Scottish Labour is at a turning point: we can once again become a party of real change, offering people a sense of hope out of despair.

Our society is deeply divided, poverty and inequality is rife: with the richest one per cent in Scotland today owning more personal wealth than the whole of the bottom fifty per cent. Too much power rests in too few hands.

So this is no time to tinker around the edges. We cannot manage our way out of it. We need a Scottish Labour Party that can build on the General Election which offered a radical vision of change, extending public ownership, ending austerity and redistributing wealth and power.

These are the very values that brought me in to the Scottish Labour Party over thirty years ago, and they are the values that drive me on today.

During the leadership campaign we have set out very detailed policy proposals, aimed at transforming Scotland and eliminating poverty.

With this manifesto I have set out more new ideas, including on justice and safety, climate change, and our arts and culture.

Centrally, this manifesto sets out plans for the most profound change in how Scotland works – including the three pillars of a new approach for Scottish Labour’s taxation policy, that is more progressive, unlocks the vast untapped wealth of Scotland, and is based on a democratic course of action.

Taken together these ideas represent a plan for a step change in the politics of Scotland. I hope that you will give them, and me, your support.

Richard Leonard
1. My overriding mission as First Minister will be to end poverty. It holds us back as a country and weakens Scottish society. We will never close the educational attainment gap whilst inequality is getting wider. I will tackle health inequalities and child poverty, and end the scandal of fuel poverty which forces half of our pensioners to choose between heating and eating.

2. We will re-empower local government. Local services have to be released from their shackles. We will work to help local government raise revenue based on wealth, including land, as well as property. We will lead the fight for increased central spending to local government. I want stronger powers for municipal ownership and better local services.

3. A ‘Mary Barbour Law’ to control rents and limit the powers of landlords over tenants, embark on a massive house-building plan for new affordable homes for social rent, set minimum quality standards for all Scotland’s housing and introduce powers to compulsorily purchase unused developers’ land.

4. We are the party of equality: we will work to build a society free from all forms of sexism, homophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, discrimination against disabled people and bigotry and prejudice in all their forms.

5. A Scotland for the next generation. We will ensure young people have opportunities to succeed. We will introduce a plan to help young people in care, with access to concessionary travel; extend the current provision of free school meals to include primary years 4-7. We will end the exemption of private schools from non-domestic rates, to pay for school trips for children currently missing out, and we will increase child benefit for every child in Scotland.

6. We will always support our NHS and its staff. I will make tackling health inequalities a national priority, and appoint a Cabinet Secretary for Health Equity who will ensure coordination across all Scottish Government portfolio areas to tackle health inequalities. We stand for world class social care and parity of esteem for mental health services, especially children’s services.

7. Tackle climate change. I will ensure the delivery of major investment in better, warm, energy-efficient housing. We will tap into Scotland’s potential to become the first country run on renewable energy. We will plan again to create thousands of well-paid jobs while slashing energy bills and pollution. And we will lead on sustainable resource use.

8. Promote public ownership and end the privatisation drive. I will create a National Energy Corporation that will cut bills and tackle fuel poverty. We will help develop renewable energy schemes that are community, co-operative and municipal. I will work with local government to develop municipal ownership in buses, energy and buildings. We will take our railways back into public ownership and establish an Act to give workers a right to buy any enterprise that’s for sale or facing closure.

9. We will end the brutal impact of the benefit cap and campaign against the benefit freeze and the roll-out of universal credit. Scotland needs a welfare system that is based on universal rights not residual relief for the poor.

10. I will lead an industrial strategy for Scotland, pursuing a policy of full-employment, heralding a renaissance in manufacturing, using automation to improve work not undermine workers, as part of a planned approach to economic development. I will introduce a workplace charter. I will ensure a values-led public procurement strategy, only awarding public contracts to organisations that meet minimum standards. We will award public contracts only to organisations that meet standards like no blacklists, no zero hours contracts, Fair Tax Mark holders, with commitments to apprenticeships, pay ratios, tackling occupational segregation, paying at least the living Wage and trade union recognition.
Tackling poverty and addressing inequality

The most glaring flaw with our society today is the depth of poverty and inequality that afflicts so many of our people.

In Scotland today over one million people are living in poverty. An increasing number of children, up to 40 thousand to 260 thousand (more than a quarter of our children) are living in poverty in Scotland in 2017; including tens of thousands who are living in families where at least one member of the family works. It is little wonder that educational attainment levels are so starkly different between those children who come from backgrounds at opposite ends of the economic spectrum.

748,000 of Scottish households are classified as being in fuel poverty, with the number of households in extreme fuel poverty sitting at 203,000. It is an outrage that so many of our people are going cold in this country in 2017, including so many of our pensioners.

Tackling poverty and inequality in Scotland and its consequence of stubborn and scandalous health inequalities will be my overriding mission as First Minister. Poverty is a moral issue: but it also holds us back as a country, weakens Scottish society and harms our economy because we need the talents of every single person in Scotland to reach their potential. Things must change - real change is required.

Tackling poverty requires a radical shift in our economy, politics and policy making. Fundamental and wholesale change, at the same time as very specific and targeted policies, is needed to uplift those communities, people, families and children who need help the most. Abolishing poverty demands that we confront the real and underlying causes of poverty and inequality.

Poor housing, falling real wages, attacks on social security, bad employers, marketised and under-funded public services, under-investment in people, services and infrastructure, a rigged economy with widening inequality between millionaires and the rest of us are all factors that lead to poverty. Tackling these causes at their very root is why we are the party of the many, not the few.

Ending poverty means real change to deal with low pay and poverty. We need to use the powers of the Parliament to advance this agenda right now and not just wait for an election and a change of government.

I will ensure that public procurement is used to make work fairer and better paid. Every single public pound spent on private contractors must be used to make work better paid. This must mean no public contracts for companies who do not pay at least the living wage.

The SNP Government said in 2016 that it was prevented by the EU from making contractors pay a living wage as a key criterion in tendering processes for public contracts. I, on the other hand, will not hide behind EU rules. Instead I will stand up for a living wage in all public supply and works contracts. It should also apply to all those companies seeking public grants and loans including Regional Selective Assistance. This is our money; we should lay down the rules.

Health inequalities

My overriding mission to abolish poverty will include tackling health inequalities and making that an explicit Scottish Government priority.

The SNP Scottish Government has discussed health inequalities, but for all that has done nothing to improve this unacceptable state of affairs. Poverty and inequality, which have increased under the SNP, are what cause the shocking postcode-driven life expectancy that mars our society.

Life-expectancy in Scotland is amongst the worst in Europe, whilst differentials in life-expectancy and healthy life-expectancy - meaning the number of years you can live before being afflicted by ill-health - are stark. In 2015 the Scottish Parliament Health Committee said:

‘A boy born in Lenzie, East Dunbartonshire, can expect to live until he is 82, yet for a boy born only 8 miles away in Calton in the East End of Glasgow life expectancy may be as low as 54 years, a difference of 28 years or almost half as long again as his whole life’

Vital though it is, the NHS by itself can’t resolve the harmful failure that this Health Committee statement demonstrates. Tackling health inequalities requires that we have to use all the levers of power at our disposal to tackling this national challenge. This is one of the reasons why I have made the fight against poverty central to the mission that my leadership would stand for.
Health inequalities are as a result of political and economic decision-making and the way society is currently organised. But we should also remember that how we organise society in the future can help eliminate inequalities. Accepting inequality is a political choice. I will never accept inequality as natural and will always work to eliminate poverty and inequality and its consequence of health inequality.

Alcohol harm costs Scotland £3.6 billion a year including health, social care and crime. We need to take serious steps to reduce the availability of alcohol and as leader, I will work closely with local government and key stakeholders to improve the alcohol licensing system.

I will make tackling health inequalities a national priority and introduce the following measures.

