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FOR LEADER

2018 Labour Leadership

Manifesto

21st Century Socialism

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Mark Drakeford

21st Century Socialism

I have put myself forward to serve my country and my party because I passionately believe our most radical days are ahead of us. I want to lead a Government that pushes the boundaries of the Assembly's powers to help people fulfil their potential.

Being in power is an opportunity, not a right. We must use every day we have, and every lever we have, to make Wales a more equal, fair and just society.

As a Party we have to earn every vote which is cast for Labour in Wales.

In this document I set out a detailed plan for re-energising Welsh Labour with fresh initiatives in every major policy area. These ideas reflect the radical tradition of Welsh socialism and apply these principles to 21st Century Wales.



ECONOMY

The most effective way out of poverty, the best route to fulfilled lives, and the impact on health and well-being, comes through the creation of worthwhile, properly rewarded employment. A vibrant, socially-just economy is the engine which provides for quality public services, available to all. To every democratic socialist, an economy geared to meet the needs of the many is the foundation of what we mean by a good society.

The deliberate increase in inequality, inherent in the new-liberal economic model, has been the headwind in the face of all Welsh Governments especially since 2010. Our economic policy, set out in the Welsh Government's economic action plan, has tackling inequalities at its heart, because more equal societies have faster and fairer growth.

We need to be clear about the part which the Welsh Government can, and cannot, play in economic development. Our economy operates in the context of powerful, global market forces, the fiscal strategy of the UK government and the regulation – or otherwise – of supra national companies and institutions. But, we in Wales are far from powerless. Devolved government must step in where there is market or institutional failure, in order to create the conditions in which prosperity for all can be created. That means focusing on the infrastructure – physical and digital - which helps 'crowd-in' private investment, and equipping people with the skills and training needed to make the very most of their talents and abilities. Where government does more – fostering innovation, helping indigenous firms to grow, attracting inward investment and tapping the potential of its power of purchase – that has to be on the basis of a shared purpose and a common partnership for inclusive growth.

We cannot settle for the Brexiteers' vision of a UK where employment is high, but skills and pay are low. We know that, with productivity per hour worked being the lowest in Wales of any part of the UK (and the UK's productivity being the lowest in the G7), we are especially vulnerable to a hard-line, crash-out Brexit. We have to use infrastructure and skills to raise productivity, just as we have to move away from the 'take, make, dispose' linear economy model towards a circular economy – and my ambitions set out for the environment show just how urgent that need has become. A circular economy minimises the share of the world's resources we take by reducing waste and emissions. Reuse, repair, recycle.

A circular economy is not predicated on a reduction in the living standards of today's citizens, nor on loss of revenue or extra costs for today's manufacturers. It does require a change in thinking and action for both, but those are all achievable.

A key lever we have in Wales is ethical procurement, both at the Assembly and in local government. We will raise the profile and the capacity of our procurement profession. The days are over when procurement was simply a matter of purchasing at the lowest price. Today's procurement professionals not only manage huge sums of public money, but the outcomes required are of an entirely different order: securing fair work practices throughout the supply chain, ensuring community benefits, including developing the skills needed for the future, providing best-value outcomes for local economies.

PRINCIPLES

A shift in the relationship between government and business from co-existence to collaboration.

A something-for-something relationship in which direct financial support for businesses is predicated on a return on that investment, through promotion of health in the workplace, investment in skills, progress in reducing carbon footprints and promotion of fair work. Equality at the heart of our economic agenda.

PROPOSALS

1. Promoting equality through the fair work agenda of the real living wage and closing the gender pay gap.
2. Redesign the way in which government invests in economic growth, so that public investment has a social purpose and a commitment to equality, and so provides a return to the public purse.
3. Reassert the right to life-long learning, investing in the skills which people need throughout their working lives.
4. Simplify the system of providing financial support for business, including start-ups, micro-businesses and small and medium size enterprises, [ensuring that applications for help are allocated to a named individual, and resolved in a timely fashion].
5. Safeguard and enhance those employment rights secured through our membership of the European Union.
6. Use whatever new flexibilities are derived from leaving the European Union to help Welsh-based companies to compete successfully for contracts.
7. Invest in a new pan-Wales public sector training programme for ethical procurement, making sure that skill levels of existing staff meet today's needs and creating the professionals of the future.
8. Raise the status of the procurement profession by addressing the skills deficit and greater regional working.
9. Institute an annual review of existing PFI contracts across the Welsh public sector, to buy out those contracts where that provides a better outcome for the public purse.

A DIGITAL WALES

Wales led the way in developing the NHS, and I want us to lead the way in creating public services for the 21st century. Developments in digital are transforming our expectations about how we access services in all fields. We need to ensure that public services aren't left behind. As First Minister, I will publish a digital strategy that sets out how we will harness the power of automation and AI for the public good in Wales. My Government will place digital inclusion at the forefront of our work, ensuring that all Welsh citizens are connected and engaged.

Wales is of a size that allows us to exploit economies of scale whilst retaining agility. We've seen the benefits in NHS Wales where hospital staff can access documents, results and GP records from anywhere across Wales. Safety for patients is improved, as is the quality of care, while for staff there are no retraining costs as people move from one organisation to another. Soon, the same national approach will be implemented to link up Health and Social Care systems in all parts of Wales. It is what we mean by 'Once for Wales', a unique set of advantages which we will put at the heart of the Digital Strategy. We need to ensure this approach is emulated across the public services.

The fourth industrial revolution offers Welsh businesses opportunity to be at the cutting edge. My government will work in a social partnership with business to identify where Wales has an advantage - with the ambition of becoming world leaders in the application of AI in these fields.

PRINCIPLES

Automation and Artificial Intelligence are going to bring big changes to the workplace. Any role involving repetitive tasks, across all industries, risk being automated. Our role is to see new technologies as a means to free up people to do things that machines can't. We need to make sure we provide new jobs for the future and encourage companies to redeploy people whose tasks are taken over by A.I so that their knowhow and creativity can be harnessed to develop their businesses, and support front line services.

PROPOSALS

Harnessing Artificial Intelligence

1. Commission an analysis of where Wales has the opportunity to lead innovation in the application of artificial intelligence
2. Set up a Big Data unit to work in partnership with Welsh Universities and public services to use data analysis to improve performance
3. Precision agriculture offers a significant opportunity to reshape farming and food production post-Brexit. I will develop a strategy with Universities and Further Education colleges to develop the application and production of new approaches that we can apply and export.

