

# The Labour Party Manifesto 2010



**A future  
fair for all**

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# Foreword from Gordon Brown

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



**Gordon Brown**  
Prime Minister

# Introduction

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

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

These changes happened because we applied our values

to the world as it was then.

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

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

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

Parliament properly accountable.

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

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

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

From the autumn of 2008, big calls had to be made. We nationalised Northern Rock, protected people's savings, cut VAT to stimulate our economy, put in place job guarantees to get people back to work, and stepped in to stop repossessions.

It is working. The banking system has been stabilised. Our economy is showing signs of returning to growth. Unemployment has, so far, risen by over 500,000 less than people expected this time last year. Repossessions are at around half the level of the 1990s.

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

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

The world changed out of all recognition in 2007 with the onset of the global economic crisis. Major British banks, the custodians of our savings and livelihoods, ran out of money because of the recklessness of those in charge. This Manifesto makes the case that there should be no return to business as usual. People have suffered too much with their jobs, livelihoods and

confidence to allow a return to the same old ways. There is a desire not simply to correct for what went wrong, but to seize the opportunity to build anew.

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

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

As we more than halve the fiscal deficit over the next four years, we will ensure that we do so in a

fair way with a combination of a return to economic growth, cuts to lower priority programmes and fair tax rises. Responsibility at the top means people paying their fair share and we believe it is right that those with the broadest shoulders bear the greatest burden of paying down the deficit.

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

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

For a decade we have combined investment and reform and improved our public services. Now we need to rise to the challenge of achieving even higher standards in a period of constrained resources. We will drive forward our programme to strip out all waste, improve efficiency and get the most out of every pound spent. We recognise that investing more in priority areas will mean cutting back in

others. Above all we will build public services that are more personal to people's needs: with clear guarantees about standards, the best providers taking over others where they don't make the grade, and with new ways of organising services such as mutuals.

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

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

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

We will protect the things people value: families, strong communities, local institutions. We will create a new settlement in our country on how we care for the elderly through the creation of a National Care Service, and

fathers will have more time off to spend with their kids. There will be greater protection for the local institutions people value, like local post offices and pubs. In everything we do, we will demand the responsibilities that must come with rights: to work when you can, not to abuse your neighbour or neighbourhood, to show respect for Britain as a newcomer, to pay your fair share of tax.

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

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

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

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

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

# Securing Britain's future

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

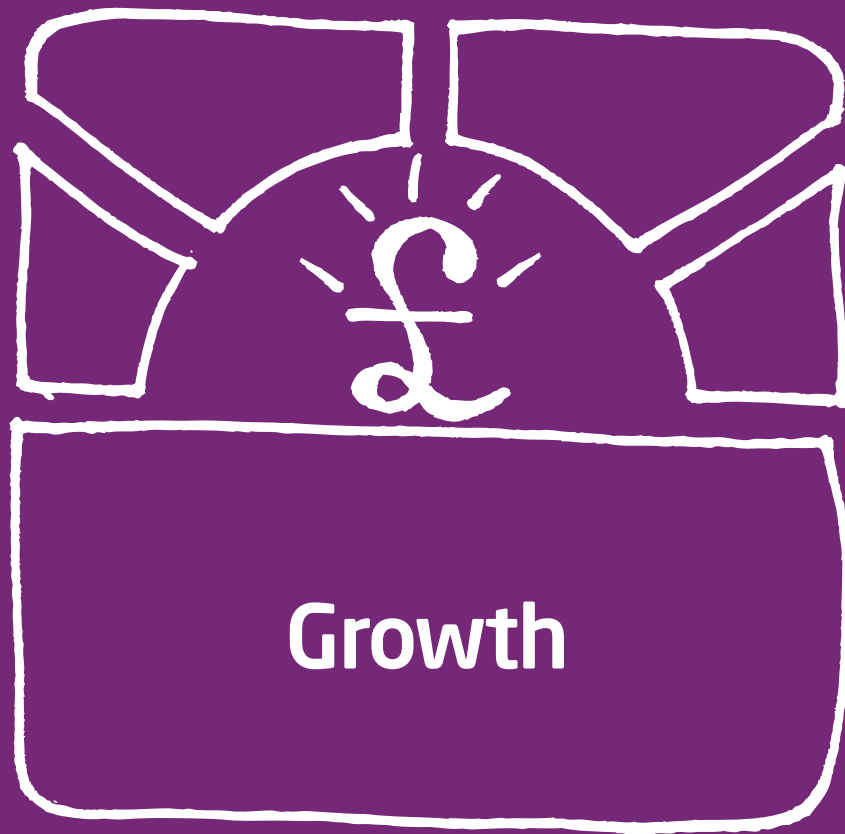
We are now emerging from the global financial crisis. It has had a lasting effect on tax receipts, here in the UK and across the world. We are sticking to our spending plans this year so that support for families and businesses remains as we secure the recovery. But from 2011-12, as growth takes hold,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