• I will create national targets for reducing health inequalities.
• I will create a cross-portfolio Cabinet Secretary for Health Equity.
• I will create statutory guidance that ensures better and more effective co-ordination of activity between government, local authorities, health boards and communities that ensures tackling health inequalities is their first priority.
• I will ensure a health inequality impact assessment is undertaken on every single policy proposal put forward by every public authority; including the Government.
• I will review and improve where public funds are allocated to make sure more resources go to where they are needed most, based on socio-economic circumstances of communities.
• I will charge Scotland’s special health board - National Services Scotland, Health Scotland - to provide evidence, data, evaluation and implementation support for equity measures that will help identify where allocation of resources is needed most.

-ending child poverty-

Ending child poverty is the challenge this generation must meet as our legacy to the next. Far too many of our children have their life chances diminished as a result of the economic circumstances they are born into.

We all want to see happy, healthy children in our schools and our communities. I will commit to delivering the resources to ensure that no child goes without.

Today 260,000 Scottish children live in poverty, an increase of 40,000 from the previous year and our poorest children are among some of the least healthy in Europe - these statistics should shame the current Scottish Government.

I will commit to making sure independent schools are not exempted from non-domestic rates and that they will pay the same rates as state schools. Removing this unfair and unequal situation should raise around £5m a year. This is money that will make sure every child is provided the opportunity to enjoy school trips in the same way that their better off peers do. This transfer of wealth symbolises the more equal Scotland we need to be.

Ending child poverty

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We need to provide a basic platform for every child and ensure each Scottish child feels secure and able to realise their potential at school and then as they enter adulthood. Their learning and their futures should not be hindered due to a hungry stomach, or missing out on the life experiences that their peers, who come from more economically advantaged backgrounds, routinely enjoy.

I understand that looking after our children will take considerable investment, but this is investment for our future generations which will have both great social and economic gains. We need to look at how a progressive tax system, the end to austerity-driven budget cuts to local government and growth in our economy could best be targeted to help all children in Scotland succeed and realise their potential, and not just the few.

Therefore when elected Scottish Labour leader I pledge to do the following:

Help children in school

• Extend the current Scottish provision of free school meals to include primary years 4-7. This would benefit up to 183,000 Scottish pupils currently not in receipt of a free school meal, end the stigma of free school meals and help close the shameful educational attainment gap.
• End the exemption of private schools from non-domestic rates and use the money saved - around £5m a year - to pay for school trips for all: ensuring the least well-off are able to enjoy school trips in
the same way as their peers. This transfer of wealth symbolises the more equal Scotland we need to be.

- Provide grants to help families pay for school uniforms.

Happy, healthy children
- Increase child benefit by £5 per for every Scottish Child, which will lift 30 thousand Scottish kids out of poverty. This will help children of those both in work and out of work.
- Give local authorities the additional resources to make sure that no child goes hungry during school holidays.
- Creating a network of Community Hubs that provides a host of services, leisure and statutory, under one roof creating a coordinated community resource that will enhance the social infrastructure in our most disadvantaged communities.
- Provide local authorities with the resources to set up holiday recreational and leisure activities to ensure those children unable to go on holiday have stimulating and fulfilling summer times.
- Make local authority sports and recreational facilities affordable and accessible for all children, no matter their economic circumstances.
- Ensure there is better-resourced support for credit unions and community banks, who are ethical credit agents which can help veer people from sourcing credit from exploitative pay day loan and credit companies and shops who prey on the poor.
- Provide local authorities with the resources and freedoms necessary to help them lead the fight against child poverty.
- I will campaign against the benefit freeze, the benefit cap and to halt the roll out of universal credit; these are harming our poorest people and harming far too many children in the process.
- 70 per cent of children in Scotland living in poverty live in households where at least one person is working. I will drive up pay by ensuring that every public pound spent compels employers to pay their workers the real living wage.
- I will initiate a massive housebuilding programme that ensures the over 6000 children currently considered homeless have a house they can all call home.
- According to DWP figures, between 19 and 23 per cent of families in the UK are not claiming the means-tested benefits (such as income support and employment support allowance) which they are entitled to. I will increase the number of active advice shops, which offers an income maximisation service, in each local authority area to ensure that every person is getting the benefits that they are entitled to.

Looking after children in care
How we look after our most vulnerable children is a test of the cohesive functioning of society. Looked after children are being let down by policy makers and current public policy. How we look after those young people in care and coming out of the care system is borne out from the life outcomes for our young people who have been in care. It is clear we are letting down our most vulnerable young people.

The figures are horrifying and reveal a systemic failure on the part of Scottish policy-makers.

Just over half of looked after children aged 5-10 have a mental health condition compared to 8% of children from the general population. Half of the Scottish prison population have had experience of care and one third of young offenders have a care background. Almost half of looked after young people have not had their educational needs assessed, even though they are entitled in law to additional support.

Looked after young people are seven times more likely to be excluded from school than their non-looked after peers. Only 40 per cent of looked after young people leave school with one or more qualification at SCQF level 5, compared to 84 per cent of the general population.

Formal statistics suggest that at least one in five of care leavers become homeless within five years of leaving care – although there are estimates that the real figure could be as high as 50%. Only 7% of care experienced young people go on to higher education, compared with 39% of the general population.

Over one in five of care-experienced people have tried to hurt, harm or kill themselves. It isn't just that we are talking about reduced life chances – but chances of life itself. It has been estimated that care experienced people are 20 times more likely to be dead at the age of 25 than anyone else. This cannot go on.

It doesn’t have to be like this – young people can leave care and go on to live healthy and happy lives – we’ve seen a good example recently in Ashley Cameron who featured in BBC Scotland’s documentary about Raploch. Our aim should be a system where stories like Ashley’s are the rule not the exception.
Expressions of concern are not enough. We must also assess how we can improve the care experience ensuring that the care experience is richer, more fulfilling and improves the educational outcomes of young people in care.

We also have to ensure that the needs of carers and voices of young people are heard throughout their time in care.

We need a comprehensive package to help young people leaving care but we also need to consider how we can help them when in care. The Scottish Government currently has a review ongoing into looked-after children. No one would deny that there is a need to take a strategic look at this failing system, but young people in or leaving care can't put their life on hold. There are a whole range of measures which could be introduced – or at least considered – right now.

- Priority access for services on the NHS – for example to mental health services, dentist appointments etc – after all the NHS is also a corporate parent.
- Exemption from Council Tax up until the age of 26 when the state's official responsibilities as corporate parent ceases to be the case.
- Access to concessionary travel.
- Free access to sports and leisure cards facilities.
- Access to training and modern apprenticeships (guaranteed quota of places across the public sector) and guaranteed an interview when applying for a job in any public authority.
- Grants to get active – access to equipment like bikes, musical instruments.

• Look at introducing a care endowment grant: this would be a sum of money given to young people in care over the period of their care, with a lump sum at the end, which is the equivalent of what “mum and dad” may provide their own kids.
• We should also ensure foster carers receive proper training and support, including access to respite care when needed. This is vital for encouraging not only recruitment but also providing stable, long care term for looked after children.

This list indicates the sort of policies that we should be urgently looking at – it’s not meant to be definitive or exclusive, but rather a call for urgent intervention. In the longer term of course transforming the system will involve working with, empowering and properly resourcing local government who would be a key partner in this. But having longer term goals is no reason for inaction now. For the sake of all the children in care we must act now.

Looking after our most vulnerable people

Benefit cap
The benefit cap is a callous policy that punishes those people who are already struggling and vulnerable. In essence it is a policy that punishes people for being poor by making them even poorer.

Children are disproportionately hit by benefit cap. The UK Supreme Court decided that the benefit cap denied children the protection defined in the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child. The court held that the cap deprived children of “the basic necessities of life” and made them “suffer from a situation which is not of their making and which they themselves can do nothing about”.

The Deputy President of the Supreme Court, Lady Hale, said in her judgment: “Claimants affected by the cap will, by definition, not receive the sums of money which the state deems necessary for them adequately to house, feed, clothe and warm themselves and their children.”