World-class connectivity

1. Building on the successes of Superfast Cymru, launch a new programme to coordinate connectivity and 5G projects
2. Consider planning powers, like requiring full fibre to the home for all new developments, to enhance connectivity in the future
3. Ensure access to quality digital infrastructure in Wales social housing
4. Working with Local Government to enhance public wifi to assist those who live, work and visit Wales
5. Support a new generation of smart infrastructure through major combined procurements

More user-designed services

1. Using a social partnership model, work with business to identify where new methods and technology can improve public services
 2. Explore new civic platforms to engage citizens and communities better
 3. Promote more diversity in tech to address inequality
 4. Leadership in design and common digital standards to put users at the heart of what public services do
 5. Develop new approaches to digital inclusion to support Welsh citizens access to public services, releasing people from routine tasks that can be automated to do face-to-face work helping people gain the skills and confidence to access services digitally.
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A new deal for data

1. Launch a programme to increase data sharing and collaboration between public services, for the good of Welsh citizens.
 2. Build on a Wales-wide cyber security strategy to coordinate responses to cyber-threats to businesses, public services and citizens.
 3. Strengthen data rights and accountability to build trust in how public data is used.
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Enhance digital leadership and skills

1. Enhance digital and data leadership to make public services more open to innovation.
 2. Develop workforce digital capability, building on the work on skills currently being undertaken by Professor Phil Brown for the Welsh Government.
 3. Support computing skills and the digital talent pipeline from early years onwards.
 4. Recognise the role of cultural institutions engaging citizens in the digital world.
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5. Work to ensure that no citizen is left behind as we embrace a digital first approach. Digital inclusion will be at the heart of all we deliver.
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Improve Wales-wide collaboration

1. Use a social partnership model to support common capabilities and standards for future innovation
 2. Work with Chief Digital Officers across Welsh public services to ensure best practice is shared
 3. Collaborate with other nations and regions in the UK and globally to adopt and share what works
 4. Promote MedTech innovation in the NHS and social care to improve treatment and patient outcomes. We can build on some of the leading work in Wales applying artificial intelligence to diagnostics and treatment.
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FOUNDATIONAL ECONOMY

Recent insights, produced particularly by Welsh economists, have produced a new focus upon that large part of our economy which is devoted to meeting the everyday or 'mundane' needs of Welsh citizens. In some parts of Wales this basic 'foundational economy' is the economy. For example, those who provide care services, build the houses we live in, or ensure our transport flowing, or keep water coming out of our taps, or food in the shops through our expanding food and drink industry, are examples of the foundational economy - those basic services on which every citizen relies and which keep us safe, sound and civilised.

Unlike many companies in a globalised economy, foundational services tend to remain where they are rooted. The need for supply is inherently local in nature. The supply of services depends upon local availability of workers and local resources such as land and planning approvals. Demand for foundational services also tends to be relatively 'inelastic', where need, rather than price or even income, remains the dominant factor.

During the most prolonged period of austerity in our history aggressive cost cutting has contributed to low wages and precarious employment, with particular impacts on women in the workplace. In the foundational economy this often simply drives costs elsewhere, for example in the need to advertise, interview and train new entrants in areas of high staff turn over.

Foundational services also respond to collective forms of consumption, by mobilising different aspects of collective effort. Care services depend upon training, regulation and inspection services which are provided by the public. The roads and railways which take tourists to Welsh destinations are built or funded by public investment.

PRINCIPLES

We need a balanced economy, in which the significance of collective goods is properly recognised, and in which we guard, all the time, against the dangers of private affluence and public squalor and the growing inequality which follows in its wake.

Privatisation, outsourcing and profit-skimming are not the policy instruments we choose in Wales. Long-term investment, with private and public capital, provide the best return in the non-extractive foundational economy.

Our focus needs to be upon the quality as well as the quantity of work in foundational sectors.

Foundational economic development is enriched by an asset-based approach, in which the focus is upon building upon the strengths of a community, rather than a focus on its deficits. It means beginning by asking 'what matters?' to people in particular places, rather than 'what is the matter?' with them.

PROPOSALS

1. Focus on promoting continuity of ownership for SMEs, keeping successful firms locally rooted and building a firm base of medium sized Welsh firms.
 2. Use the Development Bank for Wales to deliver "patient capital", building sustainable firms in Wales.
 3. Ask each local authority to identify local "anchor institutions" and work with them to audit their contracts to increase the value and volume of procurement from regionally-based SMEs.
 4. Establish trials in the WGs 'foundation sectors' to test different approaches to local wealth building, working with all Welsh government and sponsored bodies.
 5. Use any new freedoms created through Brexit to make greater use of procurement to build local foundational capacity. And train staff in procurement skills to maximise current potential.
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6. Use the power of procurement and public investment to secure quality services in, for example, the care sector by linking that investment to fair pay and career development.

7. 'Raise the social ask' of big businesses operating in the foundational economy, through the new Economic Contract

8. Take forward the Fair Work Commission and the steps we need to take to make Wales a fair work nation – payment of the real living wage in all companies receiving public funds as a first step.

9. Make explicit the extent to which many businesses in the foundational economy belong in the 'near-public' sector, because without very significant sums of public money they would cease to trade.

10. Take the lead in specific experimental action in particular foundational services, beginning with new action to promote cooperative provision in social care and building on our work in community owned energy.

11. Empower small housebuilders to enter the market, and where necessary deliver a new generation of social housing.

12. Develop a programme of home retrofit, delivered by SMEs, developing local skills and making us warmer, healthier and wealthier.

EUROPE

The decision to leave the European Union is bad for Wales and the United Kingdom. It will leave us poorer, our influence in the world diminished and creates new risks to our security. I support a further referendum if all else fails. The Brexit vote was about Britain regaining sovereignty, so let Parliament do its job first. If it can't settle on a way forward there should be a General Election or, if that is denied by the Tories, a fresh referendum. That was the unanimous decision by the members at the conference in Liverpool in September.

Ever since the referendum of June 2016 , the Welsh Government has been focused on the form, rather than the fact of Brexit because here real choices remain to be made. Those choices will fundamentally shape our future, both in defining Wales' relationship with the wider world, but also the future of the United Kingdom itself.

PRINCIPLES

The UK Government must make the future of our economy and of jobs its top priority in negotiations with the European Union. Where compromises have to be made, peoples' livelihoods should never be sacrificed for other considerations.

Freedom to recruit workers from other parts of the European Union, after Brexit, must not become freedom to exploit people already looking for work in Wales, by driving down wages or conditions of employment.

Wales may be leaving the European Union, but we are not leaving Europe. We must go on being an outward looking, engaged nation, remaining an active participant in the wider networks and partnerships which help shape the social and cultural life of the continent to which we belong.

Brexit must never become an excuse, in Wales, for a resurgence of hostility towards people whom we have been lucky enough to attract to make their future part of our future.

In leaving the EU, the UK Government must honour the commitment given during the referendum, that Wales will not be a penny worse off as a result of Brexit.

Many of the rights which people in Wales enjoy today – workers' rights, consumer rights, human rights and equalities – derive from our membership of the EU. Brexit must never become a cloak for rolling back those hard won benefits of citizenship.

The United Kingdom of 2019 will be fundamentally different to the United Kingdom of 1973, when we formally entered the European Economic Community, as it was then known. Welsh Labour believes in a successful future for the United Kingdom. For that to be achieved we will need to change and strengthen the ways in which the four nations of the UK come together to discharge the sovereignties which are now dispersed amongst its component parts.

PROPOSALS

1. Remain part of a customs union, with full and unfettered participation in the single market.

2. Continue to press for an approach to migration which allows Welsh businesses, public services and Universities to attract essential workers from the European Union to Wales.

3. Require stronger conditions to ensure that people coming to Wales have a job waiting for them, and new action is required to enforce existing labour protections for those who are so recruited.

4. Identify those key EU regions and partnerships with whom future governmental relationships must be secured and prioritised. Working with partners across all sectors we will develop a comprehensive international strategy to go on giving Wales a powerful voice in Europe and beyond.

