

Final Report

Introduction

The development of Scottish Labour's manifesto is proceeding in a series of stages enabling maximum participation by our members and stakeholders. All three stages involved extensive consultation with members and affiliates as well as external stakeholders.

This is the final report, which was agreed by the Scottish Policy Forum on 10 October 2020. This report will be submitted to the Scottish Labour Party Conference, which can adopt the party programme that forms the basis of the 2021 Scottish Parliament election manifesto.

This paper is part of the Scottish Labour Party's policy development process. It is not a statement of Scottish Labour Party policy. Further details of this process can be viewed at our dedicated policy website: www.scotlabpolicy.org.

Communities

Policy Aims

Scottish Labour will rebuild communities devastated by austerity where the common good will come first. Creating the conditions in which every person can flourish and securing opportunities for those long excluded.

We will make local authorities the bedrock of our new public service framework with active citizens at the core of decision making, recognising the diversity of our communities. We will create a housing system that works for the many, not the speculators, with new homes and proper protection for tenants on a par with social housing.

Scottish Labour will take the necessary action to deliver on our climate change ambitions and protect our environment. We will support communities across Scotland in both urban and rural areas, as well as radically reforming land for the many.

Our justice policies will strengthen local policing, reform our prison system and improve access to justice for all.

COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the importance of communities of place and interest, which have responded magnificently to the crisis. This local coming together has been a vital support to many during the pandemic. As we begin to exit the lockdown measures, we need to ensure that those at risk are protected, and we have a sustainable strategy for the local economy.

We need to ensure local communities are safe, victims of crime see justice concluded, employees in the justice sector are protected, and those in the welfare of the justice system are treated with dignity. This includes the provision of PPE and testing for employees and the early release of prisoners who present no threat to the public. The judicial process must be speeded up to clear the backlog of cases without undermining the right to a fair trial.

There will be a range of lessons to be learned, not least the importance of local public services, supporting community organisations, housing security and homelessness. The crisis has resulted in a breather for our environment, and we should ensure this is built upon in our climate action plans. Scottish Labour will put communities at the heart of our plans as we exit the crisis measures. The new normal has to be better. Scottish Labour will ensure that those with the broadest shoulders contribute most to Scotland's recovery.

Local Government

Scottish Labour will make properly funded local authorities the bedrock of our new public service framework with active citizens at the core of decision making. The COVID-19 pandemic has also highlighted the centrality of local government to our society.

The SNP has starved Scottish local government of finance, dumping Tory austerity onto councils and more. Non-ringfenced revenue funding has been cut by £898.8m in real terms between 2013-14 and 2020-21. It has also centralised and regionalised services reducing the power of local government to carry out its role effectively. The SNP is increasingly turning local government into local administration.

Scottish Labour supports the principle of subsidiarity – allocating functions at the lowest possible practical level with full powers of general competence for local authorities and Scottish Labour will seek to legislate on that basis. We will rebuild communities devastated by austerity by developing a framework of universal basic services – strengthening the social infrastructure that minimises social isolation and builds stronger communities. Our planning legislation will strengthen the requirements on developers to fund access to public services.

Local services need additional resources, and local councils should be allowed to raise additional revenue through local taxation like the tourist tax and local environmental levies. We support in principle returning reformed non-domestic rates to local democratic control. Scottish Labour would argue to scrap the unfair council tax and replace it with a fairer system based on property values. We are participating in the cross-party review of the council tax, and we are clear that reform has to deliver a more progressive system.

Scottish Labour supports measures to revitalise local democracy and promote greater community empowerment. We will evaluate initiatives like participatory budgeting and take forward those that genuinely engage all members of society, not just higher income groups, and those with more spare time. Those who have been described as ‘hard to reach’ are too often ‘easy to ignore’.

Scottish Labour will develop measures that support local economies, such as rolling back privatisation through municipal socialism, supporting common ownership and co-operatives. Community wealth building programmes, which are being developed by Labour councils, including North Ayrshire, will be a key element of our economic plans. This includes engaging the Scottish Local Government Pension Scheme funds in local and ethical investment.

We will strengthen the democratic governance arrangements for City Deals, through negotiation with the relevant local authorities, and respecting the principle of subsidiarity; engaging local people and look at ways of making them more geographically inclusive.

Fire and Justice

Scottish Labour will strengthen local policing, reform our prison system and improve access to justice for all.

The COVID-19 virus is a threat to those who work and are under the care of the Justice Sector. Provision of PPE and testing must be available for all those employees who work in the Police and Fire Service and throughout the prison estate. It is correct that prisoners reaching the end of their sentence who present no threat to the public are released as this will relieve some of the pressure of overcrowding in the prison estate. The suspension of court business has resulted in a backlog of cases resulting in concerns that justice is not being concluded efficiently leaving victims of crime and those in remand seeing lengthy delays in cases reaching a conclusion. Measures to speed up the judicial process without undermining the right to a fair trial should be pursued to clear the backlog.

The creation of Police Scotland has led to a centralisation of power in policing. Scottish Labour will place local accountability at the heart of a modern, responsive police force with a statutory role for local government in local policing plans and budgetary allocations. We will put a renewed emphasis on community policing with a balanced workforce that invests in specialist police staff to stop police officers being taken away from operational duties. This includes reducing the burdensome bureaucracy that frustrates police officers and staff.

Access to justice is a vital part of any fair and civilised society, but all too often, there are significant failings in our justice system which need reform. Between 2007/08 and 2020/21, the legal aid budget has been cut

by £499 million in real terms. We will stop court fees making civil litigation the preserve of the rich and ensure Legal Aid is more widely available.

We will ensure the fire and rescue service has the resources to carry out their demanding job of protecting all communities across Scotland, including our rural areas. In particular, we will take preventative action to tackle the growing threat of wildfires. We will also strengthen local accountability with a statutory role for councils in local plans, and recognised trade unions should be represented on the statutory local scrutiny board.

Three quarters of house fires in Scotland each year are caused by electricity. We need to strengthen electricity safety measures including a common standard for electrical safety in housing so everyone, regardless of tenure, is equally protected. We support stricter regulation of fire safety and building standards in high-rise buildings, including the use of cladding materials to ensure that fire safety regulations to keep pace with construction methods. We also need to balance investment in insulation to tackle fuel poverty with fire safety standards and the use of materials which will not increase fire risk.

The number of convictions resulting in a custodial sentence has reached the highest value recorded in the last decade, putting further pressure on our already crowded prisons and the staff who work in them. This Scottish Labour will reform our prison system, with custody used for serious crimes, not a substitute for failing mental health or drug and alcohol services. This starts with a reform of sentencing guidelines and with adequately funded, credible and robust alternatives to prison through criminal justice services. At the same time, we will strengthen services that support the victims of crime. Labour will seek to realise the ambitions of the 2012 Angiolini report (on women offenders) and its aims to reverse the dramatic increase in the size of the female prison population that has taken place over the last 15 years. Scottish Labour will seek alternatives to prison sentences for pregnant women and mothers who have committed nonviolent offenses, and will redress imbalances in resources for rehabilitation between male and female prisons

Prisoners need better prevention of harm plans and improved support on release. We also favour reviewing the role of open prisons, secure care units and day custody approaches, with local custody services for women and young people in particular. This includes the provision of safe, secure facilities to deal with conditions such as alcohol overuse, rather than police cells.

We will seek to end the privatisation of fire and justice services, including the Scottish court custody and prisoner escort service and private prisons.

The scale of the drugs crisis means that we need a new approach based on public health, not the criminal justice system. These issues are addressed further in the health paper.

Violence towards public-facing staff in the private and public sector is a growing problem. Scottish Labour introduced legislation that started to address this issue, and we will strengthen the law further with comprehensive new legislation. We will also reform the law of culpable homicide as set out in Claire Baker MSP's member's bill.

Scottish Labour will develop the gender-based violence strategy that funds prevention, supports victims, reforms sentencing and promotes greater transparency. We also note the increase in hate crime, two-thirds of which is race-related and we will support stronger measures and simplify reporting.

It is a matter of grave concern that the number of prosecutions in cases of rape and sexual assault remains at an unacceptably low level. The lack of successful prosecutions is also seen as a barrier to women bringing forward complaints of rape and sexual assault to the police. Domestic Abuse charities see the requirement for corroboration is limiting the number of successful prosecutions. This current position is unacceptable,

and a new approach is required to protect women who are the victims of vile sexual assaults. Scottish Labour recognises the role that corroboration has played in the Scottish Justice system. However, there is now a need to review the corroboration rules in cases of rape and sexual assault. This should be done in a manner which respects the justice process but also creates a fairer system which secures justice from those who have been subject to these unwarranted attacks.

Furthermore, evidence brought forward by Rape Crisis Scotland has demonstrated that a disproportionate number of rape trials result in 'not proven' verdicts. Victims organisations have argued strongly that the existence of a 'not proven' verdict in the Scottish Justice system results in instances where victims of crime do not see a fair and just outcome. As such, Scottish Labour supports abolishing the 'not proven' verdict and sees the introduction of a two-verdict system in trials as fairer, more transparent and offering greater protection to victims of crime.

The Children's Hearings system is unique to Scotland, and we are justly proud of the 3,000 volunteer Area Support Team and Panel members who look after our children's best interests. We supported the increase in the age of criminal responsibility and favoured a further review once the new legislation is firmly established. We will also strengthen support for the victims of sexual abuse, sexual exploitation and human trafficking.

We will develop a new preventative strategy, and legislation if required, to tackle the growing issue of telephone and on-line fraud.

Scottish Labour will strengthen wildlife protection and adopt the devolved aspects of UK Labour's animal welfare manifesto. These include strengthening wildlife protection law, animal welfare and reforming the law on the theft of domestic pets.

Housing

Scottish Labour will create a housing system that works for the many, not the speculators, with new homes and parity of protection for tenants. Good housing, which individuals and families can afford, helps tackle poverty, underpins health and well-being and feelings of self-worth. To have a good home is a source of optimism – rather than fear and uncertainty.

Our Housing Commission report has highlighted the crisis of housing undersupply and affordability in the public and private sector - alongside a crisis of quality with space, amenity and environmental standards being progressively eroded.

Scottish Labour will eliminate the housing crisis over two parliaments. Our ten-point plan includes building 12,000 zero-carbon social homes a year, with parity of grant funding between councils, co-operatives and housing associations. Councils and housing associations should consider purchasing existing housing to speed up the growth in supply of social housing to address the depth of the current housing crisis, where this would be no more expensive than new build. We will develop a long-term house building strategy across all tenures, including council housing, and bring empty homes back into use, using legislation if necessary.

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the importance of re-visiting the issue of mandatory minimum space, quality standards and energy performance in new and refurbished housing as part of our strategy to eliminate fuel poverty. This includes a review of energy in building standards, net zero for all new builds, a deep retrofit programme, and energy efficiency standards for owner-occupied homes, more support for tenants in the private rented sector and obligations on and support to Private Sector Landlords to help them achieve warm and affordable homes.

Rents must be genuinely affordable to those in low paid employment, and we will establish the crucial link between rents and the ability of people to afford them. This includes our 'Mary Barbour Law', which will limit rents and strengthen regulatory protections. We will also develop a stronger regulatory framework for short term lets, including the licensing provisions and taxation of AirBnB. We will increase the allocation of social rented housing to the under 35s, providing appropriate housing for young people. Sadly, some landlords do not fulfil their contractual or legal obligations. Scottish Labour will make it easier for tenants to take their landlord to court where necessary.

There will be a national strategy for housing and disabled persons, led by a disabled persons organisation. The strategy will include a 10% target for new social housing, which are fully accessible both within the home and externally. Most people will not have the opportunity or desire for a newly built home, so substantial investment is needed in adaptations of their existing homes.

Caring for one another means making sure that all people in our country have safe, stable housing. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown that we can take urgent action to help rough sleepers into accommodation. Now, we must support them into settled homes. Scottish Labour will publish a plan to eliminate homelessness and will continue to work on a cross-party basis on implementation plans that include preventative action, rapid re-housing and wrap-around support. This includes initiatives like 'Housing First' to support those with complex needs.

We recognise that the price of land lies at the centre of the housing crisis. We will reform the law to acquire land at existing use value, and use development gain to finance essential infrastructure. We will remove the duty on public bodies to maximise the receipts from land sales to enable the transfer of land for social housing. A new Land and Communities Development Agency will deal with derelict and vacant land and act as the prime mover in the delivery of a new generation of attractive, planned, mixed tenure communities.

Rural Affairs

Rural communities are all too often taken for granted with chronic underinvestment in transport, broadband and public services.

Scottish Labour will invest in coastal protections, better flood management and fast broadband and 4G/5G extensions that will underpin the future success of rural small businesses.

Rural councils deliver public services differently, and this should be reflected in funding allocation mechanisms. We will introduce a 'rural-proofing' process so that all our laws, policies and programmes consider their impact on rural communities. Our rural policy framework will engage with all stakeholders. Scottish Labour is committed to investing in rural public transport, improving frequency and reducing fares. We support the delivery of traffic-free greenways connecting key rural communities separated by short (less than 10 mile) distances, particularly those with shared public services such as schools, healthcare facilities and banks with a greater degree of localised service provision. There will also need to be a significant expansion of public charging points for electric vehicles in recognition of the greater reliance on private cars in rural areas, and the longer distances that often need to be travelled.

Scottish Labour is committed to retaining and strengthening the Scottish Agricultural Wages Board, which is essential for setting minimum wage levels, conditions, and maintaining robust health and safety practices across farming and horticultural sectors.

Going further than the Werritty report, Scottish Labour will support the comprehensive licensing of grouse moors as soon as possible, with robust criteria to end the unsustainable practices of driven grouse moors

and to promote the sustainable development of our uplands, in the interests of everyone. There has also been a real term cut of £278m to forestry funding while the SNP has failed to meet their own planting target by every year bar one since 2010. At least 50% of all woodland expansion should be with native species and at least 10% delivered through natural regeneration.