In Scotland 8,233 households are impacted by the cuts to housing benefit, amounting to 10,514 adults and 21,827 dependent children. As Lady Hale said the benefit cap is pushing more children into poverty and punishing them for their parent’s socio-economic circumstances.

If we are serious about tackling child poverty then we should never legislate for policies that will make some of our poorest children even poorer and disadvantage them more than they are already.

Scotland has the powers over much of our welfare system. The Scottish Government can right away mitigate against welfare cuts and help some of our poorest people who have suffered as a result of the decision to introduce a benefit cap.

The Scottish Parliament can and should help those Scots impacted by the benefit cap. The Discretionary Housing Payment is the vehicle which we can use to help those people. A discretionary housing payment is an additional sum of money that can be paid to you if you receive housing benefit and require additional help to meet your housing costs and they can be paid weekly, or can be a lump sum, they may also be backdated.
I propose to use the Discretionary Housing Payment as the vehicle to help those people in Scotland detrimentally impacted by the benefit cap.

The approximate annual impact on some of our poorest families is over £11m. That is over £11m taken from people who are already amongst the poorest in our society.

When leader I will ensure Scottish Labour introduces a Bill to mitigate the impact of the benefit cap for the thousands of Scottish households impacted and pay them the money they are losing as a result of the cap. Costing over £11m it will be paid via Discretionary Housing Payment. This could be done immediately and would have an instant benefit for those Scots impacted by the benefit cap, and who are amongst the poorest and most vulnerable in Scottish society.

**Meeting Scotland’s housing needs**

Scotland needs change. Nowhere is this clearer than in housing. Scotland needs radical action on housing after years of neglect. Too many people can’t get the home they want, or face excessive agency fees and rip off rents.

Radical action on housing will help everyone who needs a decent home: and it will help us in our guiding mission of eliminating poverty. Building more affordable homes and tackling rip-off rents and agency fees will create better homes for bringing up our children, will reduce the cost-pressures of housing, and by building more homes we will boost the economy and provide jobs.

According to Shelter Scotland, we are in the midst of a housing crisis. Mortgages are difficult to obtain and people have to rely more and more on - often exploitative - private landlords. Waiting lists are still too high. 12 per cent of private renters who are on a waiting list have been on there for more than ten years. We urgently need a new approach to housing. I would reform Scotland’s housing sector so it works for the many.

There are 137,100 households on local authority waiting lists, 25,100 households on transfer lists, and one in ten households are affected by dampness or condensation. This results in poor health and can result in long term health problems for children. This is unacceptable in Scotland in 2017.

In 2016-17, 10,641 homeless applications were made in Scotland, this includes 6,041 homeless children. People in some areas have to fight to access temporary accommodation or have a homeless application taken at all. You just have to look around to see that street homelessness is on the rise. And the amount of people living in the private rented sector has tripled in the past decade. This is a bleak picture.

There are 748,000 households in fuel poverty – 31 per cent of all households in Scotland, while 38 per cent of Scotland’s social housing currently falls beneath the Scottish Housing Quality Standard. Yet the average weekly local authority rent has risen by 56 per cent between 2002-03 and 2016-17 and the average mortgage has increased by 60 per cent in the same timescale. People are paying more but getting less.

Scotland’s young people are being failed when it comes to housing. Between 2003 and 2014 the proportion of 25-34 year-olds renting privately almost tripled, from 13 per cent to 35 per cent.

Despite its high rents, lack of security and variable quality, the numbers are increasing in the private rented sector as waiting lists in the socially rented sector continue to be too high and mortgages are difficult to obtain. It’s also been the case that in spite of a decade of stagnating wages, rents have increased hugely – over a 100 per cent in a decade in some parts of Scotland. That is why I want to see tough rent controls to prevent exploitation by landlords and why I will introduce “A Mary Barbour law”. This is a law that will rein in private landlords and make sure that rents meet external standards and that subject proposed rent increases to an affordability index.

The housing crisis is caused by a lack of supply and will be solved only by building to meet the demand. The Scottish Government has miserably failed to support the building of sufficient numbers of housing units built in the social rent sector.

We must build more social housing and put the socially rented sector back in the mainstream of housing. We have to make social housing once again seen as a viable and available option for people, and help create socially mixed communities in the process. There is no doubt that local authorities and housing associations need an equal amount of help from the Scottish Government to achieve this.
The Scottish Government must proactively invest in and plan to solve the housing crisis and not rely on the market to do so. Under my leadership we will take clear radical action:

- We need firm action on landlord excesses. That is why I want to see tough rent controls to prevent exploitation by landlords: what I’ve called a “Mary Barbour law”. We will introduce this to rein-in landlord powers - making sure that rents have to meet external standards and subjecting rises to an affordability index.
- I back Shelter Scotland’s call for a national homelessness strategy and we will make that happen.
- I will commit to building a minimum of 12,000 new social homes for rent each year: we will pull every lever to solve the housing crisis, and put people back to work in the process, by building sufficient numbers of homes for social rent again, and support our re-empowered and properly-resourced local authorities to transform the quality and quantity of social housing across Scotland.
- I will commit to all of Scotland’s housing being warm and secure, at the same time helping tackle our fuel poverty crisis, which impacts on the poorest in our society, including so many of our pensioners.
- I will take back undeveloped land held by developers and create the power to compulsorily purchase: if they don’t use it, they will definitely lose it. I will make them help us build the homes that so many of our citizens need in order to lead a decent and fulfilling life.
- I will make sure that every home is fit for human habitation and extend the Scottish Housing Quality Standards to the Private Sector and ensure that private landlords adhere to minimum housing standards.
- I will invest to make our current social housing stock is fit for purpose make sure that all housing meets the Scottish Housing Quality Standards.
- I will give tenants in the private rented sector the right to stay in their homes for as long as they need.
- I will support our local authorities to build homes and give them the same as the support received by housing associations.

**The resources to make a difference**

The Scottish Parliament now has powers to raise resources through increasing our tax yield, redistributive policies and from the borrowing powers it now has. We should use the Parliament’s new powers to invest in Scotland’s housing stock, both existing stock and new-builds, to ensure that we have no-one homeless, no-one sleeping on the streets of Scotland and no-one having to choose between heating and eating.

If a UK Labour Government is elected we know that Scotland’s industries and infrastructure will receive a huge resource stimulus through the UK Labour proposals for a National Investment Bank and a National Transformation Fund. However, we can also seek investment in housing from a democratically-run and accountable Scottish Investment Bank (SIB). The SIB should become the investment bank for Scotland, providing loans and equity shares, not as a last resort on the occasion of market failure, but as part of a much more proactive agent of social and economic change.

There are unrealised potential opportunities too in the use of occupational pension funds to make direct primary investment in infrastructure as well as industry. One proposal worthy of examination is to consider public sector pension funds using their resources to establish a Scottish Public Provident Fund. In turn this could invest in local production and infrastructure, boost local supply chains and stimulate employment.

A Scottish Public Provident Fund could also realise tremendous social benefits by investing in housing stock, which will give people the homes and the decent, well paid and secure jobs that so many Scots need.

**A generational change in tax**

In this campaign, I have said that we need a once-in-a-generation discussion about taxation in Scotland. I now want to set out more of what that means.

A tax system reveals much about the distribution of wealth, income and power in a society. During the 1980s the burden of taxation was quite deliberately shifted from the few to the many and from the corporation to the individual citizen.

Under the guise of tax cuts for all, huge tax cuts were introduced for the wealthiest. With the return of the Tories in 2010 once again there has been a move from direct to indirect taxation, and from unearned to earned income.
Corporation tax alone has been cut from twenty-six pence to nineteen pence in the pound. And the top rate of income tax has been cut from fifty pence to forty-five pence. The standard rate of VAT is now twenty per cent up from 17.5 per cent.

