

ANDY BURNHAM

BE PART OF THE CHANGE

A RADICAL
LABOUR VISION
FOR THE 21ST CENTURY



“ I want to change Labour and change politics to make a better Britain ”



My vision is simple: Labour will be the Party that helps everyone get on in life.

People at all levels of society share the same hopes: a secure job; a decent home; a good standard of living; prospects for their kids; and proper care for their parents.

But, in our insecure, modern world, for far too many people, these dreams are dying.

It will be the mission of the Labour Party I lead into Government to revive them – and turn the light of hope back on.

To do this, I will bring forward the most radical and far-reaching Labour vision for the country since the 1945 post-war Attlee Government. That Government civilised the last century. Mine will do the same for the 21st.

In this manifesto, I pull together the ideas I have laid out throughout this leadership campaign — all bigger ideas than Labour has put forward in the recent past. They proudly put our traditional values in a modern setting. They show how life can be better tomorrow than it is today and provide something in very short supply in this country right now — hope.

Under the Tories, Britain is becoming a more unequal, more divided, less successful country. Together, we can change that. **Under my leadership, Labour will be committed to:**



A future with hope for all young people – without the millstone of debt – through a modern comprehensive education system, replacing tuition fees with a new graduate tax, and creating new university-style support for young people seeking apprenticeships.



An affordable home for all to rent or own – by freeing councils to build new homes and introducing regulation of the private rented sector.



A secure, well-paid job for everyone – by abolishing the youth rate National Minimum Wage, establishing a true living wage for all ages, banning forced zero-hours contracts and unpaid internships.



Affordable and reliable transport for all – through a policy of progressive re-nationalisation of our railways and re-regulation of our buses.



Good care for all your needs from cradle to grave – and no one forced to sell their home – through a National Health and Care Service, bringing social care into the NHS.

A Labour vision for the economy

All of the proposals in this manifesto will be underpinned by a credible and detailed Labour plan for the economy.

It will be a balanced plan for a strong economy and sound public finances, providing a genuine alternative to Osborne's punishing austerity.

It is essential to have a plan to reduce the deficit. But the Tory Government's approach of doing so almost exclusively through spending cuts will destroy the fabric of our communities and hurt the most vulnerable.

Instead, I will bring forward a balanced Labour plan for a sustainable economy, based on growth and investment, fair pay, a re-balanced tax system and a labour market that works for all. Alongside it, I will promote an industrial strategy for Britain, devised and delivered in partnership with both business and trade unions, and with government investing for the future in infrastructure and the green economy.

Our plan will tackle the inequalities that prevent women from reaching their full potential in the workplace. It will also create an economy that is fair to young people by abolishing the youth rate National Minimum Wage, extending the National Living Wage to all ages and banning forced zero-hours contracts and unpaid internships.

All of the pledges in this manifesto – on skills, housing and care – will lay the right foundations for a prosperous 21st century economy and society. To decide how they will be paid for in a way that is fair across the generations, I will establish a new Beveridge-style commission. It will look at: new ways of paying for social care, including a care levy; a new graduate tax to support young people into apprenticeships as well as university; and re-balancing our tax system, including examining the case for a Land Value Tax to replace business rates, to ensure it supports growth and never stifles those who are starting up or building their business.

The Beveridge Report laid the foundations for the creation of our welfare state and our National Health Service. Its aim was to slay the five "Giant Evils" in society: squalor, ignorance, want, idleness and disease. The 21st century is now presenting us with new giants of its own: debt, insecurity, inequality, climate change and fear of old age. This Commission would build a new social consensus about how we as a society fairly meet the costs of these 21st century challenges.



A future with hope for all young people

I believe in comprehensive education. I will bring forward a new vision to reinvigorate it for the 21st century, based on true parity between academic and technical education. I will restore a local role in overseeing schools, rejecting the growing market of free schools and academies.

The best way to raise standards in schools is to give all young people hope that there is something waiting for them after school. For decades, Westminster has discriminated against those wanting a technical education. I want young people who aspire to apprenticeships to have the same clarity, ambition and sense of purpose as those who aspire to go to university. So I will propose a national UCAS-style system for apprenticeships and extend access to student finance to help people to move to take up an apprenticeship.

I will propose a reformed funding model for post-18 education, looking at a graduate tax to replace tuition fees for university and extend support for apprenticeships. No young person should have to start their career weighed down by a millstone of debt. Labour will lift it off them.



An affordable home for all to rent or own



For too many people, the dream of having a place to call their own has faded away. My vision is of a society where everyone has an affordable home to rent or to own – through the most ambitious housing policy since the post-war period.

I will lift the arbitrary central government borrowing caps that prevent local authorities from building more social housing, freeing our councils to deliver good quality homes once more.