Scottish Labour supports the creation of a National Plan for the Islands, and we will devolve more powers to island authorities and engage communities in line with our subsidiarity framework. Our plan recognises the need for resources and practical action. We will also support a community-led local development programme, which echoes the LEADER ethos, to be included within the future Shared Prosperity Fund.

Our Good Food Nation plan (see food section) will support rural communities, encourage local food production and reform agricultural support on the public support for the public good principle. We will also designate more National Parks with strengthened local accountability.

We support the establishment of an inshore recovery zone and will introduce inshore fisheries legislation to help maximise the health, diversity and resilience of the inshore marine sector, bringing social and economic benefits to Scotland's coastal communities, while protecting and enhancing the marine environment. We support further research into 'blue carbon' benefits. We recognise the potential benefits to the economy of a well-managed seaweed cultivation sector. We commit to the delivery of a regulatory system for aquaculture which is fit for purpose.

We will ensure that future agricultural payments best support the development of sustainable land use and strengthen rural communities. Farmers and crofters need clarity not only on what they can expect during the transition period but beyond as a new agriculture support system is developed to help tackle the climate crisis.

Tourism

Over two-hundred thousand jobs are reliant upon a booming tourism industry in Scotland. COVID-19 has already devastated the sector, with many of those employees currently furloughed or redundant. The transition out of the current crisis could be slow and many of the business that cater for tourists could be the last to be allowed to re-open, with the potential of restrictions being in place for a significant period of time. The industry was growing before the pandemic and Scottish Labour will do everything it can to safeguard businesses, jobs and secure a vibrant future for this sector.

Tourists from all over the world descend on Scotland to participate in our famous festivals and national events. They are worth hundreds of millions of pounds to the Scottish economy and create a vibrancy and excitement in our cities and towns. It is an opportunity to showcase our country to the rest of the world and to celebrate an abundance of creativity, heritage and culture.

Hotels, restaurants, bars, cafes and shops all rely upon tourism to Scotland. Tourism contributes over £6bn of GDP to the Scottish economy and it will be vital that we grow the sector, even with the challenges created by the current pandemic. Our distinct Scottish brand is known throughout the world, but it will be necessary for us to work hard, not only to maintain jobs and business in the sector, but also to get domestic and international visitors back at a time of anxiety and fear of travel. Our country has so much to offer, Scottish Labour want to share it with the world.

Scottish Labour will develop a new sustainable national plan for tourism as the sector rebuilds following the pandemic measures. It will be based on improving our offer to visitors while reducing resource use and waste, minimising the transport impact, and protecting our natural and cultural heritage. Public money will

also require improvement in the quality of jobs by raising employment standards, providing training opportunities, and strengthening the quality of life, particularly in rural areas.

Environment

Scottish Labour will take the necessary action to deliver on our climate change ambitions and protect our environment. Ambition is good, but we believe it has to be backed up with clear delivery plans because investing in our environment is investing in our future. We need to defend and extend existing environmental protections, which are threatened by trade deals and corporate lobbying for deregulation.

Scottish Labour supports measures that deliver a circular economy, including obligations on the producers of waste. This includes the introduction of deposit return schemes. We will move towards a polycarbonate ban and requiring food manufacturers and retailers to do more to reduce waste.

We recognise that tackling air pollution involves difficult decisions, but when it contributes towards 2,500 early deaths in Scotland every year, urgent action is necessary. The measures taken to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic will also save some of these unnecessary deaths and points to the actions we need to take going forward. Our vision is for clean and fair transport systems, where public transport, walking, and cycling are valued as much as motor vehicles. To this end, along with a range of other actions, we will consult on introducing Presumed Liability in civil law to give better protection to vulnerable road users. We support the roll out of Low Emission Zones across Scotland where necessary.

A healthy environment is a basic right which we are all entitled to and should be able to defend. Scottish Labour sought to amend the Planning Bill to give individuals, and environmental organisations should have the right to challenge decisions that will have a severe impact on our environment. Labour will also protect our peatlands and introduce carbon impact assessments into all policy processes. We will also develop a coherent Biodiversity Action Plan for post-2020 for land, air and sea, with adequate funding, which the whole country can coalesce around before it is too late.

We will give stronger protection to Green Belts and promote their positive management for climate, nature, landscape and recreation. We will encourage local authorities to extend existing Green Belts and to designate new ones, preventing development on Green Belt land if there is suitable brownfield land in their area. Scottish Labour supports an ambitious Environment Act that includes legally-binding targets for nature's recovery, by air, land and sea, together with a proper funding and a Nature Network for Scotland through the National Planning Framework. We will also support a plan for ocean recovery, where at least 30% of Scotland's seas are highly protected by 2030. We will develop Regional Land Use Frameworks by 2023, with input from a wide range of stakeholders to set out regional land use priorities and funding requirements.

We will develop new preventative and planning provisions to address the causes of urban flooding and a strategy for minimising the impact. Scotland should also follow the Welsh Government approach to managing flood risk through the adoption of mandatory sustainable drainage systems for new developments. Flood maps and data should be more widely available and there should be a register of flood defence assets.

Climate change is the biggest global issue facing our environment, and Scottish Labour amendments strengthened the new Climate Change Act. Tackling climate change demands cross-cutting action across policy portfolios and we set out the actions needed to achieve the new statutory targets in our Climate Change Action Plan. We support the development of a Scottish Future Generations Act, on the Welsh model, which additionally should look at our contribution to global climate change.

Social Justice and Equalities

Scottish Labour will create the conditions in which every person can flourish, creating opportunities for those long excluded. We will act across all policy areas to ensure we reduce inequalities.

Labour is the party of equality: we will work to build a society free from all forms of sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ageism, racism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, discrimination against disabled people and bigotry and prejudice in all their forms. We recognise 'Black Lives Matter' as a turning point in challenging racism and discrimination.

We will, therefore, strengthen the delivery of the socio-economic duty and fully incorporate human rights treaties into Scots law, with clear mechanisms for resolving problems and remedying infringements. We also support the incorporation of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). We will reform the Gender Recognition Act to demedicalise the process and allow for the recognition of people who identify as neither men nor women.

We recognise that the Public Sector Equality Duty has not had the intended transformational impact. Equality impact assessments are often inadequate and completed too late in the development of policy. The public sector must lead by example including, better data collection, strengthening the ability of organisations to address inequality, and ensuring gender mainstreaming is realised within policymaking. The Equality Act 2010 will continue to frame our equality policies.

Our Good Work plan will ensure that the public sector leads by example, both directly as an employer and a funder through procurement. That includes radically improving the employment rate of disabled people, including better access to facilities, public services, work, training and apprenticeships. That only 45.6 per cent of disabled people are in employment, compared to 81.1 per cent for non-disabled people is shameful and highlights the huge steps Scotland still needs to take towards equality of opportunity for disabled people.

We will ensure a zero-tolerance approach to violence, bullying and discrimination based on sexuality and gender in Scottish society. Labour supports the aims of the TIE campaign to develop LGBTI inclusive education in the curriculum. Blood donations still discriminate against gay and bisexual men and their partners, undermining our public health strategy. Scottish Labour will end this discriminatory and unscientific practice.

Scottish Labour welcomes the petition to End Conversion Therapy launched by a cross-party group of activists. We will legislate to end this cruel practice. Scottish Labour shares the concerns of Intersex UK, the UK's intersex charity, that some parents of children with intersex traits are still pressured into unnecessary surgeries. While some intersex people may choose to take medical steps later in life, this is a choice that must be made by intersex people themselves and not doctors.

Cuts to critical services, such as Women's Aid, place vulnerable people in danger. We also recognise the need to increase awareness and strengthen staff training and fund vital services, including refuge and rape crisis services and assessment of tenancies in relation to the right to stay of domestic abuse victims. Employers can play a role by adopting the GMB Domestic Abuse Charter.

Civil Society and the Third Sector

Scottish Labour recognises the importance of a strong third sector in tackling social justice. Our vision for civil society sits alongside our plans to decentralise powers and democratise the economy. A fairer Scotland

where we care about each other, where people can pool their resources, demand accountability, build institutions and influence the decisions that affect them.

Our plans for local government include rebuilding the social infrastructure that is vital for stronger communities. This includes a Right to Space to ensure communities have places to meet and funding to build the capacity to participate as active citizens. We believe giving more power to communities will help create a more preventative approach that tackles problems at source rather than merely managing them once they've happened.

Some charities have shifted their focus from advocacy to service delivery. There is an important role for social enterprise and co-operatives in our economic plans, but communities of interest and place also require strong advocates independent of government. We will encourage ideas and debate from civil society and the third sector, and never link funding to acquiescence in government policy.

We believe that charity law has not kept pace with modern developments, and charity governance needs strengthening. In particular, charities that receive public money should be required to follow Freedom of Information and procurement rules, including Good Work principles and trade union recognition.

Scottish Labour will reform charity law to help rebuild public confidence in the sector. Working with Labour at Westminster, we will aim to give charity trustees equal status to other public bodies who require time off to work to carry out duties that benefit the public.

Land Reform

Scottish Labour believes land wealth is as much an issue as monetary wealth being in the hands of the few. We need to ensure more land is in the hands of the many to help create a fairer sustainable Scotland.

The Land Reform (S) Act 2016 made some modest progress on land reform, but more radical measures are required. We broadly support the recommendations of the Scottish Land Commission. Scottish Labour will legislate to restrict the amount of land that one individual can own, and prevent land ownership via offshore tax havens. We will also allow free access to the Land Register of Scotland, the public register of landowners as a necessary step to enable meaningful land reform.

Scottish Labour will develop a Community Land Fund in line with the recommendations in UK Labour's 'Land for the Many' proposals along with long-term revenue support for community buy-outs. We will use regulation and intervene when land is not used in ways that serve the public interest. We will determine appropriate areas where keystone native species could be reintroduced, in close consultation with local communities.

Climate Change Action

Policy Aims

Scottish Labour understands that climate change is one of the biggest challenges we face as a country. We believe that Labour principles are the ones which are needed to solve it - public sector leading, controls on industry, the polluter pays, social and public enterprise, investment and inclusion. Our policies on climate change can also help achieve the policy objectives set out in other chapters of this paper.

Legislation sets targets to reduce Scotland's emissions of all greenhouse gases to net-zero by 2045 with interim targets. It also embeds the principles of a Just Transition, which means reducing emissions in a way which tackles inequality and promotes fair work, at the heart of Scotland's approach to reaching net-zero. Scottish Labour also supported the declaration of a climate emergency.

The UK Committee on Climate Change (CCC) said Scotland's 2045 date for net-zero emissions was a "step-change in ambition" for the country. However, Scotland needs to demonstrate that we are not just a world leader in climate change ambition, but that we can also lead in climate change action.

Scottish Labour will develop policies and actions which will deliver on the targets, breaking them down by sector, and with links to a new economic strategy that mobilises public and private investment. We also support the development of a Scottish Future Generations Act, on the Welsh model, which additionally should look at our contribution to global climate change and how to address this. In order to achieve all this in an inclusive way, we will continue to actively engage with all sectors, trade unions, NGOs and civic society, including excluded groups and Black and Ethnic Minority organisations

COVID-19 Pandemic

The measures taken by governments to contain the pandemic have resulted in some breathing space for the environment. It is important we ensure that these gains are not lost as we build back.

Recovery packages should support people, their livelihoods and the economy in a way that builds resilience in line with addressing the nature and climate emergencies and addressing inequalities. Many climate and nature-friendly investments can deliver multiple benefits, including job creation, economic prosperity, health improvements, and tackle fuel poverty.

The measures taken to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic will also save some of the 2,500 unnecessary deaths from air pollution and points to the actions we need to take going forward. Our vision is for clean and fair transport systems, where public transport, walking, and cycling are valued as much as motor vehicles.

The COVID-19 crisis has highlighted the importance of the infrastructure, including the green infrastructure. It has demonstrated the benefit of having accessible outdoor space for people to meet more safely and exercise directly from where they live. Future developments should provide very local outdoor spaces linked by a green network to other green spaces, and wider parkland or countryside areas. Access to and funding for free full fibre broadband is essential to economic growth especially in already disadvantaged areas. Flexible working options such as home working are a practical solution for more organisations and better for the environment and well-being of workers, as long as working conditions are appropriate.

The importance of strong communities has been vital during the pandemic. Scottish Labour will invest in the local infrastructure that brings people together. Our Community Wealth Building plans will allow local authorities to take the lead in designing projects to deliver climate emission reductions, as part of wider zero-carbon planning.

Green Industrial Revolution

Labour's Green Industrial Revolution calls for massive investment in renewable energy and low-carbon infrastructure. Programmes like retrofitting buildings would employ thousands of people, and the resulting health benefits of warmer homes could save the NHS millions.

We would use the Scottish National Investment Bank (SNIB) to introduce a Worker's Ownership Fund to enhance support for cooperative and employee-owned businesses in the low-carbon economy. The SNIB should enable an increase in the scale of low-cost capital available to forms of low-carbon infrastructure. For example, supporting the steel industry in transitioning to electric furnaces.

A real industrial strategy, including the creative use of government procurement, will stop the reduction of emissions by simply offshoring jobs. Scotland has a long history of innovation, and our engineers are leading the way in the development of renewable technologies and establishing hydrogen as a viable energy source. We need to ensure that new technologies are not just invented here, but are engineered, manufactured and exported from here. Industrial policy should aim to create a resource-efficient and more circular economy. Scottish Labour will support reduction targets for the circular economy which adopt similar models to those used in the Climate Change Act.

The changes needed in our industrial and energy strategies have to be accompanied by a Just Transition for the workers and communities most affected. Otherwise, the low carbon transition risks increasing inequality. The interim Just Transition Commission report highlighted that the Government had not managed to maximise the opportunities of decarbonisation, as the recent loss of contracts to manufacture turbines for a wind farm off the Fife coast showed. We believe this needs sectoral plans, guarantees of job security, training and labour market measures, including sectoral bargaining, which help people move to the new jobs. The Just Transition Commission should be enshrined in law to guide and support the long-term process of the shift to net zero emissions fairly.