As a result of this, coupled with the driving down of real pay in both the public and private sector and attacks on the poorest and most vulnerable in society, inequality in Scotland is rising. So much so that the Scottish Government have recently reported that the richest one per cent in Scotland now own more personal wealth than the bottom fifty per cent put together.

The Scottish Parliament now has the powers to vary income tax bands and rates. I wish to lead our Party’s discussion on how to make income tax more progressive. But it is clear that we cannot look at taxation by looking at income tax in isolation. We must tackle endemic low pay in the economy, specifically by rolling out the Scottish Living Wage and moving towards a secure, full employment, high wage, high value economy. And by promoting trade union organisation and collective bargaining in general, including sectoral bargaining.

But any debate on taxation must also consider the taxation and treatment of wealth as well.

So today I am setting out the basis of my consultation to initiate a debate and so a change in Scottish Labour policy.

It is an approach based upon the need to reduce the tax burden on the poorest and to be sufficiently progressive as earnings and wealth rise, in order to deliver the radical change that Scotland needs.

There are three pillars to the transformative tax policy that I want to see. These pillars are:

1. Progressive

Scottish Labour has moved on tax policy but we have not completed the journey. The principle that we need to adopt is that the burden of taxation must fall progressively on the broadest shoulders. This is the fundamental point of ‘the many, not the few.’ Measures that raise tax revenue overall but do so by shifting the burden onto the least well off or those struggling to get by on middle incomes are not progressive, and will fail to deliver the transformation we need.

As an indication of this, our consultation will specifically look at a more graduated tax system such as two additional new bands: one around those earning over £70,000 and one on those earning over £100,000.

2. Unlocking wealth

Government revenue arising from income tax and national insurance raises three times (46 per cent) as much as the combined revenue raised from companies and wealth. Wealth taxes only account for 4 per cent, corporation taxes are 11 per cent and indirect taxes contribute 29 per cent.

The Scottish government has acknowledged the problem of growing wealth inequality but has proposed no solutions. http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2017/02/6032

Our economic policy must unlock wealth and put it to work - both to redistribute from the few to the many but also to raise the level of investment and transform the economy. Failing to do so will merely be tinkering at the edges.

Therefore, the time has come for a wealth tax. Just a one per cent windfall tax on the wealthiest 10 per cent would raise £3.7billion and put wealth back to work for the economy as a whole.

3. Democratic

What is required is a once in a generation change in the structure of the Scottish economy. A changed, progressive tax policy is key to that. This cannot be done as a top-down measure, imposed by one or two politicians. This is about transforming Scotland.

So we will create rounded policy to raise investment and make Scotland more equal, involving the whole of the Scottish labour movement, working collaboratively with the Scottish public, academics, community activists, and the third sector, ending with a democratic conference decision by the Scottish Labour Party. That policy must also include other progressive elements, such as on the environment.
An Industrial Strategy for the 21st century

Growing Scotland’s economy is a vital component in ensuring we have the resources necessary to invest in our people and communities. Scotland’s economy needs kick-starting and the wealth it generates needs to be shared more fairly. Presently Scotland’s economy is stagnating; growing three times slower than the rest of the UK and is something that urgently needs to change.

Our manufacturing base has been decimated, our economy largely deindustrialised and working too often only for the few whilst undermining the economic security and employment opportunities for the many. Scotland’s economy needs to grow but whatever the size of the economic base the wealth we generate needs to be shared much more equitably.

Currently, the fruits of our economy are distributed far too unequally with persistent unemployment, underemployment, low pay and insecurity at work obvious symptoms of that.

We need to grow our economy and share the benefits more fairly. Achieving this requires investment over the long term in our infrastructure and industries with much greater support in areas such as manufacturing with far greater economic planning.

Scotland can’t afford to ignore the link between our built and natural environment and public health. Planning decisions about the use of land should always be taken in the public interest and that includes future generations. For too long, decisions affecting communities have been influenced by a powerful few. My vision of a rights-based approach to planning will put people and their communities at the heart of the planning process. Where major planning decisions breach development plans or national policy, communities should have the same rights to challenge decisions. Any review of the planning system must embed an equal rights approach.

A fair economy requires a fair deal for workers meaning better wages and more secure employment, greater redistribution of the wealth generated and a stronger social contract whereby people paying more in tax understand that in return they will receive well-resourced and excellent public services and a fairer, more cohesive society that nurtures and looks after our individual and collective well-being.

Achieving this demands a wholesale change in how we grow and treat our economy. It means taking control over the fundamental transformation that is challenging all economies such as the exponential increase of automation, which is now impacting on our economy.

We need an economy that develops as a result more investment in research and development and that has much better and more coordinated collaboration between industry, government (including local government) and higher education. We also need a Government that actively intervenes rather than one that sits back and hopes for the best and which fails to help and grow our economy as a result.

Devolution must not stop at Holyrood. That is why I campaigned to retain autonomy for Highlands & Islands Enterprise. Scotland’s fragile rural and island economies need additional support, including renewed investment in our ferry services, and the firm defence of local public services, especially NHS services. That is why I am standing on an anti-austerity, pro public ownership, pro redistribution of power platform. I firmly believe in bottom up community and co-operative ownership, and support the additional powers set out in the Our Islands, Our Future principles.

As part of a properly thought out plan to grow our economy under my Leadership:

- We will implement an industrial strategy and invest in Scotland’s economy, growing it sustainably, increasing productivity and ensuring there is a fair share for all.
- We will always value and support our manufacturing industry.
- Open the proposed ‘Manufacturing Institute’ as a matter of urgency.
- Enhance the Scottish Manufacturing Advisory Service and encourage it to collaborate with trade unions/worker reps in the workplace.
- Encourage and incentivise firms in Scotland to raise levels of investment in R&D as a percentage of turnover.
- Support our burgeoning digital technology sector and ensure we address urgently the digital skills gap.
• Establish a blueprint for a sustainable future Scottish economy and identify existing and future economic opportunities and threats at a national and global level.
• Ensure continued investment in Scotland’s education system at all levels, to produce a well-educated and technologically advanced workforce. Industry and government need to work better together to ensure we have the right workforce planning arrangements, vocational training and skillsets available.
• Pursue a policy of full employment and tackle the stubborn problem of unemployment and underemployment that prevent so many of our people from realising their potential and which has a wider, detrimental impact on our economy.
• We will recognise the important role of local councils and work with them to help stimulate local economic growth.
• Expand local economic strategies via city and rural economic regeneration plans that help unlock investment in local areas.
• Develop a systematic, comprehensive plan for existing and future education and skills demands of the Scottish economy; and a skills and education provision strategy to match these demands, which includes a commitment to retraining and lifelong-learning.
• Invest in STEM subjects and to encourage female students to study STEM subjects up to and beyond higher level.
• Create and maintain a strategy for transitioning declining industries, and developing alternatives to replace non-sustainable or non-productive industries.

• Create a Scottish Investment Bank to invest in our economy and infrastructure, including our social infrastructure such as housing Therefore stimulating our economy, creating work and providing people with their fundamental needs all at the same time.
• Pursue the creation of a Scottish Public Provident Fund, using public sector pensions funds, and use that to invest in Scotland’s industries and social infrastructure.
• Critically assess the Small Business Bonus to establish, if any, its beneficial impact on the wider Scottish economy. If its proven to have had a negligible impact we will replace this with a ‘Small Business Growth Fund.’
• Support non-traditional company formations e.g. Cooperatives, Worker Buy-Outs, Community Businesses.
• Support the development of co-operatives and place Cooperative Development Scotland on a statutory footing.
• Establish a Public Common Good Fund that would help support the development of cooperatives.
• Develop alternative forms of public ownership and intervene wherever to take public goods back into public ownership such as Bus, Energy, Rail.
• Support women in enterprise as part of a wider strategy to address and end once and for all the gender pay gap.
• Make sure that every public pound spent on procurement and subsidy (such as Regional Selective Assistance) helps drive up wages and minimum standards of employment and boosts local supply chains and stimulates employment.