I will create a new National Housing Commission to drive progress in every area, ensuring new homes are built with affordable rents. I will develop the option of 'Rent to Own' – mortgages that require no deposit. These government-backed schemes will help councils and housing associations to provide good quality homes, while helping those who want to get onto the property ladder with a Home Purchase Plan. 'Rent to Own' would give aspiring first-time buyers a clear route into home ownership and a way out of the 'rental trap'.

I will make it easier for councils to crack down on absent landlords who receive Housing Benefit but allow their property to fall below an acceptable standard, blighting the lives of their tenants and the wider neighbourhood.

And I want to devolve real power to local communities to regulate the private rented sector, including the power to introduce rent controls.

Affordable and reliable transport for all

We need a new approach to our railways, one that puts passengers before profit. Our railway system costs 40% more to run than other systems across Europe. That is not sustainable for the travelling public nor for the country as a whole. That's why I will work to bring the railways back under public control and public ownership.

Under my leadership, Labour will ensure there is proper and accountable public control of the railways, with passengers' interests put first. A new 'National Rail' governing body should be created to end the fragmentation of privatisation. It will ensure that passengers again experience a truly unified rail and ticketing system across the country.

We must tear up the broken approach to awarding rail franchises and allow a publicly-owned operator to take on lines. I believe that, as with the East Coast Main Line, a public operator will show it can compete, and beat, private operating companies.



By proving its success, the public operator will allow for the progressive re-nationalisation of the railways.

I will also conduct a major review of rail investment priorities. I will campaign for high-speed West to East train links to deliver the connections that are needed to boost the economies of our northern cities, and to improve routes through the South West to Cornwall.

We also need to see our buses properly regulated with more powers handed back to local government through combined authorities.

Good care for all your needs from cradle to grave



The NHS was the greatest achievement of the 1945 Labour Government. Today, Britain needs another great Labour achievement. We need to again find that spirit of 1945 to tackle the growing problem of a failing system of care for older, disabled and vulnerable people.

I have been on a mission to reform social care in England ever since I saw my own grandmother go on a depressing journey through the care system 15 years ago. I am determined to make Labour the Party that helps everyone protect what they've worked for.

Labour created the NHS to free people from the fear of medical fees. We now need to do the same with care charges.

So I am committed to extending the NHS principle to social care – where everybody is asked to make a contribution according to their means and where everybody then has the peace of mind of knowing that all their care needs, and those of their family, are covered.

Labour's ambition for 21st century care should be to create a National Health and Care Service that supports people with dementia or autism as well as it treats cancer today.

Fighting for equality for all

I want to lead a Party that doesn't just talk about inequality but one that acts on it. It is unacceptable that, in the Britain we live in, your gender, the colour of your skin, a disability, your sexuality or age can all be factors that mean you have a less than equal chance of getting on in life and a more than likely chance of earning less, being out of work, being stopped and searched, having health issues or being discriminated against.

As a country, we must stand together to eradicate hatred, prejudice and intolerance, rather than letting it spread. I will fight for a cross-government strategy on hate crime, from schools to social media, to tackle the growth in anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.

I came into politics to fight for true equality. But if we want to change our country, we must also be prepared to change ourselves.

Our politics must better represent our country. Labour will look, feel and sound different under my leadership. I will have a frontbench full of diversity and varied backgrounds and will work to bring in more MPs from BAME backgrounds.

I will have a balanced Shadow Cabinet between men and women. Women will hold an equal share of the most senior jobs too, including the appointment of a woman as Shadow First Secretary of State.

As Leader, I will argue for better support for Britain's part-time workers, many of whom are women. I will work with the business community to raise the number of quality part-time and job share roles, extending the right to request flexible working to day one of the job, and ensuring that the rail networks offer season tickets to fit the needs of part-time workers.

The achievement of equal marriage marks a transformation in attitudes to homosexuality since the days of Section 28 in the 1980s. I am proud to have been one of the first frontbench Labour politicians to speak out for this reform. However, there is still more to do. I will champion the cause of LGBT people in Britain and around the world. Two years ago, WWII code-breaker Alan Turing received a Royal Pardon for his cruel conviction for gross indecency. I am leading calls for a blanket statutory pardon to remove this dark chapter from our national history. Looking to the future, I will continue to support efforts to tackle homophobic bullying in our schools.

Trusting our councillors

For too long, there has been a corrosive distrust of local government in Whitehall and Westminster. Too often, government reforms have been either heavily prescriptive or bypassed local government altogether. My vision for devolution is devo-max for local government. I will trust our councillors again and give them freedom to borrow to build the homes their communities need. I will reinvigorate local democracy by asking councils to become the single local commissioner with the combined budget for public services. This will turn around the funding crisis in local government and enhance the ability of councils to develop imaginative solutions to today's challenges.

I will give communities more powers to change their areas for the better, including robust local oversight of all schools, putting local areas in the driving seat of transport planning and giving local people more rights to control which shops open on their high streets.