As the UK government will not invest on the scale envisaged by Labour, we will need to act creatively to generate the required investment. That means focusing available borrowing at the national and local level to invest in the Green Industrial Revolution, recognising and valuing future benefits.

Transport

Transport is responsible for more than a third of Scotland's greenhouse gases. Our transport policies need to focus on promoting environmental sustainability, helping people to become less reliant on their cars.

Bus services carry more passengers than any other mode of public transport, but annual bus passenger numbers in Scotland have fallen by 106 million over the last ten years. Scottish Labour led on a legislative change to lift the ban on local councils running their own bus services. We now need to fund the up-front costs of running bus services and move towards the introduction of universal free bus travel. This also requires support to enable the bus fleet to move to net-zero by 2030. Public procurement should play a key role in this transition to support a range of transport sector manufacturing opportunities.

Scottish Labour believes that ending rail privatisation is an opportunity to rebuild the fragmented railways as a nationally integrated public service. We also need to deliver electrification, line expansion and more stations for communities, as well as incentivising the use of rail freight. To achieve this policy and to reduce costs to councils it is essential that STAG (Scottish Transport Appraisal Guidance) is re-structured to promote rather than refuse rail projects. The development of a robust, affordable, publicly owned rail system will enable travellers to choose this travel mode rather than short haul flights while recognising the necessity of

support for island flights. Towns and cities can be more pedestrian and cycle-friendly with policies such as the creation of freight consolidation hubs and electric delivery van arrangements.

Phasing out the use of diesel and petrol cars will be vital to reducing transport emissions and tackling air pollution. Much more needs to be done to build the necessary infrastructure and support the development of ultra-low emission vehicles, including support for taxi workers to transition. We will address road maintenance, including our rural roads, for all road users, including pavements and cycleways. The shift to electric vehicles, particularly in public transport, should also have health and environmental benefits. However, our national focus should be on reducing the need for private car use - aiming for fewer cars, not just newer cars.

The best way to tackle emissions is to invest in active travel infrastructure at a higher level than at present, closer to countries like Norway and Denmark. We will deliver an Active Travel Plan that will prioritise encouraging and enabling people to get out of their cars, onto bikes, walking and public transport, for better health and a cleaner environment. This will include assessment of and development of safe cycling routes such as on road segregated cycle lanes, and developing a Scotland-wide active travel network 'blueprint' with more storage space on trains and buses.

Energy

Scottish hydro, wind and wave power is essential to achieving the transition to the sustainable fuel sources we need.

That still leaves heat decarbonisation, which will require the roll-out of technologies like solar hot water, hydrogen and investment in heat pumps and district heat networks. We recognise that public funding is required to bridge the gap between low-carbon heat and fossil fuels. Such investment will yield benefits over long time periods, enable technology costs to fall and will create opportunities for the domestic supply chain. This funding must be matched by a long-term roadmap that ensures a just transition and maximum economic benefit.

Scottish Labour supports a national energy company that can give direction and inject investment on a large scale – which develops new generation capacity, with local supply chains, engaging councils and local communities under common, community and cooperative ownership. Privatisation has been a failure for people, businesses and our environment. We need security of energy supply, at an affordable cost, which meets the needs of industry while meeting our climate change targets and transitioning to a net-zero carbon economy.

Working with the Just Transition Partnership and stakeholders, we will set out a fair pathway to net-zero for the North Sea energy industry. This must ensure union recognition, good working conditions and pay. We will champion the development of marine renewables and supply chains. The long term, statutory Just Transition Commission will be tasked with supporting this fair pathway with clear recommendations, including on transferable skills.

Housing

The heating of buildings is responsible for over a fifth of Scottish emissions, a similar amount to road transport or agriculture. Our ten-point plan to eliminate the housing crisis includes measures to raise environmental standards across all tenures.

Labour recognises the need to provide new investment in energy efficiency, including a commitment to eradicating fuel poverty by 2032, with stricter interim targets. We also need a new definition of fuel poverty that includes an uplift for rural communities and a minimum standard of energy efficiency in private rented sector housing of an EPC rating of at least C by 2025. Such investment and regulation is also an opportunity

to support the transition to low-carbon heat technologies. We will also accelerate and scale up the Energy Efficiency Scotland programme as part of a 'fair and green' recovery and doubling the funding of the Scottish Government's fuel poverty support programmes such as Warmer Homes Scotland and the HEEPS: Area Based Schemes.

Planning laws should be used to ensure that all future houses are built to the highest available efficiency standards. The elimination of fuel poverty should be achievable in an energy-rich Scotland, but it requires credible plans to achieve it. House types, design and orientation can assist energy efficiency. Planning of new developments and regeneration of existing areas should be around a green infrastructure linking communities and habitats, allowing easy access for walking and cycling and incorporating a variety of landscapes including trees, pedestrian and cycle pathways, play areas, as well as flood mitigation measures.

Agriculture and Land Use

We recognise the link between the reform of food production and sustainability, including energy use, water, biodiversity, soil, food waste and land use. Scottish agriculture is responsible for 23.9% of Scottish greenhouse gas emissions and it will not be possible to achieve our legal targets for reduction unless we reduce these emissions from agriculture. Climate change has also damaged the sector through the cost of extreme weather.

As set out in a WWF report, Scotland's farmers could reduce their emissions by 38% over the next 25 years using established technologies. It also suggests cutting the use of nitrogen fertiliser in the soil and using additives in cattle feed. However, the report warns added expenditure could be prohibitive without financial support.

Financial support should promote diverse ownership, including cooperatives, and small and medium-sized farms, accompanied by payments which reward public good and incentivise higher environmental standards. We support the principle of public money for public goods, such as clean water and air, beautiful scenery, and biodiversity provision. We will assess agroecology practices and further support for organic farming.

There are opportunities in some parts of Scotland to further explore a degree of movement from production of animal protein to increased production of vegetable-origin plant protein products. There are also ongoing projects to build on, in the development of suitable breeds for animal protein and indeed diet for animals, in the climate change context.

The Government also has a wider role in supporting the necessary changes in our food system by supporting community growing and local food economies that help local businesses thrive and help everyone to access food produced in their local area. Scottish Labour also recognises the need to tackle food poverty effectively in a Good Food Nation Bill.

Forestry and woodland planting targets and action must play their part, as well as natural regeneration. Woodlands are created not just for carbon, but also for wider environmental and social benefits. A sustainable land management policy must include incentives to deliver public benefits, advice and training as well as regulatory protection.

Peatland restoration will also continue to play an essential part of the shift towards net zero emissions. Land justice measures, such as those recommended by the Scottish Land Commission, should also be reflected in climate action plans.

Environmental action

Scottish Labour supports measures that deliver a circular economy, including obligations on the producers of waste. This includes the introduction of deposit return schemes and regulatory action to eliminate plastic cigarette filters. We will move towards a polycarbonate ban and requiring food manufacturers and retailers to do more to reduce waste.

We sought to amend the Planning Bill to give individuals and environmental organisations the right to challenge decisions that will have a severe impact on the environment. Labour will also introduce carbon impact assessments into all policy processes.

We face an environmental emergency that requires the same urgent response as climate change. We welcome the publication of the Environment Strategy as it offers some long- overdue reassurance that our environment and biodiversity will be protected and enhanced. The Scottish Government must prove this Environment Strategy is not yet more warm words.

Many of the climate change mitigation actions will be nature-based. We will develop a coherent Biodiversity Action Plan for post-2020 for land, air and sea, with adequate funding, which the whole country can coalesce around before it is too late. We also need greater investment in climate adaption, which recognises the risks of flooding with coastal protection, river basin management and flood prevention schemes.

We must ensure that the opportunity to sequester carbon in our marine environment is adequately funded. Scottish Labour recognises the impact of blue carbon on our marine and wider environment, which should be accounted for in the UK Greenhouse Gas Inventory. We will promote regulation and legislation in the fishing industry and elsewhere, which encourages those organisations to act sustainably, support the best social and economic outcomes, and prevents a race to the bottom.

We must ensure that Brexit is not used as an excuse to weaken environmental standards, through legislation or trade deals. We support developing an Environment Act guaranteeing that legal rights available within the EU continue after Brexit, while also enshrining the guiding environmental principles in devolved law and ensuring that monitoring and enforcement mechanisms are robust.

We need to persuade more people to carry refillable bottles and cut down on single-use plastic. This includes a public sector duty to expand water fountains for refilling bottles, better access to water in schools and reform of Scottish Water.

Tree planting and other forms of carbon offsetting are welcome, but we should recognise that this is not a substitute for cutting emissions. Negative emissions technologies may have a role to play, but most are untested at large scale.

Finance

Infrastructure projects and decisions should be prioritised to achieve net zero outcomes. This includes a clear assessment framework and an independent long- term advisory body on infrastructure investment.

The financial sector has an important role in acting on climate change. Scottish public sector pension funds have taken only limited action on climate change. Few even have credible processes in place to assess the impact of their investments or can evidence positive investment in the low-carbon transition.

The focus on economic growth, as measured by GDP, needs to change. The process of generating GDP growth often has an environmental impact, including more pollution and waste. Scottish Labour supports the ideas being developed by the Labour government in New Zealand around the concept of a well-being economy and recognises the importance of measuring this for the sake of our planet and our people's present prosperity and intergenerational equity.

We also need to consider new ways of financing the Green Industrial Revolution and other environmental action. This includes using the wide-ranging fiscal powers available to the Scottish Government and public sector borrowing. There is also scope for national and local levies that penalise environmentally damaging activity and encourage sustainable activity.

Education

We want our children and young people to be learning not only about their own environment but also to share an understanding of local, national and global environments. Looking beyond their place in their own community to understand how they fit into this global sphere themselves.

The impact of globalisation and climate change has led to a greater awareness of environmental education, and this should lead to further developments within Curriculum for Excellence of global citizenship education.

We will strengthen the links between university research and our industrial strategy, including our Green Industrial Revolution plans. Colleges will have an important role in achieving a Just Transition for workers in our Green Industrial Revolution plans.

International

Those in the Global South will be most impacted by the climate crisis. As a country that has disproportionately profited from a carbon-based economy, Scotland has a responsibility in not just meeting but exceeding international goals and targets. Scottish Labour will promote global justice by advocating for policies such as cancelling debt and freely sharing technology and resources for a just transition. This includes ensuring that the International Development Programme spending is climate proofed, including an increase in the Climate Justice Fund and improving its effectiveness.

Economy

Economic Policy Aims

Scottish Labour will promote a more democratic economy which delivers well-being without destroying the natural world. We will build community wealth that stays local, working together for the common good. That includes democratising ownership, with support for municipal socialism, co-operatives, community ownership and alternative business models.

Good Work principles, expanding on existing Fair Work plans, will be central to our democratic economy, along with sustainability and ethical finance that supports enterprises to fund operations.

Our budgets will prioritise well-being, with taxation that ensures those with the broadest shoulders bear the biggest burden. Together with our investment bank, this will enable us to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure, public services and address the climate emergency.

Scottish Labour will use common ownership and regulation to deliver an integrated transport system, which is accessible, accountable, affordable and protects our environment.

We will reform our public services based on the principle of subsidiarity, with national frameworks that allow local services to be designed by citizens and staff reflecting local needs.

COVID-19 Pandemic

The measures taken during the COVID-19 crisis are necessary to protect people, incomes and the economy. However, the coronavirus pandemic will pose an existential threat to the future of Scotland's economy. Unfortunately, Scotland's economy was underperforming prior to this pandemic, with GDP growing at half of the rate of the UK's in 2019.

It is forecasted that we are going to enter an economic recession worse than the global financial crisis we faced in 2008. Therefore, if we are to ensure Scotland's economy can weather the storm of coronavirus it is of the utmost importance that the Scottish Government, businesses and trade unions work together to develop a plan to rebuild and grow a sustainable economy, with green recovery and a just transition at its heart.

We must also learn from the mistakes of 2010 when the Tories and Lib-Dems introduced austerity, which exacerbated inequality and put the economy and public finances on a weak footing. Public support for private businesses should come with conditions regarding good work, decarbonisation and tax avoidance. Scottish Labour is committed to ensuring that working people and our public services will not pay the price for another financial crisis that was outwith their control. We can rebuild our economy so that it works for the many and not just the few.

Building a sustainable economy

In historical terms, Scotland's level of growth is low and is now faced with new challenges arising from the pandemic and Brexit. To carry on, as usual, is not an option. Scottish Labour will grow the Scottish National Investment Bank to invest in the real economy, with long-term economic planning and a willingness to intervene when required.

Growth has to be sustainable for the long term and for the planet. It also has to share prosperity to create a better society for the many, not the few. This is why Scottish Labour wants to focus on measures that

complement our policies on tackling climate change through a Green Industrial Revolution with a just transition, creating high-quality jobs with a real focus on research and development that leads to growth opportunities across a multitude of Scottish industries.

There is limited evidence to suggest that top-down economic initiatives work effectively and therefore we require a more balanced approach in the future. Support is too often provided without a real commitment to ethical business practice, including sustainability and Good Work standards.

Scottish Labour will support local economies and local ownership, using Community Wealth Building, which are being developed by Labour councils like North Ayrshire. This new partnership between the local public sector, the community, locally owned businesses, cooperatives and trade unions will ensure we take back control of our economic landscape. This approach will require the creation of new local, public institutions to truly support local economic development. That means we can capture the wealth it creates for benefit of our people and communities.

Scottish Labour will support the growing number of women who are starting new enterprises. We will act to improve the gender balance in leadership positions, target training, strengthen childcare and ensure women get a fair share of government investment.