• We will develop a national plan that guarantees long term investment in local and national infrastructure for example in Information, communication, learning, service and production technologies; in our physical infrastructure e.g. roads, buildings, and town and city centres.
• Investing in the social and economic capacity of communities to respond to local needs and opportunities including support for Credit Unions and community businesses e.g. energy generation.

Re-empowering local government

Local government is at the coal-face of delivery in the most important day-to-day challenges we face: delivering community services that all of us depend on, providing education, maintaining and building housing and investing in and keeping our communities safe, clean and secure. These are just some of the responsibilities that local councils discharge.

Local councils can also lead the way in the fight against poverty and inequality. But the SNP has starved Scottish local government and reduced its power to carry out that role effectively.

I will lead the fight for increased central spending to local government. But we will not wait for office – we will use our power as a movement now to fight for change. I pledge now that from day one of my leadership I will campaign to get a better funding deal for our local services before the local government settlement is announced by the Scottish Government.
More resources for our services is not just about grants from the government. It’s also about real powers. Local services have to be released from their shackles. Scotland’s local councils must also be allowed to raise additional revenue. As leader I will instigate a review into the powers of local government to raise revenue, directed towards increasing the level of resources local government can directly raise: I want to see more work to help local government raise revenue based on wealth, including land, as well as property.

I will also be back the campaign to drop pre-devolution debt that has seen councils pay back far too much money, affecting local services in the process, as a result of exorbitant debt charges.

Councils can also lead the way in developing public ownership. Not for its own sake but because public ownership means greater accountability and planning for better services based on public need rather than market forces. During the course of this leadership campaign Theresa May pledged her allegiance to the unfettered free market - Scotland is crying out for something different.

Council energy companies and community renewable schemes can lead the fight against fuel poverty. Municipal bus companies can lead the fight against exorbitant fares. Municipal building services can provide far greater value for the public pound, with the savings invested elsewhere. Public social care services can reduce the pressure on social care workers and care recipients alike. And all of them can ensure that their workers have decent and fair pay and conditions at work.

Under my leadership we will work with councils to develop municipal ownership in buses, social care, building works and energy. This will mean better services that help grow the economy and connect communities.

I will also initiate a review into health and social care integration. Currently far too many health board and health and social care partnerships are reporting overspends and funding shortfalls - which suggests there is too little funding being provided to these most important of services.

Councils must also lead by example and ensure that their workers are paid and treated properly. Councils, alongside other public authorities, must be gold-standard employers in terms of the wages and conditions they provide to their employers.

In our mission to eliminate poverty, the role of councils must be recognised much more. I will do this and work closely and collaboratively at all times with my local government councillors and the trade unions.

As part of my quest to improve local government I will make us work as Team Scottish Labour with an intention to meet monthly with Labour group leaders. The default assumption of public policy should be that ‘local’ is the starting point. That’s currently not the assumption by government – I would make it so with a Labour government.

Healthcare for the 21st century
Sorting Scotland’s Mental Health Crisis

In Scotland there is a mental health crisis - reports from teachers showed that 77 per cent of them had observed signs of poverty-related mental health issues among pupils.

The scale of the numbers of people becoming ill, especially our young people, is an indictment on wider society - as is how we look after and treat them when they become ill. Scotland needs a vision where mental health really is given the same parity and is prioritised in exactly the same way as those people treated with physical illnesses.

Mental health should be given parity of esteem with how we treat physical illness. The Scottish Government says it supports this aim but as usual with the SNP their warm words and rhetoric do not match the reality of their actions.

Having this level of ambition on responding to mental health means training many more staff, but also challenging the social issues that are so often found to impact on mental ill health – including poverty, social exclusion, lack of jobs and opportunities. In order to reach this parity with physical health, we must also ensure that mental health support is not limited to medication and that access to quality therapy is secured.
My overriding mission is to tackle poverty and inequality, to provide hope and end the feelings of helplessness felt by so many of our young people. This will in turn help tackle the root causes of mental illnesses. There is little doubt that prevention is better than cure.

To improve mental health services across Scotland, I promise to:
• Review the level of funding given to mental health services for young people with a view to increasing the funding allocated.
• Ring-fence mental health budgets and ensure that funding reaches the frontline.
• Ensure that there are mental health professionals throughout our health service, from primary care settings to A&E departments.
• Adopt a ‘whole school approach’ to improve the mental health of our children and young people.
• Guarantee access to a school-based counsellor for every pupil in Scotland. Access to school-based counselling is key to early intervention in mental health, and has the potential to transform the wellbeing and mental health of our young people.
• Restore the bursaries for educational psychologists, reverse the decimation of the educational psychology workforce and make sure that young people in education receive the help they need. It is an absolutely flawed logic to cut the bursary, which has resulted in fewer educational psychologists, at the same time as more children are being identified with additional support needs.

• Develop a programme of mental health training for all staff in schools and those involved in delivering education.
• Allow children and young people to stay in specialist services until the age of 25, to ensure that they are getting the support they need in the transition to adulthood.
• Back equal protection of children under the law, by protecting children against physical punishment – the evidence shows that physical punishment has long-term negative effects on mental health and wellbeing, and the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child is clear that any legal provision which allow any violent punishment of children should be repealed. There are already 52 countries around the world which have introduced equal protection for children.
• Support a ban on so-called ‘mosquito’ devices, which emit a high-pitched noise that can only be heard by young people. Far from reducing anti-social behaviour, these devices are indiscriminate and harmful to the wellbeing of young people. They have no place in Scotland’s public places.
• Support the introduction of compulsory Personal and Social Education in schools which is fully inclusive of LGBTI equality issues, as called for by the Time for Inclusive Education (TIE) campaign.
• Conduct a full, swift review of rejected referrals to CAMHS to establish why 17,000 children were rejected from CAMHS in the last three years, and what is happening to these young people when they are turned away from statutory services.

• Compel the Mental Health Minister to give a yearly report to Parliament on the state of the nation’s mental health and update MSPs on the progress of the Government’s ten year mental health strategy.

Strengthening workplace rights

To make Scotland fairer and more equal, to help grow our economy and to help abolish poverty we must create more work and make work for our people much fairer and safer than it currently is.

That means the reinstatement of full and fulfilling employment as a goal of public policy. It means we need to invest in our people, our communities, industries and public services and sharing the wealth of our country more equally.

We should also spread the ownership of wealth around much more than we are at the moment. The people, who create our country’s wealth, should have a fairer share of the wealth they create. They should also be given the opportunity to own the wealth they create if, for example, the company they work for is to be closed or sold-off.

According to the Child Poverty Action Group in Scotland today 70% of our children who are considered poor live in households where at least one parent is working; once again we need to ensure that work is the pathway out of poverty.

This is simply unacceptable in a country that is one of the wealthiest in the world.
People in Scotland are desperate for hope. They are desperate to be treated better and more fairly at work. They are also seeking a more equitable economy and society. People want to liberate themselves from feeling powerless in their workplaces. They want unfairness, poverty and inequality tackled. They want an economy that works for the many, and not just a privileged few at the top.

They want a radical change to the unequal society in which the richest 1% in Scotland own more personal wealth than the whole of the bottom 50% put together. This is quite simply wrong: our country’s wealth must be more equally shared.

From day one of my leadership, I will make sure there is real and radical change that challenges an economic orthodoxy, which has undermined and weakened organised labour, reduced wages and security at work.

The Scottish Government is not making the most of its £11 billion of purchasing power. I shall constantly challenge the SNP to make full use of procurement to improve workers’ pay and conditions. Public sector contractors’ corporate social responsibility statements need to be more than a tick box exercise.

Political pressure is needed to create real and sustained change with respect to procurement. This can be utilised to future-proof Scotland for an increasingly automated world. It can be used to address glaring imbalances caused by occupational segregation. One clear example is the need to properly value and properly reward those, predominantly women workers, caring for the vulnerable.