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

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

# The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

Building the high-growth economy of the future



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## The challenge for Britain

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

### The next stage of national renewal

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

As the economy steadily recovers, there will be no return to business as usual: financial institutions cannot continue the practices of the past. Radical change is needed. Without long-term investment in wealth-

creating infrastructure and enterprise, accompanied by the diversification of our industrial base, Britain will not emerge from the recession ready for a stronger, fairer future.

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

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

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

### Securing the recovery

We have taken the tough decisions to get Britain through the downturn. We have done so with fairness in mind: we have not allowed the recession created by the financial crisis to become a depression, or

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

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

### **Deficit reduction and fiscal sustainability**

Once the recovery is secure, we will rapidly reduce the budget deficit. We have set out a clear, balanced and fair plan to more than halve the deficit over the next four years and we will stick to it. We will achieve

this through a combination of: fair tax increases; a firm grip on public spending including cuts in lower-priority areas; and strategies for growth that increase tax revenues and reduce spending on benefits. Over the next Parliament the structural deficit will be cut by more than two-thirds.

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

deficit reduction plan and to sustain the services that matter most to families.

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

### **Tough choices**

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

We will take a tough stance on public-sector pay, saving over £3 billion by capping public-sector pay rises at

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

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

### **Rebuilding our banking system**

The international banking system played a key role in fuelling the most severe global recession since the Second World War. We are determined to support our financial sector and for it to be a major employer and wealth creator, but there will be no return to the excesses of the past – banks will face tighter regulation. The

banking system must support domestic businesses, including start-ups and entrepreneurs, as well as mortgages. We have agreed lending targets with those banks in which we have a stake, and there will be consequences for executive remuneration if targets are not met.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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can be leaders in the emerging industries of the future.

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

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

– a lower rate of corporation tax to encourage UK-based innovation – supporting the UK’s strengths in new industries and sectors.

### **Investing in science and research**

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

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

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

emerging markets of China, India and Brazil.

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

### **Restoring full employment**

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

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

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of innovation and growth, with a major devolution of power to shape local transport and skills.

### **Championing an enterprise economy**

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

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

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

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

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

### **21st Century infrastructure**

The key to creating the industries of the future is renewing the national infrastructure on which firms rely. To ensure Britain's infrastructure needs are properly resourced, we will work in partnership with the private sector, reforming the regulation of energy to improve incentives for the private sector to invest. We will

establish a Green Investment Bank to invest in low-carbon infrastructure, with the Government's stake funded by the sale of infrastructure assets. The Government will seek to match its contribution with at least £1 billion of private-sector investment.

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

### **Broadband Britain**

Britain must be a world leader in the development of broadband. We are investing in the most ambitious plan of any industrialised country to ensure a digital Britain for all, extending access to every home and business. We will reach the long-term vision of superfast broadband for all through a public-private partnership in three stages: first, giving virtually every household in the country a broadband service of at least two megabytes per second by 2012; second, making possible superfast broadband for the vast majority

of Britain in partnership with private operators, with Government investing over £1 billion in the next seven years; and lastly reaching the final ten per cent using satellites and mobile broadband.

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

### **Rebuilding our transport infrastructure**

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

from the West Midlands to London will be as little as 31 minutes. We will consult fully on legislation to take forward our high-speed rail plans within the next Parliament.

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

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

prevent such bids benefiting passengers and taxpayers.

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

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

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

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## Corporate governance reform

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

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

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

## Creating a shareholding society

We want Britain's workers to have a stake in their company by widening share ownership and creating more employee-owned and trust-owned businesses. We want to see a step change in the role of employee-owned companies in the economy, recognising that many entrepreneurs would like to see their companies in the hands of their employees when they retire. We will review any outstanding barriers to the formation of more employee-companies like the John Lewis Partnership.