The privatisation of public services has failed our economy, with investment only serving the interests of private corporations rather than the people of Scotland. Scottish Labour will end this economic model by planning a renaissance through common ownership at a national level, and locally through support for municipal socialism and community ownership. This includes doubling the number of co-operatives and supporting alternative business models through our Industrial Reform and Common Ownership legislation. Recent studies show that that employee ownership boosts employee commitment and motivation, which leads to greater innovation and productivity. It can also build skills and narrow gender and race wealth gaps.

The Scottish Government now has a wide range of levers available to promote economic growth including taxation, planning and procurement. We should be pulling all of these levers to build a stronger Scottish economy. We are therefore minded to radically reshape the institutional support to focus on the new economy. This could include the creation of a Sustainable Development Agency to deliver the Green Industrial Revolution, with a focus on driving a just transition to a low carbon, circular economy and a more just society.

Industrial Policy

Scottish Labour believes it is time for a new approach to industrial policy, which should sit at the heart of all governmental thinking and action.

Only ten out of the top fifty of Scotland's firms are owned by shareholders in Scotland. Of these only four are in manufacturing, a weakness highlighted during the COVID-19 pandemic. Over the past twenty years, there has been a massive shift in the character of external investment. It is now lodged overwhelmingly in the hands of investment companies who maximise short-term profit income - increasing dividend payments at the expense of investment. Scotland's levels of capital investment are lower than other parts of the UK and in the OECD.

This reinforces the Scottish Labour Party's commitment to a Scottish National Investment Bank with stakes in strategic companies. Such ownership would counter the short-termism of the investment companies together with trade union representation on boards. Scottish Labour also recognises the need for common ownership of key assets if they are to be saved for the nation and the need to redevelop regional centres of

productive excellence using state aid and public procurement strategically to promote regional development.

In industries like food and drink, financial services, shipbuilding and engineering, oil and gas, the creative sector, biotechnology and bioscience, Scotland's economy has a strong reputation on which we must build. We also need to recognise the importance of key sectors like manufacturing, retail, construction and defence to the Scottish economy and help them respond to future challenges.

Small and medium size businesses are the life blood of the Scottish economy. They have demonstrated tremendous flexibility in supporting communities during the pandemic and we must ensure they are supported to help the economy recover. Scottish Labour's Small Business Strategy will give businesses and entrepreneurs across Scotland the support and investment they need.

Industrial policy should aim to create a resource-efficient and more circular economy. Scottish Labour will support reduction targets for the circular economy which replicate the model used in the Climate Change Act. This approach should pave the way for greater economic planning, including a willingness to intervene when necessary. We will ensure that the commercial opportunities and competitive benefits accrue to enterprises and workers based in Scotland.

The new approach we need demands a long-term vision for the economy, driven by an industrial policy which is not only about retaining and building on those sectors and industries where we are relatively strong. It also means pursuing opportunities in new and technologically advanced activities to broaden our economic base and secure the long-term sustainability of the Scottish economy and create new employment.

Scotland's people are creative, ambitious and innovative. We have led the world in new ideas and new inventions, and we should do so again. Our vision for a sustainable economy rests on boosting innovation and productivity. This supports sustainable and meaningful wage growth, and improves standards of living. As the nature of our economy changes, we need to support the creativity and innovative spirits of all of Scotland's communities. That means that we need to increase our low levels of R&D spending, take appropriate interventions to fully capture the benefit of that innovation for all of our people, and tackle the barriers of ill-health and low skills to provide stable and secure employment.

This includes strengthening essential infrastructure like broadband. The COVID-19 crisis has highlighted the importance of the infrastructure and access to superfast broadband. The SNP's plan is significantly behind schedule hampering economic growth in areas already disadvantaged.

The Scottish Government has so far failed new industries, such as the renewable energy sector, by failing to match investment to quality jobs. We believe that we can transform Scotland through a green jobs revolution, tackling the environmental crisis in a way that brings hope and prosperity back to parts of Scotland that have been held back for too long. We welcome the interim report of the Just Transition Commission, and government must deliver a clear route map to new employment in equivalent jobs. For Scottish Labour, the development of quality jobs is the crucial test for the success of any industrial strategy, and we are committed to creating a long-term statutory Just Transition Commission to support this.

Revitalising our High Streets

Scottish Labour recognises that our high streets and town centres are more than places to shop, they are places we go for company, culture and character. We are committed to properly funding local government so that people and services that build cohesive communities are protected. That includes developing a High Street and Town Centre Strategy based on Labour values.

Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of shops closing their doors across Scotland's high streets was accelerating. The town centre vacancy rate for Scotland was 12.9% in March, up from 11.1% in October and above the UK average of 12.2%. The number of stores in Scotland is forecast to drop further as we leave lockdown, given the number of company administrations already announced and cash flow for non-essential businesses forced to close, together with further job cuts. There is clearly an urgent need for measures which will support the retail sector and ensure the long-term future of our high street.

Scottish Labour will develop a new sustainable strategy for our high streets and town centres which will include:

- Economic measures to create a more level playing field between the High Street and online retailing. Particularly on taxation, including reforming business rates.
- A comprehensive review of the overall rent and lease system, to tackle the growing problems of aggressive commercial rents in the post Covid-19 pandemic economy.
- Fair pay and job security for retail workers through our Good Work principles – promoting a living wage of £10 per hour, tackle zero-hours and short-hours contracts, investment in skills and training, and a stronger worker voice.
- Attracting people back to high streets and town centres through better transport, public services, leisure, health and housing policies.
- Using our Community Wealth Building plans to drive increasing investment in local economies using fair employment, digital access, progressive procurement and the socially just use of land and property.

While central government has a role in setting frameworks and funding, Scottish Labour recognises that communities need the power and resources to tackle local issues. We will reverse the SNP cuts to services like planning, economic development, culture and leisure. Small pots of ring-fenced cash are of less value if core services are undermined.

Co-operatives and other forms of community ownership will always be a key element of Labour's vision for the high street. There are a number of promising initiatives developed by Labour councils across the UK, which could be adopted more widely in Scotland.

Scottish Labour's approach to our high streets and town centres will be based on a clear vision that allows communities to build locally based on individual strengths. This requires effective local partnerships between business, trade unions, and the local authority to develop a long-term plan with measurable objectives, which are properly funded.

Employment and Good Work

An economy that works for the many requires better wages and more secure employment, greater redistribution of the wealth generated and a stronger social contract. Too many jobs are insecure, without guaranteed hours or income. That insecurity then flows through our economy holding it back – from the stress it puts on working people, to the pressure it puts on family finances.

The COVID-19 crisis has shown that we cannot function without a wide range of public service, retail and other essential workers who are often the lowest paid in society on insecure contracts. We must ensure that they are not forgotten when we come out of the current crisis. It has also shown that flexible working options such as home working are a practical solution for more organisations and better for the environment and well-being of workers.

The nature of work is changing, and with that change, there are new attacks on workers' rights and new threats to decent, secure and fulfilling jobs. Scottish Labour's industrial strategy will focus on using automation to liberate, not exploit workers. We need to reimagine technology, its ownership and control so that we can create a better-automated future. This includes ending the long-hours culture with more holidays and a move towards a 32 hour week.

The workplace is all too often a profoundly unequal setting. The gender pay gap is still too wide, and many groups with protected characteristics suffer discrimination in access to employment, promotion, training, pay and conditions. The Fair Start Scotland scheme has delivered jobs for only marginally over a quarter of workers involved. Scottish Labour will equality proof all policy and legislation and support statutory gender pay audits. We will support the employer accreditation programme Equally Safe at Work through continued funding.

While the Scottish Government's Fair Work Action Plan sets out a range of ambitions, we agree with the Institute of Employment Rights that it doesn't fully deploy the existing powers of the Scottish Government. Scottish Labour will go much further, developing a Good Work Plan, which will not merely encourage good work and extend collective bargaining but will require compliance. In addition to existing powers, Scottish Labour supports the devolution of employment, equalities, trade union, health and safety legislation and Job Centre services while maintaining minimum standards across the UK.

Good Work will promote the quality of work as well as fairness in line with trade union charters developed by UNISON, Unite and USDAW in their respective sectors. We will use all the levers of government to revitalise collective bargaining, including sectoral bargaining, coupled with a stronger social dialogue and the promotion of trade union membership. A Scottish Monitoring Agency will ensure that procurement conditions are achieved.

Scottish Labour's Good Work Plan will also recognise the central importance of education and training, with coherent workforce planning at the core of social dialogue. From preparing young people for work to building the skills for the future, we will support lifelong learning, including union learning, to ensure workers are not left behind in a period of technological change. This includes ending poor quality and poorly paid apprenticeships and replacing them with genuine learning and employment opportunities that also tackle occupational gender segregation. We support the creation of a commission to drive public bodies' activities to tackle occupational segregation. We need skills and education agencies to prioritise development of skills needed for low-carbon jobs.

The government could also take stronger action to reduce the growing problem of violence in the workplace by encouraging best practice measures and through legislation. Scottish Labour has promoted Member's Bills on culpable homicide and violence at work. In government, we will introduce comprehensive legislation to place duties on employers to reduce risks and strengthen criminal law. We will also introduce stronger measures to tackle modern-day slavery.

Energy and Fuel Poverty

Privatisation has been a failure for people, businesses and our environment. We need security of energy supply, at an affordable cost, which meets the needs of industry while meeting our climate change targets and transitioning to a net-zero carbon economy.

There is a broad consensus in Scotland that supports an energy strategy that takes a whole system approach, with a stable transition to a more local and decarbonised energy system. However, delivery requires more than setting long term targets and lofty ambition. Solutions that tinker at the edges of the failed energy

'market', favour big business interests, rather than challenge them. We need to tackle the immediate priorities around issues like fuel poverty and grasp the importance of ownership of our energy assets.

Scottish Labour supports a national energy company that can give direction and inject investment on a large scale – which develops new generation capacity, with local supply chains, engaging councils and local communities under common ownership. Scottish Labour will support genuinely community and co-operatively owned local renewable energy projects such as the Edinburgh Community Solar Co-operative.

Domestic manufacturing capacity must evolve to create supply chains for major new energy generation and other large infrastructure projects. To avoid offshoring of jobs, and a loss of income for the economy, all available levers must be used to ensure that every contract delivers a minimum share of work to local suppliers, including incorporating this into licensing and funding processes.

The energy system is changing rapidly with new technologies, storage and a more distributed energy mix. Scottish Labour supports a balanced energy policy using a range of electricity generation options and storage. We also understand the continuing importance of gas to our heating and energy mix until viable alternatives are available, but we do not believe fracking is necessary. We also support the national smart meter rollout, and encouraging all homes across Scotland to get a smart meter installed in order to create an energy system fit for the future and help us reach our net-zero climate change targets.

Investment in CCS infrastructure would deliver construction and engineering jobs across Scotland. This would support decarbonisation of Scotland's industry; provide the opportunity for bulk production of hydrogen to decarbonise heat and transport; and enable greenhouse gas removals to offset residual emissions. We can maximise Scotland's potential to become a European leader in CO2 management with a state owned carbon capture company.

In the North Sea, we are missing the opportunity to build expertise in decommissioning and marine renewables. This could see other work coming to Scotland for years into the future as we establish a reputation as the experts in all stages of the offshore oil and gas business; including ultimately the decommissioning of assets which have reached the end of their life. This is all the more important given the impact of the pandemic on the sector. Without government support and coordination, the industry, including critical upstream and downstream supply chains, will be devastated. Governments need to develop a workable plan to support the industry and where necessary plan a just transition with offshore workers' jobs and skills at its core.

A quarter of Scottish households remain in fuel poverty, 36% of pensioner households and the statutory target to eliminate it was missed by the SNP. The Warm Homes Bill will set out in legislation the Scottish Government's fuel poverty strategy, but it will only be effective if accompanied by real action including fair energy prices. Labour recognises the need to provide new investment in energy efficiency, including a commitment to eradicating fuel poverty by 2032, with stricter interim targets, which will deliver emissions reductions, jobs and potential opportunities in the supply chain. We also need a new definition of fuel poverty that includes an uplift for rural communities and a minimum standard of energy efficiency in private rented sector housing of an EPC rating of at least C by 2025. Planning laws should be used to ensure that all future houses are built to the highest available efficiency standards. The elimination of fuel poverty should be achievable in an energy-rich Scotland, but it requires credible plans to achieve it.

Transport

The Scottish public transport system is a patchwork of services, with many areas left behind with no decent provision. Even before the pandemic, bus services, except in Edinburgh under public ownership, were grinding to a halt under rising fares (22% above inflation). Bus use is down by a quarter, and satisfaction

with ScotRail is at an all-time low. Public money has been syphoned off through privatisation and used to fund the rocketing earnings of directors, dividends for shareholders, and the coffers of overseas governments. Local government transport spending has been cut by £2 billion since 2007/8.

Scottish Labour is committed to bringing all our railways back into common ownership. We will also enable our bus services to go back into public hands with startup resources for councils to run them, not for profit, not to line the pockets of shareholders, but as a public service that we will all benefit from. Workers, passengers and all stakeholders must be included in the governance of these bus services. We will extend free bus travel to under 25s, with a goal of universal free bus travel. This will include promoting the manufacture and the widespread introduction of low-emission vehicles, including hydrogen-powered buses.

Through common ownership, we will be able to deliver an affordable, integrated transport system with a smart ticket system. Scottish Labour will also explore new approaches to regional transport planning, learning from Transport for London and Merseytravel, to ensure that accountability is at the heart of an integrated network

Labour in Scotland will campaign for HS2 to be extended to Scotland to give the nation the full benefits of high speed rail connections to other parts of the UK. Not only will this improve connectivity, it will also give economic benefits for all of Scotland, including in more rural areas that survive on tourism. It will also provide for enhanced environmental outcomes.

Labour supports Scotland's lifeline ferries, such as CalMac, and wants them to remain in public hands with proper investment in a new fleet of ships that are fit for the future. These services are too essential to privatise, and we believe there is no requirement to subject them to tender in the future. We will also develop a new strategy to upgrade our ports.