Fixing our broken politics

Levels of democratic engagement are at a devastating low. As well as bringing forward big ideas to re-engage the electorate, I will extend the voting age to 16; in my view, if you're old enough to sign up to serve in the Armed Forces, you're old enough to vote.

I will take an important step to make our voting system and Parliament more proportional. The unelected House of Lords is now the largest chamber of any democracy in the world. But it does not reflect the diversity of our country. I will look at introducing a system of indirect election for the Lords based on votes cast at the General Election. This model would balance a first-past-the-post Commons with a proportional Lords. This "Secondary Mandate" model, as proposed by Billy Bragg, would have the great virtues of making every vote count and building a truly representative Parliament.



Opposing the Welfare Bill

Under my leadership, **Labour will strongly oppose the Tory Welfare Bill**. I will proudly defend tax credits, a great legacy of the Labour Government, stand up for the eradication of child poverty and protect disabled people from savage cuts. We will instead argue for a progressive way to reduce the cost of the benefit system, through the policies outlined in this manifesto, such as building homes to cut Housing Benefit, and boosting skills to help people into work.

Leadership on the environment

It was a Labour Government that introduced the groundbreaking Climate Change Act, which has been adopted by nearly 100 other countries. Now, in what is a crucial year for international climate change negotiations, the UK should be showing much greater leadership. Instead, we have seen a withdrawal of support for renewable energy – which is where our future lies – and fracking being driven ahead at speed by people in Westminster with scant regard for the views of the communities most affected. **Under my leadership, Labour will call for a moratorium on fracking until we have much clearer evidence on its environmental impact. If it is ever to be allowed, it should be local people and communities, not Whitehall, who have the final say.**

Standing up for unions

The Government is proposing draconian new restrictions on union ballots. There is no justification for subjecting trades unions to a threshold that the vast majority of Members of Parliament did not meet in their election. I believe in the fundamental role that the union movement plays in upholding workers' rights and in our wider society. **As Labour Leader, I will fight these Government plans every step of the way, repeal them as Prime Minister, and stand up against the Tory campaign of demonisation of trades unions.**

Practical answers on immigration

I am proudly pro-European. Being in the EU has clear economic and strategic benefits, but it also says something about the kind of country we want to be – an outward-looking, confident Britain. I want a distinctive Labour campaign to stay in a reformed EU. **I will oppose any Tory attempts to weaken employment rights guaranteed by EU law.** And I will call for three reforms to address legitimate concerns about EU migration: time restrictions on access to benefits or social housing; action to prevent the under-cutting of wages of the skilled workforce and to protect the 'going rate'; and pushing for EU funding to be made available to support public services in communities that are most affected.

Restoring access to justice

From introducing fees for workers taking a case to an employment tribunal, to making drastic and devastating cuts to the civil legal aid budget, David Cameron's Government has made access to justice dependent on the ability to pay. I believe it is the hallmark of a civilised society that everyone can access justice, defend their rights and receive help in navigating the legal system, regardless of their income. **So under my leadership, a Labour government will scrap the unfair system of employment tribunal fees, and I will commission an urgent review of civil legal aid to make sure that everyone can access quality legal advice.**

Challenging TTIP

Boosting trade is vital to securing jobs and growth in our economy. **But freer trade must be accompanied by fairer trade; the ability of governments to protect their citizens and keep public services free of corporate influence must never be sacrificed.** When it comes to the TTIP deal under negotiation between the European Union and the USA, I will call for an exemption for all public services. I will fight proposals for private tribunals with the power to sit in judgement on national governments. **As Labour Leader, I will adopt a tougher stance on TTIP than we have had to date. I will give no guarantees of Labour support for it and instead will reserve judgment until we see the final text.**

Andy Burnham is the leader who, according to polls, the public say will win the next General Election for Labour.

Q: Irrespective of which party you support, who would do most to improve Labour's chances at the next election?

Andy Burnham

36%

Liz Kendall

25%

Yvette Cooper

20%

Jeremy Corbyn

18%

ORB carried out 2,000 online interviews among a nationally representative sample of adults throughout England, Scotland and Wales 19th-21st June 2015.

What are your thoughts on this manifesto? Please share your top priorities.

Who will you be giving your first preference vote to?

Andy Burnham Yvette Cooper Jeremy Corbyn Liz Kendall Undecided

Who will you be giving your second preference vote to?

Andy Burnham Yvette Cooper Jeremy Corbyn Liz Kendall Undecided

Would you like to call local party members to ask if they are supporting Andy?

Yes No

Would you like to donate to Andy's campaign?

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Please return a photo of this form to team@andy4labour.co.uk or post it to Andy4Leader, 83 Victoria Street, London SW1H 0HW. You can also call us on 020 3585 4626.

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