5. Work with other devolved nations, new pressure must be applied to the UK Government to secure the funds which flow to Wales today from the European Union. Decisions about the use of those funds must continue to be made in Wales.

6. Honour commitments already provided that any funding received for regional economic development and rural development will continue to be used for those purposes.

7. Lead the debate across the United Kingdom about our collective futures, designing new institutional arrangements, based on the principle of parity of participation. Labour is the only Party in Wales dedicated to securing a successful, devolved Wales in a successful, devolved United Kingdom in which we remain citizens of Wales and the UK.

SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP

One of the defining characteristics of the devolution era has been the creation of new, modern relationships between Government, business and trades unions in Wales under the umbrella of social partnership. We have used our legislative powers to dis-apply UK anti trades union legislation, introduced codes of practice in respect of employment standards, established ethical supply chains, condemned the practice of blacklisting and other anti-union practices, protected agricultural workers and abolished zero hours contracts in the care sector. Working alongside the trades union and labour movement, we have taken a lead in the UK, promoting the importance of job security, decent pay and working conditions.

Yet in the circumstances of sustained austerity and the threat of a hard line Brexit we have to do even more. In-work poverty has become a defining characteristic of the post 2010 Tory era, driven on by regressive welfare and taxation policies. False self-employment, contracts vulnerable to exploitation, the gender pay gap and work place inequality: these are the visible outcrops of Margaret Thatcher's dream of a flexible, exploitable workforce. Emerging global technological changes in the form of automation and artificial intelligence add to the challenges businesses and workplaces face in the years ahead.

PRINCIPLES

The challenges we face mean that our social partnership model needs to be strengthened still further to make it fit for the future, putting equality at its heart.

Our workforce is our greatest economic asset. Investing in people through training, education, vocational pathways and apprenticeships provides the key to obtaining an even greater return from that asset in the future.

When we put in place policies to support ethical standards of employment in Wales, those standards must operate not just at contract level but all the way through the sub contract system, ensuring that terms and conditions are not overridden or watered down.

PROPOSALS

1. Provide our social partnership model with the strength of a statutory foundation. We will develop a Social Partnership Act, building on the last Labour Government's Equality Act, to put ethical standards of employment and the pursuit of equality at the core of Welsh Government economic and social policy and public service delivery.
2. Invest new resources, from within the Welsh Government, to eradicate false self-employment and gig economy devices that threaten ethical standards of employment.
3. Support proper worker participation and representation through recognised trades unions and collective bargaining.
4. Accelerate the Better Jobs Closer to Home programme, in continued partnership with the Wales TUC.
5. Take forward the Fair Work Commission to help shape the new model social partnership we need to manage the social and economic challenges of the 21st Century.



ENERGY

Whatever else we might know about the future, we can be certain that oil is running out. While technology may mean that more of this declining resource can be released, the processes for doing so can be harmful in themselves, and the resource remains finite.

PRINCIPLES

Wales should lead in the production of energy from renewables and in developing the technologies which will lead to a future of sustainable energy.

Along the way we should do everything we can to be good global citizens, reducing our carbon footprint and reducing the share of the world's resources we take for our own needs. That principle extends far beyond energy policy itself. It involves the way in which we build houses for the future. It involves the way in which we provide power to our schools and hospitals. It depends upon the way in which transport is provided in the future. And it depends crucially on persuading Welsh citizens to become active participants in the creation of a low-carbon future.

We need to do so in a way which recognises the links between energy security and energy poverty. Sustainable energy policies need to focus on the needs of those who face the greatest challenges in heating their homes and paying for fuel. The ideas set out below are a small subset of a much wider list of possibilities, constantly under development in this fast-moving policy arena.

PROPOSALS

1. The Welsh Government should make investment in renewable energy a cornerstone of its strategy for the Welsh economy. We have in abundance the raw material for the sustainable energy of the future: wind, water and waves. We must continue to invest in the technologies which will shape the future of the world in an era of energy shortage.

2. We must go beyond technological breakthrough, to equip ourselves to create the industries which these technologies will then produce. This is where the long term jobs for Wales are to be found and in parts of Wales where such employment has been in short supply.

3. That is why continued commitment to tidal lagoon technology in Wales is so important, making a further contribution to renewable energy, and creating an industry for the future.

4. Seek imaginative ways to use heat produced as a byproduct of existing activities, such as the large amount of low grade waste heat created by the Tata plant at Port Talbot and the gas fired power station in Milford Haven.

5. We must continue to take resolute action against those technologies which threaten the environment here in Wales, maintaining and where necessary strengthening our ban on fracking.

6. While it remains the policy of our Party that nuclear energy has a part to play in the future energy mix of the United Kingdom, I believe that we must be hard headed about the risks which nuclear brings. If I am elected as Labour Leader and subsequently First Minister in Wales, then I will establish an Expert Committee to advise the Welsh Government on the implications for Wales of the development of a nuclear power plant at Hinckley Point in Somerset.

7. In North Wales, the plans to develop a new nuclear plant at Wylfa on Ynys Mon must not be taken forward at the expense of the long-term prosperity of the Island.

The Welsh Government should insist on the necessary protections for the Island's tourism industry, the workforce it needs for social care, the impact on housing for local people during construction of the plant, the need for additional health services during construction and the future strength of the Welsh language. Wylfa is regarded by many local people as a vital new opportunity to invest in the local economy. The job of the Welsh Government must be to ensure that those responsible for the new development do not seize all the opportunities for themselves, leaving the local population to carry all the short and long-term costs.

8. Using the mutual model of Dwr Cymru, we will examine the case for a new Welsh Energy mutual that can encourage energy efficiency measures and help tackle fuel poverty, help consumers be aware of best tariffs, help promote local energy generation, and advise on strategic energy investment, innovation and inclusive growth.

ENVIRONMENT

Wales has some of the greatest environmental assets of any small country in the world. But under the surface all is far from well. Natural Resources Wales reported in 2016 on the threats to species, biodiversity and the impacts which this produces on water quality, air quality and the wider Welsh economy. Our basic ecosystem is in decline. We have to make it resilient again and set on a path to improvement.

In Wales we also have legislation in place which can help us to make a positive difference, and to hand on to coming generations an environment which is recovering the part it can play in a sustainable future. The Wellbeing and Future Generations Act places an obligation on us all not to over-exploit the planet we all rely upon. The principles of environmental growth offer a route to reconciling some of the historical tensions between the economy and the environment, especially in rural Wales. It means increasing the quality and productivity of our environment by investing in those activities which provide new foundations from which harmful outcomes can be avoided and the economy can grow.

All of this is powerfully set out in Brexit Our Land, maintaining but redirecting the funds currently available to create a new future for farming and the rural economy. We now need to implement that policy with urgency and determination. In doing so, the environment offers -

- New green industries in coastal energy generation
- New markets in carbon and water management
- New growth in tourism
- New opportunities for sustainable food production
- Mitigation of current costs in flood alleviation, climate change.