We will deliver an Active Travel Plan that will prioritise encouraging and enabling people to get out of their cars, onto bikes, walking and public transport, for better health and a cleaner environment. This will include assessment of and development of safe cycling routes such as on the road segregated cycle lanes. We will also use the planning system in urban areas to plan for less car use, making all residential areas low traffic neighbourhoods, by reducing speeds and volumes of through traffic, whilst maintaining local access for those who need it - with the aim of creating neighbourhoods where people can access all the services they need within a 20-minute walk. The shift to electric vehicles, particularly in public transport, should also have health and environmental benefits. However, our national focus should be on reducing the need for private car use - aiming for fewer cars, not just newer cars.

The legislation governing taxi and private hire services need to keep pace with technological change and ensuring a level playing field between operators. We believe there is a case to legislate for national standards to guarantee safety and accessibility.

Scottish Canals have been criticised for allowing the canal infrastructure to decline while they focus on regeneration initiatives. Scottish Labour will introduce a programme of repairs to ensure our waterways operate safely into the future.

Trade

While the regulation of international trade is reserved, trade policy impacts on a wide range of devolved competencies. Scotland's future prosperity depends on minimising tariff and non-tariff barriers that prevent us from exporting and creating the jobs and economic growth we need.

Labour will make the case in Scotland and at Westminster for an integrated trade and industrial strategy, which boosts exports, investment, ethical trade and decent jobs. This includes proper transparency and parliamentary scrutiny of all future trade and investment deals.

There has been a legitimate concern in Scotland that some EU trade deals fail to safeguard the right to regulate in the public interest and to protect public services. This concern is greater with the prospect of trade deals with the USA and elsewhere post-Brexit. We would also wish to preserve the capacity for public bodies to make procurement decisions in keeping with public policy objectives. It is also essential to ensure that trade agreements cannot undermine human rights and labour standards.

Public Finance

The Scottish Parliament now has powers to raise and redistribute resources through increasing our tax yield, and by using the borrowing powers, it now has. With that power comes the responsibility to use every opportunity available to combat poverty and inequality, investing in an economy that can grow the collective wealth needed for strong public services.

Scottish Labour supports the devolution of new borrowing powers and strengthening the Scottish National Investment Bank to help finance new infrastructure. This will also enable us to end the role of private financing across the public sector, including the SNP's NPD and Hub private finance projects, which have been shown by Audit Scotland to be poor value for money.

We will also link public sector procurement to rules on tax avoidance, and Good Work principles, including trade union recognition.

In the 1980s, the burden of taxation was quite deliberately shifted from the few to the many, and from corporations to citizens. While we cannot correct those mistakes overnight, Labour believes we need a once-in-a-generation discussion about taxation in Scotland.

This conversation needs to look at new forms of taxation that also support other aspects of policy. These include vacant land and environmental taxation; a Frequent Flyer Levy to replace Airport Departure Tax; a Cruise Liner Levy to address the environmental impact of overtourism; licensing further aspects of the natural commons – airwaves, wind, water minerals; and data collection.

Local authorities should also be able to raise more of their revenues locally, including a tourist tax and local levies. Tax policy should also be redistributive to help create a more equal society, which, as international evidence shows, will benefit everyone in Scotland. That is why we have proposed a wealth tax, which would start to address the unequal distribution of wealth in Scotland where the wealthiest one per cent now owns more personal wealth than the bottom fifty per cent put together. Land ownership is also a way that the wealthy minority accumulate wealth, and we will address this inequality. The COVID-19 crisis with large scale state intervention has also highlighted the need to take stronger measures against tax avoidance. No public funds should be given to any organisation which does not pay the correct rate of tax, at the correct time in the correct jurisdiction.

The focus on economic growth, as measured by GDP, needs to change. Growth may be fuelled by rising employment, higher workforce participation, and longer work hours. However, this fails to consider the costs of the work involved and the health impact on workers. The process of generating GDP growth often has an environmental impact, including more pollution and waste.

Scottish Labour is therefore attracted to the ideas being developed by the Labour government in New Zealand around the concept of a well-being economy. They have used this approach to set budget priorities.

We are also attracted to the development of a Commons Fund (Standing 2019) or Citizen's Wealth Fund (IPPR 2018) funded through a range of levies, including wealth, which would benefit citizens and public services across generations.

Scottish Labour will also encourage new forms of banking in line with our Community Wealth Building proposals. This includes support for the development of credit unions, including smaller local credit unions that maintain the mutual ethos. Payday lenders and illegal loan sharks have preyed on vulnerable people across Scotland's hardest-hit communities for too long. Labour will offer interest-free loans of a maximum of £1,000 to the public, to help tackle the 'poverty premium' and give people struggling to make ends meet the means to get by without creating a cycle of debt.

Education

Education Policy Aims

Scottish Labour will invest in education to support people of all ages and backgrounds to learn, grow and live their lives to the fullest potential.

We will radically improve early learning resources and move towards a more blended provision from ELC to a formal school age of 6 or 7. This will better prepare children for adolescence and adulthood and help address the attainment gap along with our broader policies to eliminate poverty.

Scottish Labour will give equality of status to education routes, reinvesting in colleges and reforming apprenticeships. There will be a minimum income for students and better careers support.

We will increase the cap on funded places in universities, widening access and strengthening pathways from further education. Improving the wellbeing of students and staff will be a funding requirement, and universities will be expected to play a role in our community wealth building plans.

There will be new investment in community and workforce learning and duties on employers. We will re-establish the philosophy and practice of lifelong learning, with a national plan to do so.

Scottish Labour will deliver a new national plan for culture, arts and the creative industries with funding for national and local initiatives that improve access and support Good Work principles.

COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic has severely disrupted most parts of the education system. There will be immediate concerns over the assessment of pupil performance and how safe teaching can be maintained as lockdown is relaxed. As well as funding, particularly in further and higher education.

Scottish Labour has set out the need for a strategy to mitigate the attainment gap widened by the shutdown. Such a strategy would aim to protect the health and mental wellbeing of children and young people and staff, to consider approaches to schools opening, and the role of home learning and online learning.

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the technological divide that has been present in our education system, most particular access to online learning platforms. We will commit to ensure nationwide access to online-learning platforms to widen digital inclusion in education. We recognise that the digital divide is real and moving to online learning by default will disadvantage or exclude many children. A special effort must be made to assist children with no access to suitable IT, including provision of equipment and training and support when parents do not have the skills to help their children. It needs to be delivered in local communities through collaboration within and among education authorities.

There will also need to be a comprehensive review of the lessons learned and the preparedness of systems for any future crisis.

Early Learning and Childcare

High quality, affordable early learning and childcare (ELC) is crucial for all children. Our children deserve the very best start in their learning by being engaged with highly qualified staff trained in children's care, development and education.

Scottish Labour supports a flexible, all-age, all-year, wrap-around affordable early years service centred on the needs of the child. Our best early learning centres and nursery schools are those that have good employment standards and qualified staff. These are mainly in the public sector, and all providers will be required to reach similar standards (in particular in relation to pay & conditions, pensions and collective bargaining). Scottish Labour sees the need for our ELC provision to be more about learning and play rather than schooling and tests. We will close the 'give them time' loophole and address the gaps in provision for children with disabilities.

An expanded service also needs a massive expansion of the early learning and childcare workforce. Our workforce plan will focus on recruiting and retaining highly qualified staff, including the option of a graduate apprenticeship. We will establish a national framework through sectoral collective bargaining, to deliver attractive pay, terms and conditions, as well as training and career progression. The underrepresentation of men in the sector will also be addressed, and childcare will be designated as a key growth area. While the Scottish Living Wage will be an improvement for many workers in the sector, it does not fully value these skills and pay should be commensurate with the qualifications.

In many countries such as Finland, formal schooling starts at age 7, preceded by a 'kindergarten stage'. Studies have shown that a later start to formal education better prepares children for adolescence and adulthood. Psychological and neurodevelopmental needs are better prepared with play-based learning and free play, including outdoor play. Scottish Labour favours moving towards a more blended provision from ELC to formal schooling from age of 6 or 7, while retaining the current compulsory starting age in public sector provision.

Schools

Scottish Labour values our schools. We see the need for our schools to work in collaboration with their community to achieve better outcomes for our children and contribute towards achieving a more socially just and inclusive society in Scotland.

We will ensure that there is equality of status for education routes, and we will not include work on zero-hours contracts as a positive destination for school leavers.

School budgets have been directly impacted by the Scottish Government's decision to pass Tory austerity onto Scotland, and as a consequence, we have fewer teachers and support staff, which has implications on the quality of the educational experience. The figures show attainment falling and the attainment gap widening, not narrowing.

There are particular concerns about ASN provision and mainstreaming. To be meaningful 'mainstreaming' has to mean more than access to mainstream school buildings. The policy has not been underpinned by adequate funding for the learning support, healthcare needs and behavioural support that children need in all school education and we will plan for additional specialist teachers and support staff, as well as supporting students with Local Access Officers. We are willing to consider supervision in education as highlighted in the Barnardo's Scotland report, but it is essential that local authorities are properly funded so that such structures of support can be effectively implemented.

Scottish Labour will scrap Scottish National Standardised Assessments (SNSA) for all age groups. We will reinstate the Scottish Survey of Literacy and Numeracy and re-engage with TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) and PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study).

We will refocus the Pupil Equity Fund on evidence-based interventions and cross LA coordination rather than the extra bureaucracy and centralisation of Regional Improvement Collaboratives. We will require every school to publish an annual plan to improve inclusive practices so that no child misses out. The Scottish Government and each education authority should have an inclusion strategy in line with the advice of the UN Committee on the Rights of People with Disabilities.

Scottish Labour will end all public sector support for fee-paying private schools as a contribution towards achieving a more socially just and inclusive society. We will provide funding and guidance to ensure the cost of uniforms, school trips and other hidden costs do not create barriers to education. We will also scrap exam appeals charges, in an effort to address the disparity in rates of appeals between independent schools and state schools since charging was introduced by the SQA.

Scottish Labour will correct the restriction of subject choice to ensure all pupils have the opportunity to study subjects, whether academic or vocational, that they are interested in and which match their skills. The gender gap in some subjects and missed STEM targets will also be addressed through a strategic approach to building a better understanding of gender stereotypes and the skills in challenging them among teachers, practitioners and CIAG staff. This approach should lead to equality becoming a central priority in education, and greater leadership and accountability throughout the system.

We welcome a comprehensive review of Curriculum for Excellence, including broad general education (BGE) and the senior phase. A key part of this review must be the inclusion and expansion of vocational education in school settings, supporting training in partnership with trade groups and trade unions to ensure all young people are supported for the world of work.

We will also strengthen life skills education, including the 'Unions into Schools' programme, emotional learning, co-operative models, and enable the climate change emergency to be addressed in the curriculum.

Scottish Labour will strengthen mental health support in schools and other education provision, including access to counselling services, recognising that support will often be best delivered away from and outwith school hours.

We also agree that school education does not have to follow a rigid classroom format. Scottish Labour will develop new frameworks that encourage more outdoor learning, including an outdoor residential experience. We will also offer meaningful financial support to students over the summer months to decrease the number of students terminating studies due to lack of financial means.

As part of our wider anti-poverty and food policies, we will develop and properly fund free school meal provision, including the use of breakfast clubs.

Further Education

Colleges are a vital pillar for building not just an economy that works for the many, but a fair and fulfilling society for all. However, almost 104,000 fewer students have gone to college since the SNP came to power (down 27%), and college budgets have plummeted from £763m in 2007/2008 to £651m for the year

2020/2021 in real terms. Any government that is serious about inclusive growth should be giving colleges the resources they need.

Scottish Labour will reinvest in Further Education and give it equality of status with other education routes and fully respect qualifications as a route to higher education. This includes the ability to study part-time, through distance learning, and those with additional support needs and those living in rural areas. We will also develop a college estate plan to repair and improve infrastructure and develop the on-site provision of childcare services. There will be a renewed focus on strengthening the governance arrangements for individual colleges.

Scottish Labour's Minimum Student Income Plan will include all all Scottish domiciled full time students studying up to degree level enrolled in Scotland's Universities and colleges. If the COVID-19 pandemic results in students having to repeat a year's study, then funding arrangements will need to be considered.

Scottish Labour will reform Modern Apprenticeships with a National Apprenticeship Plan to raise quality, tackle gender segregation and eliminate exploitation. Colleges will have an important role in achieving a Just Transition for workers in our Green Industrial Revolution plans. We will also strengthen careers support, including face to face contact with professional staff.

We will improve teaching practice on health and wellbeing throughout the education system with consistent training and focus additional counsellors in colleges.

Higher Education

Scotland's universities provide high-quality teaching and research and make an essential contribution to the Scottish economy. However, cuts to revenue funding and limited loans for infrastructure, as highlighted in the Audit Scotland report, risk undermining Scotland's reputation as a great place to study.

Scottish Labour will reverse cuts to the sector, and increase the cap on Government-funded student places. We will also increase per-student tuition funding in real terms and strengthen the pathways from Further Education to Higher Education. These changes will enable more students, especially those from the most disadvantaged backgrounds, to have the opportunity to go to university.

The SNP promised to 'Dump the Debt Monster' on students. Instead the average loan per student rose from £2,420 in 2008-09 to £5,300 in 2018- 19. It is students from the most deprived areas that are having to borrow the most, leaving them with more debt than students from more privileged areas. We will also offer meaningful financial support to students over the summer months to decrease the number of students terminating studies due to lack of financial means.

Our Minimum Student Income Plan will provide financial certainty for students, and we will place rent controls on student accommodation, encouraging new co-operative models. Universities should also educate students on their housing rights and how they can take steps to enforce them. Our plans for NHS Scotland will improve access to services for students, particularly within mental health services.

We will require universities to act as anchor institutions in our Community Wealth Building plans, including raising employment standards. We also favour implementing in full the von Prondzynski recommendations on governance, including senior staff pay. This includes addressing low pay in universities and the use of short-term and zero-hours contracts. We will examine radical new models of governance, including developing universities on the co-operative model.