# The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

## Prosperity for all not just a few



## The challenge for Britain

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

### The next stage of national renewal

- **200,000 jobs through the Future Jobs Fund, with a job or training place for young people who are out of work for six months, but benefits cut at ten months if they refuse to take part; and anyone unemployed for more than two years guaranteed work, but no option of life on benefits.**
- **A National Minimum Wage rising at least in line with average earnings, and a new £40-a-week Better Off in Work guarantee.**
- **More advanced apprenticeships and Skills Accounts for workers to upgrade their skills.**
- **No stamp duty for first-time buyers on all house purchases below £250,000 for two years, paid for by a five per cent rate on homes worth more than £1 million.**
- **A People's Bank at the Post Office; a Universal Service Obligation on banks to serve every community; a clampdown on interest rates for doorstep and payday loans.**

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

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

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

### A modern welfare state for all

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

We are determined that no-one should be scarred for life by joblessness. No young person in Britain should be long-term unemployed: those out of work for six months or more will be guaranteed employment

or training through the £1 billion Future Jobs Fund, with mandatory participation after ten months. The fund will support 200,000 jobs. All those who are long-term unemployed for two years will be guaranteed a job placement, which they will be required to take up or have their benefits cut.

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

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

The lone parent employment rate has increased by over 12 per cent since 1997. We are

radically reforming how Job Centre Plus helps lone parents: providing extra help with childcare, training and support to find family-friendly work, while requiring those with children aged three to take steps to prepare for work and actively to seek employment once their youngest child is seven years old.

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

### **Making work pay**

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

To underline our commitment to helping the lowest paid we will ask all Whitehall

Departments, within their allocated budgets, to follow the lead of those who already pay the Living Wage. This will be supported by measures to address high pay in the public sector - reducing pay-bill pressure in the years ahead.

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

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

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## Getting ahead: investing in you

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

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

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

## Improving your living standards

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

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

## Fairness at work

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

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

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unfair pay gaps, including inequalities in pay between men and women.

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

### **More home ownership**

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

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

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

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

We are investing £7.5 billion over two years to 2011 to build new houses, delivering 110,000 additional energy-efficient, affordable homes to rent or

buy. We believe local authorities should be able to play their part in providing social housing in the future; and we will reform the council house financing system to enable local authorities to maintain properties at the Decent Home standard and to build up to 10,000 council houses a year by the end of the next Parliament. Tenant involvement in the management of social housing properties will be strongly encouraged.

### **Better housing**

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

Local authorities now have greater flexibility over the allocation of social housing in order to promote mixed and sustainable communities. We will guarantee the three million households who rent from a private landlord the right to a written tenancy agreement and access to free and impartial advice; and we will establish a new National Landlord Register.

We are committed to ending rough sleeping by 2012, and we will tackle the problems faced by homeless people with multiple needs. We will provide homeless 16 and 17 year olds with Foyer-based supported accommodation and training including help with parenting skills. Once there is enough provision to provide universal coverage we will legislate to change the law so that for 16 and 17 year olds the right to housing is met solely through supported housing.

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

### **Support with saving**

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

The pioneering Savings

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

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

### **A new deal on personal finances**

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

The Post Office has an invaluable role to play in our communities and in serving local businesses. To promote trusted and accessible