A social conscience is needed at the heart of procurement; I will challenge the SNP on this and expose their empty excuses when they say they cannot use procurement to drive up standards because of EU rules. Flexible workplace rules have been lauded by some but a flexible workforce means far too many workers suffer perpetual insecurity at work with all the uncertainty that this brings to their lives and families. Using procurement, the Scottish Government must seek to make work more secure, pay the living wage and address occupational segregation.

I want greater rights for working people and will always encourage much greater equality in the workplace whilst also tackling insecurity at work and improvements in the pay and conditions of working people. I will work with the Labour team at Westminster to achieve this, whilst at the same time I will seek to use the powers of the Scottish Parliament to make the lives of working people better. History shows us that it has always been the Labour Party working with the trade unions and wider Labour movement that has always delivered progress for working people.

It is that alliance of our industrial and political wings that will once again transform the lives of working people through greater rights and protection at work. A more equal distribution of wealth and power in our country and the creation of new, better paid and more secure employment through a massive investment in housing and other infrastructure and in our industries.

When Scottish Labour leader and then First Minister I pledge to:

- Make Full Employment a central goal of public policy once more.
- I will ensure a values-led public procurement strategy, only awarding public contracts to organisations that meet minimum standards. We will award public contracts only to organisations that meet standards like no blacklists, no zero hours contracts, Fair Tax Mark holders, with commitments to apprenticeships, pay ratios, tackling occupational segregation, paying at least the Living Wage and trade union recognition.
- Tackle the gender pay gap by transforming the gender composition and addressing the imbalances in occupational segregation through the true value of the 5 Cs: caring, cleaning, catering, clerical and cashiering.
- Create tens of thousands of good quality, trade union jobs through a massive social house-building programme and ensure that gender segregation is addressed via procurement by setting targets for contractors, as well as creating apprenticeships.
- Give workers a statutory right to own their own workplace on a cooperative basis and so own the wealth that they themselves create when/if the company they work for is being sold-off or closed-down.
- Introduce the Unison Ethical Care Charter and make sure staff in the care sector are valued in the way they should be with good pay, fair terms and conditions and with pathways for professional development.
• Transform Scotland into an inclusive, environmentally-sustainable investment-led economy that plans for full employment in an increasingly automated future.
• Defend and increase collective bargaining and sectoral bargaining processes in Scotland.
• Review pay ratios in the public sector as well as through procurement to ensure the same applies to companies bidding for public contracts, with a view to reducing pay differentials between workers and senior management.
• Implement the Scottish Labour commitment to ban unpaid internships and training places, which provide an unfair advantage to those who can afford to work without pay.
• Support the Unite the Union Hospitality Workers Charter.
• Give the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority the same powers to arrest in Scotland as in the rest of the UK.

I will support and work alongside the Labour team at Westminster and together we will:
• Introduce a real living wage of £10 for all – benefitting nearly half a million Scottish workers.
• Abolish zero hours contracts, benefitting 60,000 people in Scotland.
• Repeal the Trade Union Act and roll out sectoral collective bargaining – because the most effective way to maintain good rights at work is collectively through a union.
• Guarantee trade unions a right to access workplaces – so that trade unions can speak to members and potential members.
• End the public sector pay cap – because public sector workers deserve a pay rise after years of falling wages.
• Double paid paternity leave to four weeks and increase paternity pay – because fathers are parents too and deserve to spend more time with their new babies.
• Strengthen protections for women against unfair redundancy – because no one should be penalised for having children.

Healthier, safer workplaces
• In light of Brexit we need to review the funding and operation of the Health & Safety Executive and consider the case for a Scottish HSE.
• Whatever the formation of a future HSE I will promote a right of workplace access and inspection for trade union health & safety representatives, especially in those particularly dangerous industries such as oil & gas, agriculture and construction.
• I will change the 2007 Corporate Homicide Act and deliver legislation that gives the families of victims a genuine possibility of justice through prosecutions ensuring that the law serves as a deterrent to corner cutting and risky practices from employers.
• I will change Fatal Accident Inquiries (FAIs). The current FAI system is outdated and does not support nor engage with families at a time when they need to be heard and they need justice.

Equality and representation
We are the party of equality: we will work to build a society free from all forms of sexism, homophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, discrimination against disabled people and bigotry and prejudice in all their forms.
• I will ensure that women and diverse communities are fairly represented on Scotland’s public boards and in other public appointments.
• We need to ensure a zero-tolerance approach to violence, bullying and discrimination based on sexuality and gender in Scottish society. As leader I would fully support the TIE campaign focused on tackling homophobia, biphobia and transphobia in all of our society but particularly their fantastic work in combating bullying in schools and would support LGBTI inclusive education throughout Scotland’s schools.
• I will work with groups such as the Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights to further their excellent work to eliminate racial discrimination and promote racial justice across Scotland.
Union membership among the BAME community is consistently lower in Scotland than other parts of the UK – I will fight to ensure better trade union access in workplaces.

I will establish a review looking into the often under-reported conditions BAME workers face in Scotland - this work would be in partnership with wider organisations, such as STUC.

I will work with national and local disability organisations to ensure better access into work, training and apprenticeships - with an aim to improving the employment rate for adults classified as disabled under the Equality Act was which currently stands at 42.9% compared to 80.1% not classified as disabled.

I will work to rebalance the gender gap via quotas in educational institutions.

I will work to rebalance the gender gaps through targeted use of quotas in modern apprenticeships where there is a high level of occupational segregation such as in social care and construction.

I will end the scourge of zero hours contracts and insecure work that has also disproportionately affected the BAME community.

I will work to ensure justice sought for workers who have experienced discrimination, whether that is women waiting on the settlement of historical equal pay claims, former miners or blacklisted construction workers.

A renaissance in public ownership

Public ownership and control over our essential public goods and services can lead the fight for social and environmental progress.

The predominance of private ownership in the provision of public goods and services is now widely seen as problematic, driving greater private accumulation and a relentless transfer of money from the public sector straight into the coffers of private companies, the erosion of democratic control and lost oversight of our industries, utilities, transport and other public goods and services.

Over the years this has taken on different forms and does not always mean full privatisation. Partial privatisation such as the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) and other forms of Public Private Partnerships (PPP) and the Non-Profit Distributing (NPD) model have become commonplace.

That is why we now need a renaissance of public ownership. Not for its own sake but because public ownership means greater accountability and planning for better services based on public need rather than market forces.

Public ownership can take different forms and it need not be that public ownership solely resembles a monopolistic monolithic state enterprise. Community, workers co-operatives and municipal form of ownership can comfortably work alongside national corporations.

Whatever the form of public ownership, it can have a positive impact on democratising and redistributing wealth and decision making. Developing new forms of ownership can also address the failures of privatisation and lead to greater long term investment and planning, for example helping to deal with the exponential rise in automation and ensure that technological change works in the interests of, rather than punishes, working people.

Developing public ownership represents a comprehensive and fundamental change, but it is a radical change which is a Labour change and a popular change.

Under my leadership I will:

• Initiate an urgent and comprehensive review of how we fund our public projects and infrastructure so that it does not provide a cash bonanza to absentee shareholders. Our public services are there to serve the Scottish public not the balance sheets of financiers.

• Commit to signing no new PFI or NPD deals, to look to bring existing contracts back in-house and to develop alternative public sector models for funding infrastructure, saving the public money and improving services and working conditions.

• I will ‘in-source’ health services, ending the creeping privatisation of health services.

• Work proactively with councils to develop municipal ownership in policy areas like buses, social care, building and energy.
MY PLAN FOR REAL CHANGE FOR SCOTLAND

• Conduct a comprehensive root and branch review of social care, with a view to increasing publicly owned care provision.
• Create an Industrial Reform and Common Ownership Act to give workers a statutory preferential right to buy an enterprise when it is up for sale or facing closure.
• Support the development of cooperatives and place Cooperative Development Scotland on a statutory footing.
• Establish a Public Common Good Fund that would help support the development of cooperatives.
• Continue to Campaign against the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) because of its potential to drive privatisation in public services and undermine democracy.
• Campaign Against the Canadian European Trade Agreement (CETA), which has the exactly the same potential as TTIP to potential to drive privatisation in public services and undermine democracy.
• Legislate to introduce a law that that prohibits any future Scottish Government from privatising Scottish Water.
• I will take train services back into public ownership at the earliest opportunity.