We will strengthen the links between university research and our industrial strategy, including our Green Industrial Revolution plans.

Community Learning and Development

Community Learning and Development (CLD) supports primarily disadvantaged or vulnerable groups and individuals of all ages to engage in learning, with a focus on bringing about change in their lives and communities. Whilst austerity cuts have decimated this sector with a considerable loss of expertise, the sector has been at the forefront of protecting communities during the height of the COVID restrictions. In the aftermath of COVID, Scottish Labour believes that the sector has a vital role in supporting learning, development, training and support.

Scottish Labour will reinvest in these services and ensure the Youth Work sector is appropriately funded to ensure all young people have the personal development support they need to succeed in education, training and employment. We will strengthen the voice of young people by ensuring they are represented on relevant national and local bodies with a statutory right to consultation. We will develop a national youth work development strategy to recruit, train and sustain a secure and qualified workforce.

Workers need better skills that reflect the challenges of automation and the real economy, so we can improve productivity, pay and work-life balance, yet a quarter of the workforce is receiving no training. Scottish Labour will develop a new National Plan for Adult Learning with national frameworks and local delivery. This will include workforce learning building in initiatives such as Scottish Union Learning and placing duties on employers to raise educational standards. As well as increasing support for outdoor skills training to ensure people enjoy their activities safely and learn important life skills such as working in a team and decision-making.

Culture, arts and the creative industries

A thriving culture sector, together with a properly-resourced and independent media sector, is a necessary prerequisite for democracy to flourish and allow people to develop and fulfil their creative potential. Sustained cuts throughout most of the last decade mean that, in total, cultural services have missed out on more than £300 million worth of real-terms investment since 2011. This includes more than £80 million of missed investment for library services and over £20 million stripped from Museums and Galleries. These SNP/Tory cuts are entrenching inequality and damaging the quality of life for thousands of Scots.

Scottish Labour believes that the foundation for the expressive arts should be in our schools with an approach that both encourages arts for all and arts for art's sake. We will support all learners in school to receive high-quality tuition and learning in the arts as part of their curriculum. We will work with the Scottish Qualifications Authority to strengthen opportunities for school level qualifications in filmmaking, learning from the internationally recognised A Level in Northern Ireland. Outreach programmes, including those that demystify classical arts, will be strengthened. Poverty can be a barrier to further and higher education, particularly in the arts, where tuition and programme fees can be excessive. Scottish Labour will look at the possibility of introducing a Scottish Government scholarship for students to train at the best institutions in the world.

The cultural and creative industries have a significant economic impact, and we will develop a new national plan with improved funding and a requirement to promote access. It will also require organisations in receipt of public funding to adopt our Good Work principles, pay proper trade union rates for the job and allow artists the opportunity to join a recognised trade union.

The consequences of COVID-19 has the potential to impact the creative industries for many years, it is imperative that support structures are put in place to ensure the survival of theatres, creative organisations and the protection of jobs, including those of freelancers. This will require increased funding measures to be put in place for most of the sector, particularly for those companies and theatres that are reliant upon ticket sales for survival. A survey by the Musician's Union shows that 19% of musicians are expecting to abandon their music career as they face the prospect of no gigs for a year. This is a devastating impact on an already fragile industry.

Increasing inequalities in access to the arts, with too many economic and social barriers, prevent those from more deprived communities gaining access, both as performers and as audience members. We will develop arrangements that ensure discounted ticketing to public-funded events and provision. We will also support grassroots music venues.

The Gaelic language is precious to Scotland. Because of this Scottish Labour legislated for its protection. In recent years there has been little progress other than road signs and Gaelic Medium Education slowly increasing. In comparison, the Welsh Language has greater protection both within society and also attracts greater funding for the Welsh language channel S4C. The language does not need protection simply to preserve the culture it is also an economic generator for the West Highlands and Islands. The challenge is to make Gaelic not only the language of the classroom but the language of the playground and at home. It attracts international interest and could provide more economic generation in our communities.

Many services have transferred to leisure trusts, mainly for tax avoidance purposes. We will develop a framework and funding plan, in consultation with local authorities, to re-integrate these services back into local government. Scottish Labour will properly fund local authorities to support the arts within their area.

Scottish Labour will develop a national framework, if necessary backed by a statutory duty, that protects and expands the essential cultural, social infrastructure in our communities. This includes local museums, historical sites, libraries and archivist services. We will deliver a programme of support for working-class history.

Many of the creative festivals in Scotland have grown significantly over the last decade. Their survival will be, in part, dependent upon strong tourism to the country. It may take a number of years to return to pre-COVID-19 levels of tourism, therefore additional support will be necessary. It will also be important during that time to reinvigorate our passion for home grown theatre, in turn supporting Scottish creative groups and companies. As part of any funding package, we must ensure that festivals are affordable and accessible to everyone.

Many Scottish theatres, cultural institutions, museums, art galleries and cinemas, particularly those run independently, are at the greatest risk of closure because of the impact of COVID-19, Scottish Labour is committed to supporting them to maintain their presence long-term in the sector.

International Development

International development assistance is a reserved matter. However, since 2005, successive governments have developed small programmes to support and empower partner countries including; Malawi, Rwanda, Zambia, and Pakistan. Scottish Labour will continue to support a targeted Scottish programme, rather than attempting to duplicate the work of UK departments.

Scottish Labour will maintain the International Development Programme, including an increase in the Climate Justice Fund and improving its effectiveness. We also recognise that ensuring Scotland is a 'good global citizen' requires action across all government departments.

We will continue to support Scotland's status as a Fairtrade Nation and will work to ensure that Fairtrade products are included in all public sector procurement processes.

We support and also seek to achieve the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals both in international development and within Scotland itself. Development assistance should also be targeted to address inequalities, including LGBT rights, girls rights and children with a disability – as well as support for human rights defenders. We will also support global citizenship education in schools and maintain the funding for Scotland's Development Education Centres.

In contrast to the current UK government's agenda, we support UK Labour's Green Paper, '*A World for the Many, Not the Few*', offers a radical new approach driven by social justice and human rights. This new approach has five priorities:

- A fairer global economy including a debt relief strategy
- A global movement for public services
- A feminist approach to development
- Building peace and preventing conflict
- Action for climate justice and ecology

Health and Care

Health and care policy aims

Scottish Labour aims to eliminate the persistent scourge of inequalities across society by investing in services that determine our health, such as diet, alcohol and smoking as well as social care, housing and social security – reducing poverty for all groups and protecting the most vulnerable. The Scottish Labour Party believes that our overarching mission to eliminate health inequalities is the responsibility of the whole of the public sector through the design and implementation of policy by all levels of Government and all agencies of Government.

We will invest in NHS Scotland, strengthening the long-term delivery of care. We will end the marketisation of social care with a Scottish Care Service setting the framework within which high quality democratically accountable integrated services will meet local need. Primary care will be fully integrated into NHS Scotland with comprehensive support to informal carers.

Scottish Labour will address the drugs crisis with a public health approach to drugs policy. Resources will be targeted on the promotion of positive mental health, including schools and workplaces. Our Active Scotland Plan will invest in sport and activity, ensuring access for all.

We campaigned for a £5 per week Child Benefit top-up in the Scottish budget, which has successfully secured funding for the Scottish Child Payment. We will end the two-child cap and the rape clause work with colleagues across the whole of the UK to replace Universal Credit. There will be a Right to Food as part of our Good Food Nation plan.

Scottish Labour will replace economic water regulation with a Scottish Water Plan driven by the views of citizens.

COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 crisis has reinforced the importance of our health and care systems and those who deliver them. In particular, it has highlighted the importance of preparedness, not least over testing, personal protective equipment supplies, public health and the provision of intensive care beds. After a decade of austerity, our health and care services were stretched before the pandemic; we must not repeat the mistakes of the past. Public Health Scotland figures show that from 2009-2019 NHS beds have been cut by 24%. Scottish Labour will commit to maintain NHS bed numbers at least at January 2020 levels.

Our NHS hospital, community and social care workforce have responded magnificently to the crisis, but all too often, they have been left exposed by the failure to support them properly and timeously. We must also ensure that staff welfare is prioritised given the stress many staff have worked under and that our gratitude for all their efforts is recognised in pay and conditions.

This pandemic, with the images of empty shelves and farmers having to waste milk, underlines the desperate need for a coherent, joined-up approach to food in Scotland to ensure that no one goes without. This can be best achieved by a National Food Plan.

There will be further lessons to be learned after the crisis for the future delivery of services. We must ensure that these lessons are understood and acted upon.

NHS Scotland

NHS Scotland is 72 years old and is one of Labour's greatest achievements. The pressures on services have changed significantly over the years. They include an ageing population, the financial environment, increasing demand for services, difficulties in recruiting staff, and rising public expectations. Health and care services were not in a financially sustainable position before the COVID-19 crisis with a projected £159m funding gap by 2023/24, assuming further cuts can be delivered, and health boards are failing to meet key national targets. 60 per cent of Scots now live within health boards that are in special measures. Problems with new facilities at Queen Elizabeth University Hospital and the Royal Hospital for Sick Children still need to be resolved. In the face of these pressures, a committed workforce has continued to deliver high-quality care.

The COVID-19 crisis has highlighted a range of issues that will need to be addressed - not least preparedness for pandemics, supply and distribution of essential equipment, testing and the way we value the staff team. Lessons do not appear to have been learned from the 2015 pandemic exercise, and more effort will need to be put into the search for effective vaccines as well as addressing antibiotic resistance. We will also need to reflect on how contracted health services, including, community pharmacy, dentistry and opticians, were impacted during the pandemic. NHS Scotland will also have post-pandemic recovery challenges, including delayed diagnosis and other deprioritised services.

The scale of the challenges facing NHS Scotland means decisive action is required, with a primary focus on the elements critical to ensuring the NHS is fit to meet people's needs in the future.

Scottish Labour will reinvest in our NHS to strengthen the long-term delivery of care. By increasing planned capacity, we will cut the expensive over-reliance on the private sector, and a new estates plan will rebuild the physical infrastructure ending PPP projects. We will create a new monitoring system with fewer and smarter national targets, including a NHS Drug Procurement Board under public scrutiny and public control.

We will invest in NHS staff and the wider health team, making NHS Scotland the best place to work. There will be an effective workforce plan for all staff groups, coupled with greater training and levels of staffing that match demand. This plan will facilitate movement between professions for staff who wish to develop in different ways.

We support the full digitisation and interoperability of all patient records with investment in IT infrastructure to ensure that a patient's entire history is fully accessible in real-time to clinicians working across primary and secondary care throughout Scotland and to patients themselves. We will also improve access and transparency of healthcare safety/quality of care data across all services while ensuring improving the quality of care is not focused on blame.

Primary and community care is crucial to our vision for NHS Scotland. We believe that now is the time to transition GP services into a fully integrated NHS. The small-business model is no longer fit for purpose.

NHS dental services need a comprehensive review. Scottish Labour supports greater integration with the NHS with options other than the small business model, including strengthening NHS community dentistry. We support a further expansion of the world-leading Childsmile programme, which was commenced by Labour and has enjoyed cross-party support.

We received evidence from a range of organisations highlighting discrimination and unequal treatment for people with protected characteristics under the Equality Act when accessing health services. We will address the recommendations we received from Stonewall and others to improve staff training, increase capacity and strengthen preventive services. Scottish Labour will bring Gender Identity Clinics into line with other NHS services by setting an 18-week referral to first appointment target. We will also guarantee the right to

self-refer to GICs under all health boards. Scottish Labour will introduce new guidance on professional conduct in GICs to prevent harmful stereotyping. Scottish Labour will set up an inquiry to explore an "informed consent" model of treatment and will update the Gender Reassignment Protocol to allow for greater flexibility in treatment.

We recognise the benefits that a 'Right to Rehab' would bring to those people with long-term conditions. This includes support for self-managing conditions with better access to specialist staff and support services. The pandemic is having a significant impact on the lives of stroke survivors and their families. We will ensure all stroke patients get timely access to evidence-based care. We also recognise the need for increased funding to support the implementation of a Respiratory Care Action Plan.

Scottish Labour recognise that not all disabilities are visible. There is a growing body of evidence of suicides, mental health problems, and multiple co-existing health problems among the autistic and neurodiverse communities across Scotland. We therefore call for more timely assessment and pre- and post-diagnostic and life-long support - drawing on the learning of effective approaches being generated from Autism Network Scotland amongst others. We support the establishment of an Autism and Learning Disability Commissioner to champion the human rights of autistic people and people with a learning disability. We will strengthen epilepsy services including the establishment of an epilepsy database, more specialist nurses, staff training and measures to encourage employment in people with neurological conditions.

We will seek to improve the funding and integration of hospice services, including work in the community and a strengthening of bereavement support and maintain funding for specialist hospice and community care for children. A human rights based Carers (Bereavement Support) (Scotland) Bill should be introduced to give carers a right to information on support and a plan to support them when their caring role ends, with a fund to support training and education. The Carer's Allowance and Carer's Allowance Supplement should be extended from the current 8 weeks to 6 months after their role ends with a new Post-Caring Support Payment.

Mental Health

Everyone has mental health, and wellbeing should be at the heart of our health and care services. This applies at every stage of our lives, and we will put more resources into preventative services and eliminating the stigma that has been prevalent for far too long.

The growing mental health crisis, particularly in areas of socioeconomic deprivation, requires better NHS services, but also preventive action by ending austerity, poverty and provision of earlier intervention. Many of these factors disproportionately affect women, including responding to post-natal depression. More than five thousand children and young people have been forced to wait more than 18 weeks for access to specialist mental health treatment.

Scottish Labour will transform the Mental Health Strategy, strengthening the links with social infrastructure in our communities that play a crucial role in preventing poor health. In particular, there needs to be better integration between education, social work, NHS, and the third sector to focus on relationships with young people. Mental health link work should be expanded and embedded into emergency services, including accident and emergency departments.