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

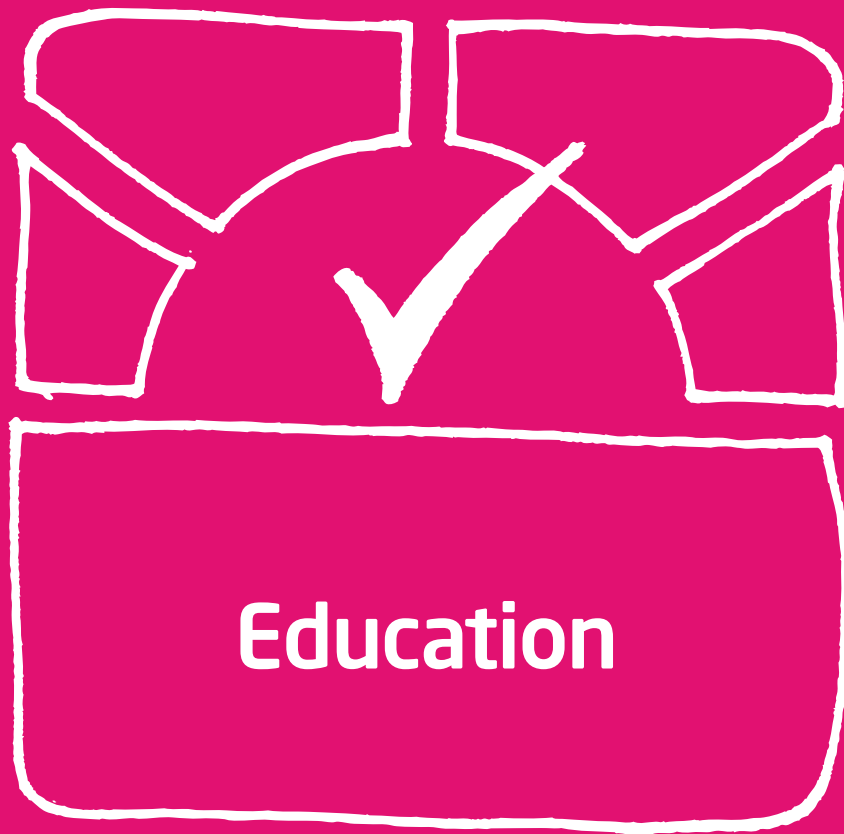
We will introduce a universal service obligation on retail banks, so that all consumers with a valid address have a legal right to a basic bank account, and a right to redress if this is refused. Banks will have to publicly report on the extent to which they are under-serving communities. And we will introduce a new levy on the banks to help fund a step-change in the scale of affordable lending by third-sector organisations, including a new partnership with the Post Office, offering an alternative to loan sharks and high-cost doorstep lending.

Over the lifetime of the next Parliament, as more affordable lending becomes available, we will clamp down on the interest rates and other fees charged by instant loan companies and payday or doorstep lenders, tackling the very high cost lending that hits low-income communities hardest. We will introduce a single regulator for consumer finance to restore confidence and trust with responsibility for the supervision of all unsecured lending being passed to the Financial Services Authority. And new rules governing how financial products are sold will be introduced with a crackdown on unfair terms in contracts.

Finally, we will seek to promote competition in high-street banking by introducing portable bank account and cash ISA numbers that stimulate switching where consumers are dissatisfied, along with consistent, easily understood labelling of financial products.

# The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

Excellence in education: every child the chance to fulfil their potential



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## The challenge for Britain

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

### The next stage of national renewal

- **Spending increased on frontline Sure Start and free childcare, schools and 16-19 learning.**
- **An expansion of free nursery places for two year olds and 15 hours a week of flexible, free nursery education for three and four year olds.**
- **Every pupil leaving primary school secure in the basics, with a 3Rs guarantee of one-to-one and small-group tuition for every child falling behind; and in secondary school, every pupil with a personal tutor and a choice of good qualifications.**
- **A choice of good schools in every area – and, where parents are not satisfied – the power to bring in new school leadership teams, through mergers and take-overs, with up to 1,000 secondary schools part of an accredited schools group by 2015.**
- **Every young person guaranteed education or training until 18, with 75 per cent going on to higher education, or completing an advanced apprenticeship or technician level training, by the age of 30.**

Education is the key to personal fulfilment, economic prosperity and social mobility. Our goal is educational excellence for every child, whatever their

background or circumstances.

In 1997, half of our secondary schools were below the basic minimum standard. Now,

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

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

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

vocational education, and wider access to higher education.

### **The early years**

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

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

### **Flexible childcare**

Busy working parents will have more flexibility over the hours their children have access to nursery education, such as taking them over two full working days, as well as

greater choice over when children start school. We will also explore allowing parents to carry over their free hours of nursery education from year to year. Childcare vouchers will be retained, with all families receiving income tax relief at the basic rate, and childcare standards will be raised by a more qualified workforce.

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

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

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

No school can be better than the quality of its teachers. We have the best generation of teachers ever, supported by teaching assistants and the wider workforce. But we must continue to get the very best

people into teaching, from the most committed graduates to the highest calibre career switchers. Teach First will be extended to attract more of the best graduates into teaching, including teaching in primary schools.