PROPOSALS

1. Develop an Environmental Growth Plan for Wales, halting and reversing the damage already caused to our natural environment.
2. Promote green industries which enhance, rather than damage, the environment.
3. Maximise the impact which the Plan can make on flood alleviation and tackling coastal erosion.
4. Focus on the small things which can create local, accessible green spaces: wild flower planting; changes to mowing practices by local authorities; creating meadow areas on sloping land.
5. Drinking fountains all over Wales.
6. Doubling allotments: change planning regulations about sheds. Community orchards.
7. New national forest and One Planet developments.
8. Do more to take advantage of all Wales coastal path. Reward system for completion. Stimulate businesses to attract more walkers. Create a new series of circular routes, based around the coastal path.
9. Extend smoking ban to outdoor areas of cafes and restaurants and city and town centres.
10. Better management of rights of way, more open access to land and water.

HOUSING

Decent housing ought to be a basic human right in a rich country like the UK. Yet it is a fact that such a right is denied to too many of our fellow citizens. The reason why can be traced back directly to the Thatcher administrations of the 1980s which abandoned housing as a key public responsibility, transferring instead millions and millions of pounds into the pockets of private landlords. The sale of public housing and the failure to invest in its replacement lies at the heart of the problems we face today across the housing spectrum: in street homelessness, in overcrowding and in insecure tenancies.

In Wales, Labour has a proud record in Government in developing housing policies which meet our needs: abolishing the right to buy to preserve housing stock; building more than 20,000 affordable homes in this Assembly term. But there is more to do.

PRINCIPLES

We must reaffirm good quality housing as the springboard from which individuals and families can create secure and successful futures. Decent homes create decent communities in which all can play a part and in which the contemporary challenges of loneliness and isolation can be addressed. Warm and affordable houses prevent ill-health and help children to do well in school.

We need to take advantage of new building methods and new building techniques, to build the energy-efficient housing of the future. For the vast majority, a good place to live, by itself, allows for life to be led independently. For some more vulnerable people, however, extra help will be needed to make sure that the responsibilities which come with a home can be discharged.

To do this, we need to give housing a greater policy and political profile in the Welsh Government, as set out below.

PROPOSALS

1. Appoint a Cabinet Secretary with responsibility for housing and allied matters, so that housing is represented directly at the Cabinet table where key decisions are taken.
2. Encourage the development of modular housing, building the manufacturing capacity to do so, here in Wales and remove constraints on local council housing building.
3. Press ahead with plans for a vacant land tax, to tackle land banking and release land for housing and regeneration. Use financial transaction capital to bring forward supplies of land in the right places for housing.
4. Deliver legislation to ban tenant fees in the private rented sector.
5. Align housing and planning responsibilities, allowing councils to work together more flexibly across boundaries to provide housing for local populations.
6. Work with LHBs to utilise land in their ownership for social care and housing.
7. Provide a place for housing associations on Regional Partnership Boards, to raise the profile of housing in health and social care and secure the investments needed for the future.
8. Legislate to provide greater security for tenants in the private rented sector.
9. Strengthen CPO powers to enable acquisition of land and redundant buildings.
10. Examine the case for a 'new land agency' to undertake land assembly for public purposes in Wales.

A HEALTHIER WALES

Investing in the health and wellbeing of our nation is not only important in its own right but is the key to maintaining economic and financial stability. We will continue to invest more money per person across health and social services in Wales than across our borders and remain committed to ensuring that high quality care is at the heart of the Welsh health system.

However, that will be allied with a relentless focus on preventing and intervening earlier in long term conditions, and in promoting healthier, more active lifestyles. We have to move away from the traditional 'sickness response' service to new initiatives to tackle obesity, diabetes, inactivity, dementia and other life-limiting conditions.

We know that this will also help develop resilience against mental ill health, as will better access to talking therapies at earlier stages in order to help people cope with emotional challenges. We will work with schools, employers and other partners to improve wellbeing at work, in education and in our communities as we prioritise treatment, support and prevention services in our mental health services.

At the heart of this will be an approach which enables every person to work in partnership with health professionals to find the best way of achieving the outcomes that matter to them and in return contribute to social change. The co-production principle needs to be at the heart of all we do.

We will go on creating a more diverse workforce in the Welsh NHS, using new professional skills to free up the time of doctors to treat those who need the highest levels of clinical care.

New technologies will be exploited to cut waiting times and eliminate unnecessary attendance at hospitals and GP surgeries.

For the most serious conditions, including cancer, we will redouble efforts to ensure that treatment and care is focussed on the individual, and delivered as quickly as possible.

We will make social care a sector of national strategic importance by investing in the registration, recognition, training and development of the social care workforce. We will work with local authorities to bring social care services more directly under their control, so that integration of health and social care can be achieved more effectively.



PRINCIPLES

The health service in Wales must remain a public service, publicly funded and publicly provided. There is no room for privatisation in the Welsh NHS.

Our health and social services will need continued investment, with a commitment to driving up the quality and speed of diagnosis and treatment.

Our staff in the health service and social care are our greatest asset. We will put a Social Partnership Act on the statute book to put the force of law behind the social partnership model we have in Wales.

Prevention is at the heart of what we do in health and social care and we will shift the agenda across all our public services to support longer, healthier and happier lives, such as promoting physical activity and mental well-being and resilience among children and young people.

A new partnership is needed between the citizen and the service, so everyone can play a more active part in securing their own long-term health and well-being.

PROPOSALS

1. Invest more in digital technologies (including in local communities) to reduce waiting times and help speed up diagnosis and treatment.

2. Bring together the way we plan the diverse workforce of the future, making best use of scarce clinical skills.

3. Improve the roll-out and uptake of electronic assessment for all cancer patients to help identify their most significant concerns, whether physical, emotional or financial.

4. Continue to take a progressive stance on the medical use of cannabis, leading the way where the clinical evidence is there to support it.

5. Renew our focus on tackling the stigma of mental illness, with increased access to talking therapies and action to promote better emotional health in schools.

6. Apply the 'something for something' principle in health and social care, so that employers, schools and third sector organisations supported by government are challenged to play their part in creating a healthier Wales.

7. Do the small things which help promote public health across our nation, such as making drinking fountains available in every town and village in Wales.

8. Develop a new Clean Air Act to ensure that our children can go to school, be active and play outside safely without fear of respiratory problems, such as asthma, because of pollution levels in some of our towns and cities.

TRANSPORT & TRAVEL

Mrs Thatcher is famously said to have commented that anyone over the age of 26 using a bus should consider themselves a failure. And we are still living with the consequences of the privatisation of the bus industry which has seen services shrink and cease to be a viable option for many people. Clear warnings about the dangers of climate change, the menace of polluted air and the growing problems of obesity all point to the need to give people realistic alternatives to car travel.

As the Welsh Government develops a new Transport Strategy we need to give meaning to our commitments under the Environment Act to cut carbon emissions by 80% and under the Future Generations Act to plan for the long-term. The Government has invested £60 Million in implementing our world leading Active Travel Act over the next three years and we now need to make sure the money is spent to maximum effect by breaking down the barriers to everyday walking and cycling for people who currently would not dream to make their local journeys by foot or bike. For longer distance trips we need to transform the image and the reality of public transport to make people want to use it. Our new rail franchise and South Wales Metro plans are making a great start on planning to do this and we need to keep up the momentum and extend it to the North Wales and Swansea Bay Metro concepts.

The Welsh Government has stretched our current powers to the limit, created Transport for Wales as a not-for-profit organisation, but we need a Labour Government at Westminster to give us the full powers we need to bring our railways back fully into public ownership. Then we can create the sort of transport infrastructure which really does work for the public here in Wales and across the United Kingdom.