Women and equality

Our party should be proud of what we have achieved on gender equality. It is Labour that created gender balance mechanisms, increased maternity pay and introduced the Equalities Act - but the fight is far from over, which is why I am fully committed to the five key goals Scottish Women’s Voice.

Women know all too well power imbalances, whether it’s in the home, at work, or, in society. Therefore, I do not intend to make a tokenistic offer that fails to address the powerlessness that many women face in their daily lives.

The pursuit of equal pay and a Living Wage have been central to my work in the labour movement.

It is vital that policy makers understand the economy and society from women’s perspectives; consequently, having women candidates in at least half of the winnable seats is essential. This is why within the Labour Party, I was arguing for AWS over twenty years ago, at a time when the very idea was still deemed contentious and I have argued the benefits of having our Holyrood lists topped by women.

I believe that if the Scottish Parliament had 50:50 since its opening many issues would have been addressed by now as economic priorities. My good friend, Monica Lennon MSP, is successfully pushing the Scottish Government on period poverty. Diversity enriches our priorities and policy making. This is why I have made a commitment to invest in a talent academy which will focus on developing future candidates and activists who are women, BAME, LGBTI and/or disabled not just when there is an election, but all year round.

The trade union movement has a history of elevating the voice of women workers, but women remain under-represented and underpaid. Occupational gender segregation is at the heart of gender inequality. High levels of segregation are a significant factor in the discrepancy between the wages of women and men, the majority of the care, cleaning or administration workforce are women and they are undervalued and underpaid. This must change. Today, in Scotland
women make up over two thirds of part-time workers, yet the pay gap in part-time work for women is a staggering 32% compared to men’s full hourly time earnings. We must strive to do more, both within the practices of our Party and through our policy making to create a more equal Scotland.

So, I pledge to:
• Implement at least 50:50 in all marginal parliamentary and council selections.
• Deliver an annual Scottish Labour women’s conference with policy making powers.
• Prioritise childcare as an economic policy as it needs wholesale transformation to be flexible, affordable and properly reward workers.
• Properly value the contribution made by unpaid carers: the pledge to raise Carers’ Allowance to the Jobseeker’s Allowance rate is a step forward but more needs to be done.
• End the scourge of period poverty - supporting calls to end the huge mark-up on vending machines and investigating all opportunities to address the stigma and inequalities that still persist in relation to menstruation.
• Work to address the gender gap in subject choices at school and beyond by creating a Gender Equality Training Standard for current and new teachers: this tool will be developed by those passionate educators already leading on this and will support teachers to eliminate gender bias in the classroom, allowing boys and girls to have the widest possible ambitions.
• Work to rebalance the gender gaps through targeted use of gender quotas in modern apprenticeships where there is a high level of occupational segregation such as social care and construction.
• Push for the current bill on gender equality on public boards to have a real impact on women’s representation by including mandatory public reporting and non-compliance sanctions.

Scotland in the world
As this manifesto has shown, from CETA to to climate change, Scotland must take its place in the world as a progressive voice.

Europe
I did not just vote to Remain inside the European Union; I campaigned for us to Remain inside the European Union. And I have not changed my mind. But we have to respect the outcome of the referendum. For me that is a matter of democratic principle.

The key test for me now is how tough and uncompromising are we on the deal: I will personally be tough, uncompromising and principled on the deal. The Tories’ approach under David Davis, Boris Johnson and Theresa May has been a diplomatic and negotiating disaster. If it continues in this vein - and if this Tory Brexit deal is a detrimental deal for jobs and the Scottish economy, for our manufacturing base, for workers’ rights, equal rights and the protection of our environment; and if the rights of EU citizens living and working here are not safeguarded - then we should without question reject the Tory Brexit deal when it is brought before the UK Parliament. These are my red lines.

Peace and co-operation
My vision is for Scotland to be a country working for peace and co-operation in the world – a beacon in the age of Trump.

When a Donald Trump state visit to the UK was first proposed earlier this year, reports suggested that he will head to Scotland. Now it is proposed that he will come to the UK but not as a state visit. Either way, under my leadership, Scottish Labour - working with trade unions and other campaigning organisations - would be at forefront of opposing a visit by Donald Trump to Scotland. We would ensure huge opposition and protests to it.

We will set the opposite course to Trump: action on climate change; working for equality for all, against racism, sexism and all forms of discrimination; and promoting peace and co-operation.
Arts and culture

I believe that a thriving arts sector, together with a properly-resourced and independent media sector, is a necessary prerequisite for economic and social justice to flourish throughout Scotland.

I acknowledge the significant economic impact of the creative industries in Scotland, generating over £3bn annually and employing almost 70,000 people, whilst recognising that the contribution of cultural activity towards social cohesion and community well-being far exceeds its direct economic and employment benefits. However, I am concerned at the increasing inequalities in terms of access to the arts and the economic and social barriers that exist which prevent those from more deprived communities gaining access to the arts, both as performers and as audience members.

The most recent Scottish Household Survey provides evidence that engagement, attendance and participation in culture is not evenly distributed across the population and that inequality appears to be widening.

I will, therefore, take appropriate steps to ensure that policy and funding support greater and more equitable engagement in cultural activities throughout Scotland:

• Increasing access to creative arts education

  Access to creative arts institutions across Britain has become more expensive for Scottish students, resulting in those from the greatest disadvantage missing out on securing a place. We will set up a Scottish Government scholarship fund that gives 100 students from disadvantaged backgrounds free tuition, to organisations within the UK, but outside of Scotland. This will mean that we are investing in the future of Scottish talent.

• Ensuring opportunities for all

  In agreement with Jeremy Corbyn’s manifesto commitment that every student should be able to develop their creativity at school, they should have the opportunity to learn an instrument, participate in drama, dance and have regular ability to attend a theatre, gallery or museum in their local area, including increasing spending on arts and cultural funding by at least £13m, plus any Barnett consequential that come from the implantation of Labour’s recent proposals.

• Reduce the financial barrier to becoming involved in the arts

  There are many excellent youth and adult creative arts groups across Scotland that offer training and performance opportunities. For younger students these opportunities help to shape their ambitions, however there is often an annual fee associated with taking part.

  Currently there is limited funding available for those who would like to join in these activities and training opportunities. I will introduce funding for every local authority in Scotland to create a ‘Creative Community Fund’ that will enable talented individuals, from disadvantaged backgrounds, to obtain the necessary funding to pay fees and costs.

• Free music tuition at every school

  There is a postcode lottery for music tuition across Scotland; it is unfair that some students have limited access to music tuition, whilst others have much greater opportunities. I want to ensure a fairer framework for every student undertaking a music qualification at secondary school. This will result in learning an instrument for free. I will work with the Musicians’ Union and Educational Institute of Scotland to ensure that music teachers and music tuition is fully supported in our schools.

• Creating access to a musical instrument programme

  The introduction of a fund which purchases and distributes musical instruments to every primary school would ensure enhanced enjoyment of music. National Association for Music Education research has shown that music helps to engage with students, which can shape abilities and character. An enjoyable subject, such as learning music, can keep children interested and engaged in school activities.

• Fair pay for artists

  All companies, organisations and individuals in receipt of public funding will be required to commit to paying employees a real living wage, as a minimum, and to pay proper trade union rates where appropriate. This will be a requirement of receipt of public funding.
End exploitative zero-hour contracts

The creative industries are large users of zero-hour staffed contracts, especially within the gig/festival economy. These arrangements are detrimental to individuals' financial stability and are frequently exploitative. Work uncertainty, with no contractual obligations, is an outdated concept that needs immediate action to ensure work and payment security for all employees. I will remove the right for an employer to hire staff on zero-hour contracts, including on temporary arrangements.