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

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

Our task now is to devolve more power and responsibility to strong school leaders and to spread excellence, with

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

### More power for parents

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

School Report Cards will give every parent clear information on standards, levels of parental satisfaction and behaviour and

bullying. They will provide information on the progress being made by all pupils, not just by some. We will consult on giving every school an overall grade for its performance.

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

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

disabilities in special schools will be increased.

### Primary schools: no child left behind

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

Parents will be given a '3Rs Guarantee' that every pupil who falls behind at primary school and early in secondary school will receive special one-to-one or small-group catch-up provision. This will include up to 40,000 six and seven

year olds benefiting from extra tuition in English and Maths through 'Every Child a Reader' and 'Every Child Counts', and 300,000 receiving ten hours of one-to-one tuition in both English and Maths when they are older.

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

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

Our secondary schools have been transformed by great school leaders, teachers and support staff. We will build on these achievements, tailoring

education to the aspirations and aptitudes of individual pupils. All secondary school pupils will have a Personal Tutor of Studies, and we will work with schools to extend one-to-one or small-group tuition to pupils in the run-up to their GCSEs. Such an education should no longer be the preserve of the wealthiest few, but a central part of the curriculum.

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

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

access to ICT, sports and the arts.

### **Zero tolerance of poor behaviour**

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

Alternative education for excluded pupils will be transformed. New providers will be encouraged to take over existing Pupil Referral Units, pioneering approaches that bring order and discipline back to young people's lives. More will be invested in anti-bullying interventions including tackling homophobic bullying.

Cadet forces will move increasingly into state schools and we will expand spare time activities for young people, doubling those available – including sport – on Friday and Saturday nights, with neighbourhood police teams closely involved in areas where youth crime is highest. Teacher training institutions will be asked to provide specialist courses for teachers in promoting pupils' resilience and responsibility.

### **All children safe and thriving**

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

Through Children's Trusts, children and youth services will work closely with schools

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

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

### **Staying on to get ahead**

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

But to ensure a new wave of social mobility, we are committed to an historic

change: raising the education and training leaving age to 18. All young people will stay on in learning until 18, Education Maintenance Allowances will be retained and there will be an entitlement to an apprenticeship place in 2013 for all suitably qualified 16-18 year olds.

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

Advanced apprenticeships will be radically expanded, creating up to 70,000 places a year. These provide well-respected routes into high-skilled careers and further study at university and will support our ambition that three-quarters of young

people enter higher education or complete an advanced apprenticeship or equivalent technician-level qualification by the time they are 30. New apprenticeship scholarships will enable the best apprentices to go on to higher education.

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

### **World-class higher education**

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

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

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

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

In the coming years, priority in the expansion of student places will be given to Foundation Degrees and part-time study,

and to science, technology, engineering and mathematics degrees, as well as applied study in key economic growth sectors. The choices and views of students should play an important part in shaping courses and teaching. All universities will be required clearly to set out how they will ensure a high-quality learning experience for students.

# The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

World-leading healthcare: a patient-centred NHS



## The challenge for Britain

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

### The next stage of national renewal

- **Legally binding guarantees for patients including the right to cancer test results within one week of referral, and a maximum 18 weeks' wait for treatment or the offer of going private.**
- **Preventative healthcare through routine check-ups for the over-40s and a major expansion of diagnostic testing.**
- **More personal care, with the right in law to choose from any provider who meets NHS standards of quality at NHS costs when booking a hospital appointment, one-to-one dedicated nursing for all cancer patients, and more care at home.**
- **The right to choose a GP in your area open at evenings and weekends, with more services available on the high-street, personal care plans and rights to individual budgets.**
- **Access to psychological therapy for those who need it.**

The NHS embodies our values of fairness and social justice – for 60 years it has been the embodiment of what it means to be British. We will always put the NHS first. In an insecure world, people need first-class healthcare they can rely on. Under Labour, the NHS will

remain a universal health service, not a second-rate safety net. Only 15 years ago, the very existence of the NHS was in doubt. Now with sustained investment and reform, the NHS is delivering high-quality healthcare in safer and more convenient ways.

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

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

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

### Protecting the NHS and investing in the front line

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

outdated buildings, too few doctors and nurses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

do so we will look to alternative provision.