NHS services also require investment, particularly for dementia (including research), children and young people who are waiting too long for treatment. More alternatives to hospital admission are needed in community settings, including the development of rapid response multi-disciplinary teams. While social media is useful for raising awareness, on-line systems are not a replacement for proper therapeutic support.

Scotland still has the highest rate of suicide in the UK and more needs to be done to support suicide prevention programmes including research, staff training and additional funding. Pilot initiatives like the Distress Brief Intervention Programme and Community Triage have demonstrated some positive outcomes and consideration should be given to rolling out these schemes nationally.

Good employers and trade unions recognise the role workplace policies can play in improving mental health, but too many workers report outdated responses. Scottish Labour will develop a new programme to support these workplace initiatives.

Social Care

There is a clear consensus that budget pressures and demographic change are putting increasing pressure on our social care system. The number of people left stuck in hospital despite being medically fit to leave has increased year-on-year. Social care relies on the workforce. Yet, jobs have some of the worst salaries in the economy, often with insecure contracts with inferior terms and conditions, leading to high turnover and vacancy rates. The fragmented market in social care services is not going to resolve these issues.

These issues have been magnified by the COVID-19 crisis, which has highlighted the weaknesses of the current fragmented approach to social care. Social care workers have continued to deliver care to vulnerable people in very difficult circumstances, often at great risk to themselves without proper sick pay. We will ensure the work they do is better valued in future.

Scottish Labour will end the marketisation of social care. We will create a Scottish Care Service (SCS), which will set the framework for social care services, including an end to charges for home care - promoting greater consistency and minimum standards such as set out in UNISON's Ethical Care Charter. This includes a review of staffing levels in care homes. Delivery will remain local, led by democratically accountable integration authorities that engage effectively with communities and the voluntary sector, working closely with NHS services in multi-disciplinary teams. Public service delivery will be increased, with scope for other providers, including co-operatives, who are willing and able to operate within the new framework. A range of care options will exist in the new system to enable self-directed care for those who wish to use them.

We will address workforce issues through a new statutory forum that will work with the Scottish Care Service, setting standards, workforce planning and staff governance. The forum will also be the basis for new sectoral collective bargaining arrangements, for those not currently covered, to address wages, terms and conditions. Scottish Labour will ensure that pay and conditions are significantly improved across the sector and fully funded. We will also ensure the SSSC code and fees are applied proportionately.

The needs of groups with protected characteristics also need to be fully reflected in the social care system. This includes offering the right support at the right time and giving people greater control over their wellbeing.

Scottish Labour will also introduce a comprehensive support strategy for informal carers. This strategy will be influenced by the proposals from the National Carers Associations including increased investment and entitlement to short breaks, access to leisure and wellbeing services, occupational health support and the provision of independent advocacy for carers of all ages. All organisations receiving Government funding should become Carer Positive employers with support for education and training. Informal carers need flexible respite care provision, from regular weekly sessions (eg one afternoon a week) to give them time in order to enjoy a break away.

Labour supported the campaign to ensure those under 65 receive free personal care whenever they need it and supports increasing the amount paid in Carer's Allowance for unpaid full-time carers to create a

Minimum Income Guarantee. Young carers and young adult carers must have support in place to protect them from undertaking inappropriate caring roles, to also allow them to make an active and informed choice about the level of care, if any, they are willing and able to provide. Ultimately ensuring they have a fulfilling life alongside caring. We support developing a new cross cutting action plan for children and young people with caring responsibilities, with clear actions that can be delivered at pace, including employment and education support. We must also recognise the needs of the growing numbers of older carers within a new support strategy.

We believe it is possible to properly shift the balance of care from expensive and needless stays in hospital to dignified care at home through a better-funded new structure of social care.

Health Improvement

The persistent level of health inequality shames a nation as wealthy as Scotland. In 1997, premature mortality rates were three times higher in the most deprived areas compared to the least deprived; in 2018, rates were four times higher in the most deprived areas. Your postcode can still be the determining factor in your quality of life.

It has been claimed that the COVID-19 pandemic is a 'great leveller'. It has been nothing of the sort. Like other diseases, it has hit the most vulnerable and poorest parts of society the hardest.

Scottish Labour will focus on health Improvement measures that eliminate poverty and inequality, embedding actions on the social determinants of health. Services and interventions can also improve the health and wellbeing of individuals or communities by enabling and encouraging healthy lifestyle choices such as the active travel plans in our transport policy. Health inequalities are about basic social justice; they are not mainly about health services but relate principally to the social determinants of health, which determine healthy or unhealthy lifestyles and behaviours.

During the lifetime of the Scottish Government's last alcohol and drugs strategy, 15,000 people in Scotland lost their lives due to substance misuse. Scottish Labour will develop a social responsibility levy on alcohol sales to support a new alcohol strategy. That plan will focus on reducing consumption through licensing, marketing restrictions, labelling and affordability as well as improving treatment services and early intervention programmes for families with children.

The drug deaths crisis is a public health emergency, which means we need a new approach based on public health, not the criminal justice system. This approach should include decriminalising drug possession and introducing regulation. We support the adoption of safe consumption rooms and expanded community resources that help people to avoid substance misuse in the first place, as well as access to residential rehabilitation and treatment.

Further action is needed on reducing smoking. We will ensure better data collection of smoking habits to develop improved coordination of smoking services with a person-centred approach. We will look at the retail density of tobacco outlets in disadvantaged areas, make the tobacco register conditional, increase tobacco-free spaces, support staff training, further taxation and discourage sponsorship by health-harming commodities. We will also expand incentive to quit voucher schemes, which have been successful in targeted areas.

We agree with the British Heart Foundation that a new heart disease strategy is required. This should be focused on preventative action in the community, based on improved data with support from specialist staff.

A National Loneliness Strategy is meaningless if the Government continues to cut local services, which provide the vital social infrastructure to support communities of place and interest. Scottish Labour's approach to local government, as a critical partner in health improvement, will focus on building stronger communities, and care services will play their role in this policy. We will also ensure that as many communities as possible have community-led organisations with a strong core capacity to take action on protecting and improving health and wellbeing: not only to respond to crises, but to empower people in their communities to tackle the inequalities that make them vulnerable to longer term health challenges and burden our health and public services with greater costs

Failing to tackle childhood obesity, particularly in disadvantaged areas, will inflict a health crisis on a whole generation. Scottish Labour recognises the social and economic drivers of obesity and will deploy a range of tools including food regulation, taxation and price support, including support services that fully engage local communities.

We agree that screening is an essential preventative health measure, and delays in bowel and breast cancer screening should be eliminated. We also support the development of a national programme for lung screening. Local access is also necessary, rather than centralising services, along with expanding early detection provision.

We will place the restoration of support services for weight management, alcohol treatment and smoking cessation at the heart of the NHS's recovery from the pandemic. This should include sharing learning on how technology can provide more flexible and accessible options for people in need of support. This should include equitable access to effective weight management services through implementation of actions from the Diet and Healthy Weight Delivery Plan.

Scottish Labour recognises that the issue of women's health has long been overlooked and under-researched. We will establish a dedicated Women's Health Fund to invest in further research, advice and services for predominantly women-specific conditions. We commit to protect and reinstate women's wards in hospitals. We will ensure that all women have access to the full range of reproductive services.

We will also increase support for awareness raising, research and treatment of predominantly male diseases like prostate cancer.

Scottish Labour has campaigned to end period poverty and supports a legal right to free sanitary products as set out in Monica Lennon MSP's Members Bill.

We will also consider how incontinence products can be supplied to those who cannot afford them.

Food

Scottish Labour believes that our food system in Scotland should contribute to everyone's health and wellbeing, value the work to put food on our plate, support high animal welfare, and sustain our wildlife, natural resources and environment for generations to come.

Even before the COVID-19 crisis, nearly 600,000 food parcels had been distributed in the previous eighteen-month period. The ever-rising use of food banks is morally unjustifiable in a country where fresh, quality food is plentiful. The pandemic should also be a cause for us to rethink issues like the global supply chain for food, returning to a more localised system of production with incentives for cheaper and healthier food.

Scottish Labour will deliver a comprehensive Good Food Nation Bill along the lines proposed by the Scottish Food Coalition. We will use public procurement to support programmes like the Soil Association's *'Make Good Food the Easy Choice'* and the Copenhagen approach. We are also committed to ensuring the Right to (healthy) Food is included in legislation for a National Food Plan.

The latest international studies show a clear association between sweetened drinks and a range of health conditions. We will use regulation and taxation to address this while supporting producers to create healthy and sustainable food while reducing packaging. We will ensure that the institutional support and government guidance is based on independent advice.

We recognise the link between the reform of food production and sustainability, including energy use, water, biodiversity, soil, food waste and land use. It has been estimated that in the absence of change, by 2050, over half of the global warming gases will come from food production.

Social Work

Scottish Labour believes community social work should be working preventively, alongside people in communities. Social work staff see the impact of austerity on the lives of vulnerable people and council cuts have resulted in bigger caseloads, shorter timescales, and greater demands leading to higher risks.

Scottish Labour will reinvest in social work capacity, reducing caseloads and supporting staff to do much more than react to each crisis. We will strengthen workforce planning with a focus on hard-to-fill vacancies.

We welcome the recommendations of the Independent Care Review, with its focus on children's voice, supporting families and providing the necessary staff and support services. We now need to see real change starting immediately. A major challenge will be to introduce stability for children and young people in care settings. We also support a review of foster care allowances with national minimum allowances, and further consideration is needed on foster carers employment status. Scottish Labour will also introduce a care endowment to address the inequality of inheritance for care experienced children, and strengthen support for kinship carers. We support the 70/30 campaign to reduce the number of children who experience multiple adverse childhood experiences within Scotland by at least 70% by 2030.

The COVID-19 pandemic has also highlighted the need to strengthen domestic violence support services.

Social Security

The Scottish Parliament has devolved powers over eleven social security benefits as well as administrative and top-up powers over reserved benefits, which should end the DWP's involvement in these benefits. Scottish Labour secured a raft of improvements to the Social Security Act including banning private-sector disability assessments, legally guaranteeing benefits uprating, a ban on means-testing winter fuel payment and a duty to boost uptake. And we can go further: that duty should be met with robust targets to boost take-up annually, and Scots Law should protect people from the DWP's aggressive debt collection regime and would make changes to the rules of Prescription to bring the rules into line with Scotland's new social security system.

After delays with the roll-out of the new social security system in Scotland, the decision to halt the transfer of powers due to the COVID-19 crisis will come as a disappointment to many. While Scottish Labour notes the decision arrived at by the UK and Scottish Governments, it is imperative that successful transfer of social security powers is secured at the earliest date possible.

The COVID-19 crisis has highlighted the importance of the social security safety net, with many more people relying on the system. Scottish Labour has made the case to unravel the Tories' 2011 uprating cuts, with a plan to boost carer benefits annually using a fairer mechanism. But we want to go further; we would allow carers to earn more from part-time work, access full-time education, and support a minimum income guarantee for carers. We would also want to explore how the mobility component can be opened to over-65s, automatic entitlement, and better accommodate fluctuating conditions.

Scottish Labour will use the powers of the Scottish Parliament to end the two-child cap, scrap the rape clause and make split payments. We have also campaigned for a £5 per week Child Benefit top-up in the Scottish budget, which has successfully secured funding for the Scottish Child Payment. We believe that housing benefit should be separated from Universal Credit, but in the interim, we would use Scotland's powers over Universal Credit to make sure rent is paid directly to landlords by default.

While we recognise the differing views on Basic Income, we support the development of pilot schemes and other initiatives, including a Minimum Income Guarantee. In the post-pandemic phase, it will be essential to support incomes for those left unemployed as a consequence of the crisis.

Poverty is both a symptom and a cause of ill-health. Scottish Labour will focus on the ability of the social security system we have – alongside the take-up, adequacy and uprating systems – both to respond and support people's health and reinforce the safety net.

Sport and Activity

Scottish Labour believes sport must be run in the interests of those who participate in it and love it, not just for a privileged few. Sport is an important aspect of our culture and public life but is rarely viewed as a policy priority.

Scottish Labour wants people from all backgrounds to have an equal chance to take part in sport and physical activity. We are particularly concerned that the Sport Facilities Fund, operated by sportscotland, has failed to prioritise the most deprived communities in terms of funding awards. We need a redistributive approach to sports funding to ensure that those from the poorest backgrounds are not overlooked. At a minimum, every community should have access to at least one open and freely available local space for sport and recreation, which is safe and secure, and that our neighbourhoods should be designed around these safe and secure facilities together with other community amenities.

We will develop a new Active Scotland Plan, which enables councils to reintegrate local services - tackling high access charges and crumbling maintenance budgets. The plan will support active travel, the Right to Play, access to school facilities and support young people with equipment grants and coaching. We will also strengthen the governance of sports organisations in line with our plans to reform charity law. We will also address the issue of sponsorship of sporting events and clubs by industries that promote health-harming commodities.

A 2015 Sport Scotland report recommended that: *Offering single sex sports opportunities can help build confidence in sports participation. It can also be essential to ensure that ethnic minority women and women of a range of religions can participate in sport.* Scottish Labour is committed to seeing more women and girls participating in sport at all levels.

Scottish Labour supports fan ownership of football clubs in Scotland, recognising that clubs are more than just businesses. They hold a special place in the heart of so many communities, and the pandemic could have a significant impact on the viability of clubs.

Sporting events and facilities must be open and accessible to all. Sports authorities need to make rapid improvements in access provision for people with disabilities. Scottish Labour has also supported calls for a public inquiry into sexual abuse in the sport.

Scottish Labour will support the designation of new National Parks (including coastal, marine and city parks) while strengthening local accountability through new models of governance. We recognise that National Scenic Area designation is insufficient and we will consult over the proposal that there should be a Scottish National Parks Service, which would employ the staff.