For essential road journeys by car we need to invest in road maintenance and make full use of technology to keep traffic moving.

The coming decades will see dramatic change in the transport sector through the introduction of new technologies – ever more electric and hybrid engines, self-driving vehicles, traffic flow management systems, and new communications technologies. We must be ready to embrace those new technologies and infrastructure changes where they can help us to advance our environmental and social justice aims.

PRINCIPLES

Better integrated transport systems can help tackle inequality by improving access to work, leisure, community facilities and public services.

Wales' public transport infrastructure should be a source of pride and reflect the value we place as a nation on achieving social justice and the protection of the environment.

The public sector should take a leadership role in helping people to make more journeys by walking, cycling and public transport.

National and local government investments made in transport, including the subsidy provided to transport operators, must be made in a way that makes the best improvement possible to the wellbeing of the people of Wales.

PROPOSALS

1. We will empower Transport for Wales to deliver a public transport system that aims to give everyone easier access to bus, train and active travel for everyday journeys. We will ensure it works closely with local authorities and operates in an open and accountable way.

2. We will maintain our commitment to tackle congestion, particularly in areas such as on the A55 in North Wales, the A40 in Mid and West Wales and the M4 in South Wales.

3. We will develop plans to use our new bus franchising powers to repair the damage of Tory bus privatisation. This will allow us to plan a properly integrated bus and train network that would make public transport a reliable and attractive option for more people.

4. We will work closely with partners in local government to overcome barriers to everyday walking and cycling, such as pavement parking, disjointed cycle paths, speeding traffic and road safety. Together we will develop and deliver ambitious plans for local networks for active travel.

5. We will revise Planning Policy Wales to make provision of sustainable transport infrastructure a fundamental requirement for new development and to encourage a presumption of 20mph speed limits in residential areas.

6. We will pilot the use of smartphones to access a network of smaller buses in rural areas so that public transport can be more accessible on demand. We will consider how this can be applied to the community transport sector to widen access to the services they provide.

7. We will work with local authorities to help them make full use of borrowing powers to bring forward improvements in public transport infrastructure.

8. We will enrol all young people aged 16-18 in a youth concessionary travel scheme.

9. Working with Transport for Wales, we will examine how we can turn stations into vibrant community hubs, providing essential local services, and space for small business to flourish.

10. We will work with local authorities and other public bodies in Wales to encourage active travel by the public sector workforce, including allowing more flexibility for staff who make the choice to travel by public transport.

SOCIAL CARE

Providing social care services for an ageing population is a policy challenge that successive Westminster Governments have failed to grasp. It is more than seven years, now, since the latest attempt – the Dilnot Review – concluded that the system was broken and that ‘the time to act is now’. While social care services themselves are devolved to Wales, our ability to act continues to be affected, crucially, by decisions which remain with the UK Government, especially decisions on funding, pensions and social security. We also have a permeable boundary between Wales and England, with people moving between the two, both during working lives and in retirement. These are some of the essential contexts in which policy for the future in Wales has to be created.

PRINCIPLES

The health and social care systems, while formally separate, need to be brought together at the point where services are being designed and delivered.

While social care services are means-tested (and the current UK Government shows no sign of altering that fact) that system should be mitigated, as far as possible, for those least able to pay.

The social care workforce is crucial to the provision of quality services.

Ever since the Thatcher reforms of the 1980s, social care services have been moved more and more outside the public service and into the private, profit-making sector. We need to rebalance the market, ensuring that we do not simply replace one sort of monopoly with another.

In the Welsh context all the different policy levers available to us should be put to work to design a system which can meet the new and additional demands which social care will face in the future. That includes the potential new taxation powers, as explored in the Holtham proposals for a new social care insurance fund for Wales.



PROPOSALS

1. Reaffirm prevention, early intervention and coproduction as the underpinning principles of our approach to social care in Wales.

2. Recognise that future services will continue to be a mixture of local, regional and national provision, and will continue to draw on public, private and voluntary effort.

3. Ensure that the needs of carers and the contribution of the third sector are understood, recognised and supported in our social care system.

4. Meet our Manifesto commitment to raise the capital limit for people in residential care, so that Welsh citizens keep a far higher proportion of their savings than under the previous system.

5. Maintain our policy of a national 'cap' on charges for social care services that people receive in their own homes, so that there is fairness in the system across Wales.

6. Ensure that any new funding for health and social care services invests across the two systems, making need, not administrative boundaries, the key to spending extra money.

7. Strengthen regional working arrangements, so that joint decisions and pooled budgets between aligned health and social care become the normal way of working across Wales.

8. Take forward the proposals of the Holtham report into funding social care, drawing down new powers from Westminster, as necessary, to support this work.

9. Re-energise efforts to create cooperative suppliers of social care services in Wales, rebalancing the sector, and bring such services back closer to the public realm.

10. Support those local authorities in Wales, seeking to bring social care services back under their direct control.

11. Invest in the social care workforce, lifting the status of such workers through registration, fair employment, including opportunities for training and gaining further qualifications, abolition of compulsory zero hours contracts and taking action to prevent erosion of terms and conditions of employment.

EDUCATION

Education is one of the most important ways we have of achieving our ambitions, for ourselves, our families and for Wales. A good education is one that will give us the skills, the knowledge and the experience we need to do well at work and to make the most of our abilities and interests so that we can live full and rewarding lives. This applies to all of us, young and old, whatever our ability or personal circumstances.

Our education starts from the moment we are born and it is important that we support parents and communities in the education of our young people. As well as continuing our ambitious childcare support across the country, this will mean providing additional resources to those areas that face the greatest challenges. Education is a partnership between children, their families or carers, communities and the state. Education is not and must never be allowed to become a private possession that can be bought and sold, especially if that is at someone else's expense.

Wales has led the way in early years education and we must continue with confidence in what we have achieved. Our early years provision will continue to innovate and allow children to build the foundations of their learning through ways that come naturally to children; through play, experimentation and through engaging their imagination.

Creativity is a vital ingredient in education as it enables children and young people to adapt to the pace of scientific, social and economic change. We need an education system that, while teaching the core skills, including digital literacy, is forward looking and flexible. We need an education system that connects with enterprise, social and economic, and which helps children understand better the world of work and the skills needed. The positive experience of schooling cannot always be measured by league tables and by international comparisons although we must not ignore these. Education in Wales has to

meet OUR expectations first.

That is not to say that we don't recognise where improvement is necessary and we will continue our work to make sure that our schools achieve the ambitions we have for our young people and which they have for themselves. We will continue to intervene in underperforming schools, requiring them to observe best practice and the better coordination of specialist services.

Wales' Further Education Colleges are particularly well placed to meet the vocational challenges of the coming years and we will continue to recognise them as a critical part of the development of Wales' education. This includes the important part that Further Education plays in the education of the established workforce.

Our universities must enjoy parity with the best of the rest of the UK and globally so that we can offer students the opportunities and experiences that will shape their lives and our shared futures too. We face however the real challenges posed by Brexit and the threats to European Funds and scientific collaborations. We will fight our corner with determination to resist these threats.