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

### **Prevention and early intervention**

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

We all have a responsibility to look after our own health, supported by our family and our employer. The ban on smoking in public places will be maintained. Wherever necessary, we will act to protect children's health from tobacco, alcohol and sunbeds.

GPs will be encouraged to keep their patients healthy through exercise and healthy eating advice. The ambitious Change 4 Life programme will support a more active, health-conscious country.

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

### **Empowering NHS staff and enabling Mutuals**

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

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

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

### **Real guarantees and real choices for patients**

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

- The waiting-time guarantee will ensure that treatment begins within 18 weeks of seeing your GP, or the NHS will find you to go private.
- The cancer guarantee will ensure that all patients see a cancer specialist within two weeks of GP referral and that all cancer tests will be completed and the results received within just one week – helping save tens of thousands of lives over the next ten years.

- The health-check guarantee will ensure that everyone between 40 and 74 will be guaranteed routine health checks on the NHS, preventing up to 10,000 heart attacks and strokes each year.
- The GP access guarantee will ensure everyone has the right to choose a GP in their area offering evening and weekend opening.

### **A personal NHS**

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

We will bring the NHS closer to people through a major expansion in care available at home, including chemotherapy and dialysis. More services will be available from GPs and through local pharmacists. Patients will have the right to register with a GP anywhere they choose, including near

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their place of work. Choice of when and where you are treated will be extended whenever patients are booking routine appointments.

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

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

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

With new rights to treatment come new responsibilities

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

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

### **Safety and cleanliness**

We will ensure all hospitals are clean and safe for both patients and staff. More than 3,000 matrons across the NHS will have the power to manage wards, order deep cleaning, and report problems directly to hospital boards. Every patient who comes into an NHS hospital will be screened for MRSA. We will establish

national standards of infection control that get tougher every year and which every hospital and ward must meet. The safety regulator will have the power to close wards, impose fines or order cleaning wherever necessary.

# The Labour Party Manifesto 2010

Strengthening our communities, securing our borders



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## The challenge for Britain

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

### The next stage of national renewal

- **Provide the funding to maintain police and PCSO numbers with neighbourhood police teams in every area, spending 80 per cent of their time on the beat visible in their neighbourhood; improve police performance through online police report cards and ensure failing forces are taken over by the best.**
- **Intervene earlier to prevent crime, with no-nonsense action to tackle the problems caused by 50,000 dysfunctional families.**
- **Guarantee fast and effective action to deal with anti-social behaviour, including a right to legal injunctions for repeat victims, funded by the police or council who let them down.**
- **Expand tough ‘Community Payback’ for criminals who don’t go to prison, giving everyone the right to vote on the work they do.**
- **Control immigration through our Australian-style points-based system, ensuring that as growth returns we see rising levels of employment and wages, not rising immigration, and requiring newcomers to earn citizenship and the entitlements it brings.**

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

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

### Protecting frontline policing

There are now record numbers of police officers – nearly 17,000 more than in 1997 – backed up by 16,000 Police Community Support Officers. We are committed to giving the police the resources to maintain these numbers, with funding

assured for the next three years. To protect the front line we are making tough choices elsewhere: continuing to cut bureaucracy and inefficiency in procurement, IT and overtime.

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

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

### **Early intervention and preventing crime**

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

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

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

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

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

to sustain drug-free lives and reduce crime.

### **Tough action on crime and anti-social behaviour**

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

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

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

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

There were no specific powers against anti-social behaviour in 1997. Now there are ASBOs, parenting orders and dispersal powers. Because we know people want faster action on ASB, we will guarantee an initial response to any complaint within 24 hours. Local authorities and other agencies will be required to give people a named case worker who will report back on progress, and escalate action if the problem persists. All relevant agencies – not just neighbourhood police teams – will hold monthly public meetings to hear people's

concerns; all PCSOs will have stronger powers to tackle ASB; a 'Respect' standard for the private rented sector will be introduced; and local ASB champions will make agencies work together to tackle cases.

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

### **Using technology to cut crime**

We will continue to make full use of CCTV and DNA technology: new weapons deployed to strengthen our fight against crime. We are proud of our record on civil liberties and have taken the DNA profiles of children off the database and tightened the rules around the use of surveillance – but we are also determined to keep our streets safe.











































































