental spending plans<sup>8</sup>

We have identified waste and other efficiencies which will be used to fund further public service priorities.

For transparency, we have used an annual figure that reflects the highest annual costs of these policies given the differing profiles of each spending priority.

Policy	Funding within existing departmental plans	Amount re-allocated, annualised, £m
Prioritising frontline public service delivery and public sector capability	Halving consultancy spend	745
13,000 additional neighbourhood police and community PCSOs; and specialist domestic abuse advisers in 999 control rooms at peak times	Police Efficiency and Collaboration Programme	400

New measures to clear the asylum backlog: Caseworkers, Returns and Enforcement Unit	End use of hotels for asylum accommodation	155
Border Security Comand to tackle criminal gangs behind small boat crossings	Scrap the Rwanda scheme	75
Invest in roads maintenance to fill in up to 1 million potholes every year	Deferring the A27 bypass	65
Put youth workers in A&E units and custody centres, and youth mentors in pupil referral units	Full cost recovery for firearms licenses	20
Appoint legal advocates to provide free legal advice and support to rape survivors across England and Wales	Redirect PCC grants for victims' services	5
<b>Total</b>		<b>1,460</b>
<sup>8</sup> May not sum due to rounding.		

# Change

## **At this election we can change Britain.**

We can stop the chaos, turn the page, and start to rebuild our country.

A country restored to the service of working people; united in the common determination to build and share wealth. And with a renewed confidence that the future will be better for our children.

## **This manifesto contains our plan to begin that work.**

To succeed we will need every individual and community to play their part. We must come together, after 14 years of chaos and division.

**That is what Britain needs – and we hope you will join us in this national endeavour.**





# Labour's first steps for change

**1. Deliver economic stability**

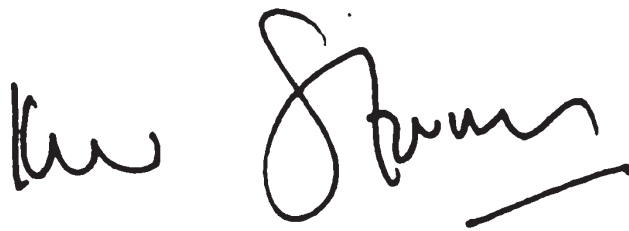
**2. Cut NHS waiting times**

**3. Launch a new Border Security Command**

**4. Set up Great British Energy**

**5. Crack down on antisocial behaviour**

**6. Recruit 6,500 new teachers**



**Keir Starmer**  
**Leader of the Labour Party**