Our universities have an excellent record in scientific advances achieved with the support of Welsh Government (such as the Life Sciences Research Network) and we must extend this partnership to other fields. The new disciplines and industries with early-stage technology development such as in artificial intelligence, software development, cyber-security, environment, and advanced industries more generally, represent fields we should support in order to grow the opportunities of tomorrow. We must tackle skills shortages, enhance student employability, and do this in partnership with key sectors of the Welsh economy. And we need to ensure that all universities in Wales are fully accredited Living Wage employers.

PRINCIPLES

Education is a public good; not a private possession.

Education is best provided when children, their families or carers, communities and government work closely together.

Education must value teachers and create a wider culture in which that value is shared.

Education must be inclusive and recognise that not everyone starts from the same place but that everyone should have the same opportunity to achieve their ambitions.

Education is a life long process and ongoing opportunities for adults to train and learn is an essential part of all our lives.

PROPOSALS

1. We will maintain and protect our current investment in childcare support and early years education. We will commit to a mid-term review of the Childcare Offer to extend to women in training / returning to work.

2. We will extend our new Community Focused Schools Initiative to offer additional support to schools, colleges and others in order to help parents and children learn together. Arrangements under this initiative will include improving the home learning environment where needed and engaging parents in their children's education.

3. We will double the extended School Uniform Grant, making sure it provides the greatest impact for families who are unable to access the full curriculum, including, for example, school trips because of their financial circumstances.

4. We will require specialist educational support services, including the Educational Psychology Services and Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services, to work more strategically across Wales to improve access to such services.

5. We will incentivise FE providers to engage more with their communities in order to widen access to further education for young people in particularly economically disadvantaged areas and to ensure that young people living in such areas have access to appropriate forms of work experience.

6. We will maintain our commitment to apprenticeships. We will seek ways to connect schools with local enterprises in order that they can prepare better for the world of work, vocations and training they will seek in later years.

7. We will develop teacher education so that we can be sure that our young people leave school with high levels of digital and financial literacy and ensure that these areas are fully integrated into the school curriculum.

8. We will engage closely with our university sector to help protect it from the consequences of Brexit and identify those new technology sectors where government can work best in partnership with university researchers to help build the high skill high productivity industries we urgently need for Wales.

CHILD POVERTY

As the result of deliberate policies pursued by the Conservative Government in Westminster, child poverty in Wales is rising sharply.

It is a major, but largely hidden, scandal of our times that 50,000 more children will have been pushed into poverty during this Assembly term. The surge in child poverty in Wales exceeds that in other parts of the United Kingdom.

Each child has only one childhood. A Labour Government has to act in the here-and-now to do our very best for every child in poverty in Wales.

PRINCIPLES

Social justice begins with economic justice: that's the key democratic socialist starting point.

The wider fight to reduce child poverty relies on creating the conditions for meaningful work, fair wages, family support and investment in people and places.

In the meantime, we need to reapply the principle of progressive universalism to child poverty. All children need help when growing up - but some need assistance over and above that which is available to all.

We must not allow the search for the perfect to drive out the possible. The Welsh Government does not have the levers to change the fundamental drivers of poverty. Even as we work to create an economy which has fair work and equality at its core, we can, and must alleviate the worst effects of poverty in children's lives.

PROPOSALS

1. Maintain the investments we currently make in services aimed at children in poverty.
2. Pilot the 'Baby Bundle' scheme of essential items and guidance to help them and their parents in the first weeks and months of life, a 'welcome to the world' gift from Welsh Government.
3. Legislate to remove children leaving care from paying council tax, making sure that all councils in Wales meet the standard already achieved by the best.
4. Invest new money in extending free school meals to a wider range of families, to mitigate the impact of Universal Credit on poorest children.
5. Extend the School Holiday Fun and Food programme, so that it becomes a permanent scheme, reaching more children across Wales.
6. Identify funding to extend the new education access grant, so that it is available more regularly during a child's education.
7. Re-engineer existing funding programmes to ensure that they have the maximum impact on the lives of children living in poverty.



EQUALITIES

Equalities and human rights must remain the underpinning rationale for all our policy ambitions. We are committed to the rights of all citizens, but we recognise the pressing needs of children and families in poverty, people with disabilities, elder citizens, migrant groups, minority ethnic groups and people whose sexual identities gives rise to stigma or discrimination. The most vulnerable or disadvantaged or unfairly treated will not be ignored in any government I lead.

Cross cutting all groups and ages is the most important issue of gender inequality. We must eradicate stereotypes, violence and harassment against women. We must bring fresh energies to tackle inequality in pay, promote equal leadership in the economic, political and public spheres. Women's rights to high quality reproductive service and reproductive rights is not a matter of debate but must be an objective of our undivided support. Women's unpaid care in the home and in the low pay insecure work of social care also needs to be properly valued. Under my leadership we will advance wherever possible women's rights and gender equality and seek to integrate these in the work of government.

Promoting the equality for those often disadvantaged is so often belittled and undermined by austerity and by a deliberate ongoing demolition of the welfare state by Conservative governments. That is why I support the Women's Equality Network Manifesto backed by women across Wales from Chwarae Teg, Welsh Women's Aid to the Soroptomists and Merched y Wawr. That is why I support Race Council Cymru and the events we have been celebrating recently during Black History Month. That is why I support disability rights organisations and people's rights to independent living.

One of the most important things any one of us can do is to help someone else to be themselves but many people feel excluded because of their gender identity and sexuality. As First Minister I would lead a government focused on making Wales one of the most

inclusive countries in the world, respecting the rights of all parts of our LGBT+ communities.

PRINCIPLES

Equality, fairness and inclusivity for those most disadvantaged

Support the values and aims of the Women's Equality Network Manifesto

Support the values and aims of Race Council Cymru

support values and aims of disability rights organisations in Wales and the framework for independent living

Promote inclusivity by supporting the values and aims of LGBT Cymru

Support the principles of the Equality Act devolved to us in the Wales Act 2017

Continue to work to mitigate the impact of Brexit on equalities and human rights

PROPOSALS

1. With regard to equalities more generally, I will enact the socio-economic duty under Part 1 of the Equality Act.
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The following proposals are not exhaustive of the fields of inequalities and actions and priorities needed.

Women

1. Promoting equality through the fair work agenda of the real living wage and closing the gender pay gap.
 2. Pilot the 'Baby Bundle' scheme of essential items to help them and their parents in the first weeks and months of life, a 'welcome to the world' gift from Welsh Government to every parent regardless of income.
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3. We will commit to a mid-term review of the Childcare Offer to extend to women in training / returning to work.

4. Back 50:50 representation of women in the Welsh Assembly and Welsh Government Cabinet.

5. Support an action plan to get more Black and Minority Ethnic women into political and public life.

6. Back the Welsh Labour Charter for Women for Westminster, the Welsh Assembly and local government.

7. Promote an action plan to support period dignity and maintain current investment in schools.

Race

1. Work in partnership to help promote awareness of race inequalities, the rights of asylum seekers and migrant people and in partnership monitor the workings of the Equality Act devolved in the 2017 Wales Act, relating to integration, race equality and justice.

2. Work in partnership with appropriate bodies to promote integration, community cohesion, eliminate racial discrimination, hate crime, modern slavery, champion justice and race equality in our institutions and in society as a whole.

3. Participate in channels of communication with minority ethnic and grassroots communities throughout Wales with primary stakeholders, public bodies and other relevant parties in regard to government, UK and European policies, strategies, measures and initiatives that impact the lives of minority ethnic communities.