Of course, many artists and performers work in the so-called ‘gig economy’ and this is appropriate for them to do so. I will seek to reshape such arrangements to ensure that they are underpinned by a greater fairness, with appropriate obligations on those employing such artists, where this is relevant.

Trade Union rights

All public art organisations receiving funding assistance from the public purse should ensure there are procedures in place to allow employees and artists the opportunity to join a recognised trade union of their choice. This will enable employees and artists the right to seek advice of a trade union and be represented in any dispute with their employer.

Investing in our libraries

Scottish public libraries have been in existence for over 150 years and have seen many changes. Whilst the traditional arrangements of lending physical books and providing research opportunities has evolved there is still a need to continue to invest in centres that provide openings for local people and representatives from the business community to work in partnership. Through joint investment libraries can become centres of excellence for meeting spaces, computer hubs, Wi-Fi hot spots, exhibition space, communication on community engagement and book lending.

I am in agreement with the findings of the informed research carried out on ‘A Strategy for Public Libraries in Scotland’ and will promote increased support to fulfil the vision and ambitions of the National Strategy for Public Libraries in Scotland.

Crime, justice and the emergency services

Our emergency services are under continual pressure from cuts and unsafe working conditions. On top of unprecedented cuts, one in three emergency workers in Scotland is subjected to alcohol-related violence or abuse at work.

We have seen firefighter numbers cut by at least 1,000 across Scotland, cuts to policing staff due to the SNP Government's reforms and the Scottish Ambulance Service has been stripped to the core. This is unsustainable.

The number one priority for police in Scotland should be keeping people safe. The answer of how we best do this, will not be found in cuts. Despite what the SNP might say, there has been a loss of front line officers who have had to fill in for the cuts they have made to office staff. This has led to frontline police officers being forced to spend more time behind desks than on our streets. This is not best for Police Scotland or our communities.

Our police force should represent the community that they serve. Only one per cent of police officers in Scotland classify themselves as BAME. It is woeful that this figure has remained unchanged since 2010 and with religiously targeted hate crime up by 14 per cent, we must and address this massive under-representation of ethnic minorities by working with Scottish BAME communities and the police to improve the diversity of Police Scotland.

The merger with British Transport Police was carried out without the support of the workforce through their unions and other stakeholders. That was why I spoke out against it and forced Transport Minister Humza Yousaf to make an apology to Parliament for falsely claiming it was an SNP manifesto pledge. It has been forced through without any certainty that the capacity is in place to ensure this merger is a success.
The SNP Government failed to take into account that rail safety is not just a political principle, it is a public necessity. We should have retained a single trans-UK British Transport Police as a highly skilled, railway dedicated, cross-border, national force.

Despite the welcome introduction of Clare’s Law there were still 59,000 incidents of domestic abuse reported to Police Scotland in 2016-17; that is an appalling average of one every nine minutes. Although men can be the victims of domestic violence, this crime predominantly impacts women - this is on top of the disturbing number of unreported sexual harassment and assaults that women have been subjected to as part of their everyday lives. Not only should Police Scotland be properly resourced and trained to tackle these crimes, but by extending the existing Hate Crime laws to specifically include Violence Against Women and Girls, we will aim to improve reporting, remove the sexual focus of abuse against women, raise awareness of VAWG and send a clear message that gender based violence should not be tolerated in Scottish society.

Over the last three years, the fire brigade in Scotland has lost 1,000 jobs as a result of SNP cuts - with further threats to jobs and closures of fire stations across Scotland planned in the SNP’s future reforms. When it comes to the fire and rescue service, the priority must be to ensure that they have the resources to carry out their demanding job of protecting all communities across Scotland, including our rural areas but also that firefighters can do so safely.

Access to justice is a vital part of any fair and civilised society. The political will of the Scottish Government should set the tone for the type of society we want to live in. We cannot continue with a situation where injustices remain unresolved for decades. The wounds and scars from the historic injustice of the Miners’ Strike of 1984-85 still run deep through whole communities but are most painfully felt in the families affected, many of whom have been left with lasting financial and emotional scars. That is why an inquiry into the Miners’ Strike is vital - not just to the miners and their families, but to all communities affected and to ensure that incidents like this never happen again.

The cuts to legal-aid have had a severe impact on legal practices and led to significant job cuts and moreover have been a further barrier to the most vulnerable in our society from seeking the legal assistance they require.

The Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications Act introduced by the SNP is a poorly constructed piece of legislation which strains relations between the police and football fans across Scotland. It has been widely criticised by the legal community, football fans and organisations like Liberty. Under my leadership, Scottish Labour would continue to push for the repeal of the Act and instead explore positive and more effective ways of eradicating sectarianism from all realms of our society and not just football.

The SNP Government was wrong to ignore the British Veterinary Association, the Dogs Trust and other animal welfare charities in reintroducing the outdated and unnecessary practice of tail-docking puppies when they are days old. Scotland once led the way on animal welfare and under my leadership Scottish Labour will seek to reverse this backwards step. That is what the majority of people in Scotland wish to see.

Under my leadership, Scottish Labour will:

• Ensure that Police are properly resourced and trained to deal with gender based violence and domestic violence.
• Extend current Hate Crime legislation to include violence against women and girls (VAWG).
• Ensure local authorities are fully resourced to deliver services in communities which have suffered as a result of years of austerity such as, rape crisis centres, refuges and making sure that councils can provide dedicated domestic violence liaison officers.
• We will address this massive under representation of ethnic minorities by working with Scottish BAME communities and the police to improve the diversity of Police Scotland.
• Commit a Scottish Labour Government to initiate a Holyrood led inquiry into the Miners’ Strike of 1984-85.
• If the current SNP Government continue to fail to act on a Miners’ Strike Inquiry - as Scottish Labour leader, I will work with our former mining communities to support a public-led inquiry.

• Support the current Labour campaign to repeal the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications Act and continue to explore positive and more effective ways of eradicating sectarianism from all realms of our society and not just football.

• Support Labour’s Protect the Protectors Bill to ensure that our emergency service workers are better protected at work by creating tougher penalties for attacks on emergency service workers.

• Campaign against the current Scottish Government’s wide ranging cuts to the fire and rescue service.

• Campaign for a reform of legal aid to ensure everyone has an equal opportunity to access legal services when they need it most, recognising that the system needs to be overhauled to ensure that smaller law firms also get the support they need.

Action on climate change, investing in our environment

Investing in our environment is crucial to delivering a healthier, cleaner and more prosperous Scotland. Real Change means ensuring we push for bold environmental protections, set ambitious targets and ensure we take a societal approach, from investing in renewables to delivering warmer, more energy efficient housing.

Tackling climate change & protecting our environment

• Ensure the delivery of major investment in better, warm, energy efficient housing – improving the energy efficiency of our homes is the single most effective way to end fuel poverty, whilst also cutting emissions and creating more jobs.

• We currently have the opportunity to set ambitious and world-leading emissions cutting targets in Scotland. I will work with stakeholders across Scottish civic society from environmental groups to the trade unions to agree radical targets which are not only achievable, but have a plan in place for achieving them.

• Create a National Energy Company to facilitate and expand community, cooperative and municipal energy generation and that also builds in democratic control of our energy sector. Surpluses will be used to reinvest in infrastructure and tackle fuel poverty by keeping energy bills down.

• Plan to create thousands of well-paid jobs, based upon a new industrial strategy which centres the green and renewable energy sectors, while slashing energy bills and pollution. This will transform Scotland into an inclusive, environmentally-sustainable investment-led economy that plans for full employment in an increasingly automated future.

• Support methods of ‘active travel’ such as walking and cycling through more investment in our transport infrastructure. Not only will encouraging more people to walk and cycle reduce carbon emissions, it helps contribute to a healthier society.