We support the creation of an Outdoor Recreation Champion within government to strengthen the understanding of the role outdoor recreation can play in delivering policies. This also requires long-term investment in the sector so that everyone, everywhere can enjoy all the benefits of being active outdoors in a way which respects the environment and nature while continuing to support our economy. This should include:

- Expanding ranger services to engage both adults and children with the natural world in formal and informal settings and learn about their responsibilities.
- Increasing investment in activities suitable for older people or those with a disability, such as health walks or riding groups, helping to reduce social isolation.
- A focus on supporting people who live in deprived areas and BAME communities to engage with the outdoors.

Water

Scottish Labour is committed to retaining a public sector water service. This public service delivers a quality service more cost-effectively than private companies in England, despite the additional costs of managing water in Scotland.

Scottish Labour will end the creeping privatisation of water and wastewater services. We will end the market systems of regulatory control and replace it with a Scottish Water Plan driven by the views of citizens. We will also do much more with water as a national asset, something envisaged in the Hydro Nation concept but not delivered in practice.

We opposed removing the single person discount for water charges, which could have had a significant impact on low-income groups, including pensioners on fixed incomes. The system of water charges will be reformed in line with our proposals for reform of the Council Tax to ensure affordability.

We need to persuade more people to carry refillable bottles and cut down on single-use plastic. We will create a public sector duty and massively expand access to public water fountains for refilling bottles. All Primary 1 pupils will be issued with a refillable bottle and better access to water in schools.

Strengthening Democracy

The Labour Party is defined by its belief that we achieve more together than we do alone, while recognising that our communities and citizen's voices must be heard in our places of power. For many people, politics doesn't work as they expect it to. Scottish Labour wants our political institutions to be connected fully to the wider electorate and will take urgent steps to refresh our democracy.

Scottish Labour will shift power closer to the people, decentralising and democratising the state. We will extend democracy not just at the ballot box, but in every workplace and every community.

Public Service Reform

Modern Scotland needs a significant devolution of power, placing responsibilities and resources with citizens and communities. This means strengthening democracy through the ballot box, maximising voter registration and tackling unlawful interference in elections rather than unnecessary voter ID provisions. We will also give people a participative role in decision making. We also need to recognise the importance of effective public services to the broader economy.

We will reverse the centralisation of power under the SNP by basing our public service reforms on the principle of subsidiarity, with integration, democracy and transparency at the core of delivery. Service design will be done by and with citizens and staff – in short, local is best.

The role of the Scottish Government should be to set the strategic direction and agree on frameworks that allow local organisations to focus on what matters in their communities. This means parliament will agree national frameworks that provide a degree of consistency, set Universal Basic Services, and avoid unnecessary local duplication, including workforce matters. We illustrate this approach in our plans for social care.

Scottish Labour will also promote the case for municipal socialism based on the benefits of collective provision, not just because it is a more effective way of delivering services, or even for the revenues it would generate, but as a vital element of a strategy to reduce inequality. It is for this reason the Scottish Labour Party recognises the importance of the principle of subsidiarity in Local Government and supports local authorities enjoying powers of general competence to deliver public services for the public good. The Jimmy Reid Foundation paper (2018) shows the range of opportunities available to councils.

Some 200 public bodies administer Scotland's public services. Most of these are run by boards that make critical decisions on the majority of public spending in our country. This means we should pay close attention to the governance of public boards and consider how we can insert greater devolution, democratic accountability and scrutiny.

Constitutional Reform

Scotland's future: Scottish Labour's better alternative.

In the last decade we have lived through an unprecedented period of extreme instability and risk with multiple and profound society-reshaping events - compressed into an intense and short timescale - which have repeatedly hit the poorest hardest. These have included the consequences of the global financial collapse of 2008 and subsequent years of austerity, the constitutional upheaval of the independence referendum in 2014 and then the Brexit referendum in 2016 with the consequences of that Brexit referendum yet to play out.

Scotland is now also engaged in fighting a global pandemic which is still not at an end or with any predictable timescale for its completion or adjustment to a 'new normal'. Scientists suggest that the presence of the Covid-19 virus itself is likely to persist for many months if not years. Economists argue that the consequences for economies and societies will be enduring and probably permanent with altered cultural, social and economic practices. In any event most organisations and global institutions expect the world to be facing at least a five to ten year period in which the combined demands of resisting the virus and trying to recover from its impact will have to be the primary focus of governments and economies everywhere.

In this context the mission for any political party – but particularly those on the left committed to delivering and protecting social justice – must be to simultaneously minimise any further risk and instability while also promoting co-operation, innovation and transformation in the way that our structures of government work to deliver recovery and a transformed society.

Further constitutional instability would be both an accelerator of the risk and uncertainty which has marked the last decade and a distraction from the real political prize of ensuring that Scotland reimagined is a country of jobs, inclusion, solidarity and social justice. In short, this is not the era for proposing that Scottish families and communities should be offered even more risk as the response to a sustained period of less reward.

The economic and social impact of the coronavirus pandemic is far-reaching. It has exposed weaknesses in the economy, precariousness in workplaces, and the underfunding of public services and so it has fuelled inequalities across society. As a result, it has also stirred up discontent with the status quo. So there has never been a better time to put forward our vision of change for Scotland, built on investment in people, communities, industry and public services.

Remaining in and reforming the UK, we will seek to develop a new post-Brexit, post-Covid settlement. New democracy and resilience will be needed to weather the aftermath of this crisis, and to prevent any future incidents having the same catastrophic effects, that means we must urgently bring power closer to the people. We can neither allow a Tory government to tell us that it's back to business as usual after this crisis – and nor can we allow SNP ministers to unleash vast public spending cuts in a separate Scotland. There is a better Scottish Labour alternative.

Where we stand:

- Scottish Labour's approach to the constitution is rooted in solidarity and a belief that unity is strength. We stand for solidarity not separation and internationalism not isolationism.
- Labour is the party of devolution and delivered the Scottish Parliament and fully supports democratic reform and continued decentralisation from Westminster for the whole United Kingdom.
- Scottish Labour believes in a reformed and renewed Scotland within the multi-national, multicultural, and democratically reformed United Kingdom.
- Scottish Labour is committed to Scotland remaining in the UK with a plan for further devolution for the whole of the United Kingdom and a renewed partnership between all nations of the UK based on a progressive federal structure.
- Scottish Labour is neither a nationalist nor a unionist party but a democratic socialist party and believes further devolution must include further powers being devolved to local government.
- Constitutional issues have divided Scotland, Scottish Labour plans to unite the country by delivering a platform of economic, social and environmental change as we reshape our society and economy after the Covid19 pandemic and invest in public services.
- At a UK level we want to see the establishment of a Constitutional Convention, the abolition of the House of Lords and its replacement with a Senate of the Nations and Regions.

- A Scottish Labour government at Holyrood would ensure that all the powers devolved to the Scottish Parliament were fully utilised to tackle poverty, inequality and redistribute power and wealth across society and provide opportunity for all and harness the talents of everyone in Scotland.
- Scottish Labour, does not support independence. We believe that the 2021 elections must be about electing a Government and a parliament that will dedicate its entire focus to rebuilding Scotland's economy, public services and communities after the devastating impact of Covid-19. That work must be the focus of the next Scottish Government and so we will be going into that election in 2021 with a Scottish Labour party position that is not for a second referendum.

"We approach this question of democratic reform from the standpoint of the individual...seeking greater freedom, better opportunities, a fair start in life. We do not approach it from the standpoint of authority or the vested interest of wealth, or from the position of a privileged elite. It is for this reason that the Labour Party is the natural party of constitutional reform... Since its beginnings, therefore, Labour has been a vehicle for individual aspirations, a vehicle for social justice, and consequently a vehicle for democratic reform."

John Smith 1992

Labour's tradition

Twenty years on from the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, constitutional reform and democratic modernisation remains a Labour priority. We need to re-state our position on Scotland's constitutional future which reflects our tradition of home rule, devolution and democratic reform and advance within the UK.

We are a democratic socialist party that has never believed in separatism, nor are we a defender of the status quo. We believe in a democratically and economically renewed Scotland is stronger within a democratically and economically renewed United Kingdom.

And so we must not be defined by our opponents, and set out a distinctive 2020 Scottish Labour constitutional position which is based on our own Labour values of co-operation and solidarity.

And in turn make clear that this constitutional outlook is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. We campaigned for democratic reform and the creation of a Scottish Parliament because it would be a power for real economic and social change. Because it would be "a vehicle for social justice". And we will make the case and campaign for change in this decade because many of those hopes and ambitions remain unrealised.

Our 2020 vision includes a commitment to remaining in and reforming the UK. It means the establishment of a UK Constitutional Convention to develop a new settlement of powers post-Brexit, on the understanding that far too much power remains centralised in London and Edinburgh. It means working closely with Welsh Labour, elected mayors in England and council leaders across the UK.

Our Vision for the future

It means re-affirming our commitment to the Claim of Right which underpinned the creation of the Scottish Parliament inside the UK. It is the sovereign right of the people to determine their future, and the right of the people of Scotland to determine the form of government suited to their needs. As the country starts to contemplate a future beyond the pandemic, it is clear that the people are neither demanding a second referendum nor independence. Scottish Labour is clear that following the Brexit debacle and the COVID-19 pandemic the last thing Scotland needs is more constitutional turmoil and economic instability. The priority

for a post pandemic Scotland is securing full employment, tackling low pay, poverty and inequality and rebuilding our public services.

In the immediate term this means setting out a distinctive Scottish Labour prospectus in the lead up to the 2021 Scottish Parliament elections of our vision for economic, social and environmental change and our plan for achieving it, an effective challenge to thirteen years of mismanagement, missed opportunity, and a clear and distinct position on Scotland's constitutional future. Unless we set out a credible, radical and appealing Scottish Labour alternative on the latter, we will not get a hearing on the former. We need to lead not simply follow public opinion, but we can only do so by first understanding why people do not currently see Labour as the vehicle for the realisation of their hopes.

Scotland remains divided, Scottish Labour wants to unite the country by offering a way forward which proposes change, and so rejects the status quo, but rejects as well the SNP's "clear sighted prospectus" of what a separate Scottish state would look like. Which means a decade of austerity and deep cuts to public services, an economy that would be even more reliant on overseas ownership and on more insecurity in work and lower labour standards, and a currency alone that would divert over a £100 billion of public money to set up and defend. At a time when public borrowing has been at record levels to save jobs and businesses as well as lives establishing a separate Scottish state makes no sense. Scottish labour believes there is a better way than either Scottish nationalism or British nationalism. If the COVID-19 pandemic has taught us anything it is that people do not want to be divided. Communities want and need to come together. We thrive when we are working towards the common good. Scottish Labour remains the only political party that represents that sense of sharing and solidarity, of equality and fairness. These are our values, and coming out of this pandemic we have the opportunity to demonstrate an understanding of the structural change society needs to ensure the power is rooted in communities and flows from the bottom up and not from the top down.

Constitutional Reform

At a UK level we want to see the establishment of a Constitutional Convention, the abolition of the House of Lords and its replacement with a Senate of the Nations and Regions.

We want to see a post-Brexit settlement which includes with immediate effect:

A distribution of powers to the Scottish Parliament and Scottish local government as a far better alternative to an even greater accumulation and centralisation of powers in Whitehall and Westminster. Applying the principle of subsidiarity.

The establishment on a statutory footing of action focussed Joint Governmental and Parliamentary Councils between the Scottish Government and Parliament and the UK Government and Parliament to address shared interests and common needs. There should be a legal requirement for the Councils to be consulted when decisions by the UK Government impact on devolved areas of competence.

So a UK Council of Ministers and a UK Council of Parliaments and Assemblies established on the principle of co-operation and transparency rather than conflict and secrecy, as a step towards a much more federal approach.

The establishment of joint frameworks and common minimum standards in human rights, employment rights, consumer protection, social security, access to public services, environmental rights across the UK, but the right of the Scottish Parliament to enhance, but not reduce, these rights.

Refreshed arrangements to benefit Scotland

The Scottish Government should be given the power to negotiate and enter international treaties and programmes in areas of devolved competence.

The continuation of the Barnett Formula and the principle of equalisation which pools resources and then distributes public expenditure according to need. Because we believe in these redistributive principles.

That is why there must also be a re-negotiation of the Fiscal Framework so that Scotland is not financially penalised for tackling poverty and inequality through social security reforms, or financially penalised for relative economic underperformance. Although the Scottish Parliament now has limited borrowing powers these should be extended and augmented with a new power to raise capital by issuing bonds, for both capital and revenue spending.

New tax powers could also be considered, including the power over excise duties as they apply to alcohol and tobacco products, as well as betting and gaming levies.

Further devolution and a reversal of centralisation

Over the last two decades the Scottish economy has continued to lag behind. As a result many of the chronic long term economic and so social challenges remain unmet. There has been no industrial renaissance because there has been no industrial strategy. There has been an insufficient response to the present and future challenges we face through Brexit, climate change, automation, advances in artificial intelligence, and the fourth industrial revolution. And now with the huge challenge of rebuilding the economy after the lockdown every resource must be directed at tackling unemployment, restarting our public services, not least our schools and health services, and building on the values of community and co-operation which have been a feature of the people's response to this crisis.

In any properly functioning democracy, different levels of government have a fair distribution of power and a parity of esteem. That means joint working and greater co-determination between levels of central government. But it also means a new settlement for local government

Under devolution we have witnessed an era of centralisation at the expense of local democracy. We must reverse this centralisation. We need strong local government not weak local administration, with powers of general competence, to enable local government to create and innovate where local communities need it most.

We must devolve power over Scottish affairs to the Scottish people. We want to re-establish the vision of a people's Parliament, using its powers for social and economic progress. Making full use of the Parliament's powers to tackle poverty and inequality, to spread democracy, and redistribute power and wealth, to plan the economy for the future well-being of the people and the planet, and to do this with the enduring values of co-operation and solidarity.