LGBT+

1. Implement guidance and roll out training for all public-facing employees in our public services to ensure our services are always LGBT+ inclusive.

2. Guidance and roll out training for all public-facing employees in our public services to ensure our services are always LGBT+ inclusive.

3. Ensure teacher and school staff training to address LGBT+ bullying in schools, roll out current plans to ensure LGBT+ inclusive relationships and sexuality education and ensure young LGBT people and those at risk of homophobic and transphobic bullying have access to good mental health support.

4. Work with trade unions and other partners in Wales to bring an end to homophobic and transphobic discrimination and bullying in the workplace, making the most of the levers at our disposal through procurement and our social partnership approach.

5. Drive forward the development of the integrated gender identity service in Wales, so that trans people can receive more of their health and care needs closer to home as they transition.

6. Maintain the Welsh Government's support for self-identification of gender identity and reform of the Gender Recognition Act.

7. Press the UK government to recognise LGBT+ hate crime as an aggravated offence (in line with race and faith hate crime).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government services are under real strain, eight years into austerity. How do we create a resilient, successful future for local democracy and the services provided by local councils in Wales?

PRINCIPLES

My starting point is that local authorities provide vital services which make a difference every day in the lives of Welsh citizens. We need the best possible local government in Wales, able to discharge its core responsibilities as strategic partners in education, housing, social care and the environment.

Cooperation, not competition. We have to set the context so that it becomes as easy as possible for local councils to cooperate with one another, and to work in partnership with other organisations.

We need to revive local democracy, too, by using the new powers we have to organise elections in Wales.

PROPOSALS

1. Retain the 22 local authorities we have in Wales as the basic building block of local democracy. Where voluntary merger proposals come forward, we will act to support them. In the meantime, the Welsh Government will take powers to intervene more decisively in those authorities where pressures of austerity have become unsustainable.
2. Legislate to provide local authorities in Wales with new powers and freedoms to organise their own affairs.
3. Accelerate regional working between authorities, building from the city region footprints, to make services under pressure more resilient and to share back office services such as payroll and digital capacity.
4. Strengthen the capacity and capability of community councils in Wales, raising the ambition of the sector and providing new powers where community councils can demonstrate the ability and appetite to use them.
5. Modernise the conduct of elections to bring them into line with 21st century conditions, including extending the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds.
6. Act energetically to widen the diversity of people standing for election, taking positive action to encourage women and people from under-represented groups to become candidates for the Labour Party.
7. Encourage a culture of co-production in local services, liberating and making real the contribution of school students, parents, tenants, careers and volunteers.

LOOKED AFTER CHILDREN

Too many children are taken away from their families and into the care system in Wales. We know it doesn't have to be that way because some Welsh local authorities already successfully provide services which help families to stay together through difficult periods in their lives.

Yet, as a whole in Wales, proportionately far more children are removed than across our border in England.

Local authority services are so stretched, trying to make provision for those children already in the system that they have no, or very limited, capacity to provide help for those families struggling to keep going through difficult times.

PRINCIPLES

Prevention: we have to re-engineer the system, so that the resources become available again to help prevent the need for children to be taken away from their families, rather than just an 'ambulance' service, turning up when the harm has already happened.

Systems-wide: children who end up in the care system could often, just as easily, have come to the attention of a different service, such as mental health or youth justice. We have to embed a 'children first' policy - seeing young people in the round, and as individuals, not just as an 'offender' or a 'child in care'.

We know what we have to do. We should implement the principles set out in the Public Policy for Wales Report, De-escalating Interventions with Troubled Adolescents. We should implement the policies set out in the Cordis Bright Report, on the number of looked after children in Wales. We should act to ensure that the practice of best local authorities in Wales is made available to all.

But because these solutions have already been available for a number of years, and the problem continues to escalate, new action needs to be taken.

PROPOSALS

I believe that this is one of a small number of areas where new, binding targets need to be set by Welsh Government, to ensure that the problem really does get gripped and resolved. Those would include:

1. A target for each local authority to reduce the number of children from that locality placed outside Wales.
2. A target for each local authority to reduce the number of children from that locality placed outside their own county.
3. A target for each local authority to reduce the number of children from that locality removed from the care of their family, including kinship care.
4. A specific target for each local authority to reduce the number of children taken away from families on the grounds that parents have a learning disability.

COMMUNITY BANKING

Traditional banks are retreating from communities across Wales. That leaves a serious gap in services for localities, especially for small business needing short term loans or overdrafts to help them survive and thrive.

At the same time, savings levels are below the level which would be best for the economy in Wales, and with withdrawal of banking facilities makes that problem worse.

We know that poorest individuals, especially those denied ordinary financial services, pay a 'poverty premium' - they pay more for things than people who are better off, and in a better position to pay.

PRINCIPLES

We need a diverse set of financial institutions in Wales, to meet different needs. The Welsh Government has set up the Development Bank for Wales and it already provides a wide range of important services for established businesses, filling gaps in the market.

At the same time, we go on supporting credit unions in Wales to grow, and to provide affordable and accessible savings and loans facilities for people in work and in local communities.

Now we can go further in supporting the development of a new Wales-only Community Bank, with branches open to customers in different parts of our country, making funds available locally to small businesses and recycling local savings into local loans.

PROPOSALS

1. Establish a Community Bank of Wales to be owned by its members, on a one-member-one-vote basis.
2. The Bank will offer current accounts to all local residents, regardless of income or wealth, tackling the poverty premium.
3. The Bank headquarters, as well as its branches, will be located in Wales. It will become an anchor Welsh institution, here today, and here for the long term.
4. The Bank will offer face-to-face banking to local customers and small businesses. Loan decisions will be made by skilled and experienced staff, not a computer-driven formula.
5. The Bank will be a living wage employer, with a fixed maximum ratio between the highest and lowest paid workers.
6. The Bank will begin to operate before the end of this Assembly term, spreading to the whole of Wales after the next Assembly election.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Our criminal justice system is disjointed and far from as effective as it could be. The line between devolved and non-devolved services is not in the right place.

The non-devolved nature of youth justice and the probation service mean that they do not always fit easily into the Welsh policy landscape.

PRINCIPLES

Criminal justice is rooted in social and economic justice. We have to create the conditions in which people can live law-abiding and thriving lives.

Most crime prevention is local and informal. Relying on the criminal justice system is, at best, to respond after the problem has happened, rather than acting to prevent it from taking place.

Devolution in criminal justice can take place on a gradual basis.

For young people, in particular, their voices must be heard in the system which takes such important decisions about them.

PROPOSALS

1. Seek devolution of those aspects of criminal justice which fit most directly into the Welsh context, beginning with youth justice and the Probation Service. Devolution of budgets sufficient to discharge these responsibilities would be a non-negotiable essential, as would be the case in any further devolution of police or prisons.

2. Make Wales a custody-free area for women offenders. Oppose the creation of new prisons for women, and support the development of small-scale, rehabilitation facilities for those women whose needs are best met in that way.

3. Maximise diversion from the formal criminal justice system, actively deploying the skills and capacity of the voluntary sector.

4. Bring a devolved Probation Service back into the public sector.

5. Establish Local Justice Panels in each youth justice area. The Panels should discharge an accountability remit, including holding to account those services provided by adults which have an impact on the lives of young people.

6. Direct urgent new attention to the point where children in care are at risk of becoming children in the youth justice system. The hugely disproportionate representation of care leavers in the prison system is highly expensive to the public purse and deeply damaging to those individuals.

DEMOCRACY

As well as democracy within the Labour Party, there is more that we need to do to bring the conduct of democracy more generally into line with the requirements of the 21st century. Democracy is not at a low ebb in Wales. Where citizens feel there are issues at stake which matter to them, we continue to have an engaged and vibrant democratic culture. However, the ways in which citizens live their lives more generally have developed dramatically since the National Assembly came into being. When used constructively, a great deal of the richest individual and collective engagement on the widest variety of topics takes place on-line and in a wide variety of formats. We need to do more to capture the opportunities which this brings for deliberative engagement in decision-making, and in contributing to decision-making. Reforming democracy applies to all institutions in Wales, including the NAW.

PRINCIPLES

We need to make it as accessible as possible for individual citizens to take part in Welsh democracy.

Our democratic institutions need to reflect the make-up of Welsh society. It is right to take action to promote equality of outcome as well as opportunity in this field. In this, we are committed to implementing the social, economic and democratic objectives within the Equality Act devolved to us via the Wales Act 2017.

Democracy can only flourish where fairness and equality are key principles.

PROPOSALS

1. Extend franchise to 16 and 17 year olds, and to all those living and working in Wales.
2. Back 50:50 representation of women in the Welsh Assembly and Welsh Government Cabinet.
3. Support an action plan to get more Black and Minority Ethnic women into political and public life.
4. Liberalise the way in which elections are conducted, bringing them into line with contemporary practice, and implementing the proposals set out for local authority elections in Wales.
5. Award time credits for participation in WG consultation exercises, to recognise the effort which citizens make in providing such a contribution and to encourage responses from a wider range of interests.
6. Implement a more visibly collective leadership within the Welsh Government, for example, by holding events across Wales where citizens are able to discuss issues of concern with a range of Cabinet colleagues.
7. Confirm long-term independent oversight of the Ministerial Code.
8. Create more opportunities for the Cabinet, and the Labour Group, to identify issues of long-term significance earlier in their gestation and to discuss their resolution, in line with the requirements of the Wellbeing and Future Generations Act.
9. As opportunities arise, appoint future special advisers through open advertisement and interview.
10. Make pre-appointment hearings a routine part of the appointment of chairs of public bodies in Wales.
11. Look positively for opportunities to deploy recommendations from the McAllister review where these strengthen democracy and make the National Assembly better able to discharge the responsibilities it holds in 2019, rather





WELSH LANGUAGE

The Welsh language is a wonderful asset. It is a common good. It belongs to us all in Wales – fluent speakers, learners and those of us who are neither. The Welsh language doesn't divide us - it brings us together in a shared recognition of its indispensable contribution to making us who we are as a country.

It is an important part of our literary and cultural heritage, but crucially it is also a vital component of a successful future.

In an increasingly globalising world, the language provides a cultural anchor, a mark of our distinctiveness as a country. But spreading opportunities for people in Wales to live and work in and around the Welsh language will stand us in good stead, as the ability to operate comfortably in more than one language becomes increasingly important.

The Labour Party in Wales has a proud history of commitment to our language - in our support at community level and in legislation. Our target of a million Welsh speakers by 2050 is a signal not only of our commitment to the language, but a mark of our ambition for it.

PRINCIPLES

An inclusive and diverse Wales is one which protects the rights of people to speak Welsh, and promotes its use freely and widely. A prosperous Wales is one which makes use of all our natural assets, including the Welsh language.

We must ensure that our education system is properly equipped to teach the Welsh language in all schools and to teach through the medium Welsh for those who choose it, from the beginning of the school journey into vocational or higher education.

But beyond that, normalising the use of Welsh in all parts of daily life is an essential ingredient to meeting our language goals.

We must also recognise the contribution that bilingualism can make to our economic development, including in the tech sectors of the future – and the role that a strong and fairly distributed economy can play in the success of the Welsh language.

PROPOSALS

1. Ensure the delivery of our strategy Cymraeg 2050 – a million Welsh speakers.

2. Mainstream the promotion and development of Welsh through all government activity, at a Welsh Government and local government level.

3. Prioritise teaching workforce development to ensure sufficient Welsh teachers to strengthen Welsh language teaching in all schools, and to expand Welsh medium provision.

4. A renewed focus on encouraging teachers with some ability to speak Welsh to develop their skills to teach through the medium of Welsh and to develop “pools” of Welsh teaching staff to be shared between neighbouring schools.

5. Ensure that the Welsh language is an essential consideration in our Economic Action Plan and that an appreciation of the value of bilingualism is integrated into our economic development activities, including in skills development, support for the foundational economy and in expanding our digital and export services sectors.

6. Drive forward the Welsh Language Technology Action Plan

7. Promote Wales as a bilingual nation in all our international engagement strategies.

PARTY DEMOCRACY

People who vote for the Labour Party in Wales are entitled to expect that we conduct our own affairs to the highest democratic standards. The way in which our internal processes work in Wales are being updated through a Democracy Review agreed at our national conference in April. That work has been divided into two stages.

PRINCIPLES

The Party belongs to its members and to those levy paying members of affiliated trades unions who also support the Labour Party.

It is their voice which must be made decisive in the way in which decisions are made in our Party.

The best way to do so is to entrench the simplest democratic principle in the conduct of our affairs: that each person should have one vote, and that each vote should be of equal value.

Our Party has experienced a remarkable renaissance of membership in the very recent past. We have more members today in all parts of Wales than at any other time in the devolution era. Openness has to be our greatest asset in engaging with those new members and capturing their enthusiasm for what Labour can achieve in Wales.

The process of devolution in the Labour Party needs to continue so that we can go on building the relationship of a distinctive Welsh Labour Party with voters in Wales. At the same time, we remain firmly members of our national Party, confident of the strength which comes from being part of the wider Labour movement across the United Kingdom.

PROPOSALS

1. Part One of the Democracy Review should conclude that elections for Leader and Deputy Leader of Welsh Labour should be conducted on the basis set out above: a franchise consisting of all Party Members, and all levy paying members of affiliated trades unions who are declared Labour supporters. Each person should have one vote, and each vote should be of equal value.

2. Part Two of the Review must apply the same simple democratic principles more widely in our Party. Amongst the changes which I would support are:

* election of the Welsh member of the National Executive Committee on the same basis as election of Leader and Deputy Leader.

* extension of nominating rights in Leader and Deputy Leadership elections to Constituency Labour Parties and affiliated trades unions. That would allow the threshold of support required from Assembly Members and (in the case of the Deputy Leader) Members of Parliament to be reduced but not eliminated.

* reform of the conduct of our annual conference so that more time is devoted to discussing and deciding upon issues put forward by Constituency Labour Parties for debate.

*refresh the policy-making process of Welsh Labour, agreeing a new transparent, standing machinery which draws on individuals elected for that purpose within the Party and on party members with particular knowledge and expertise of different policy areas.

* reforming the Welsh Executive Committee so that all agendas and papers, other than those dealing with individuals or matters of finance, are routinely placed on the Welsh Labour website for members to read and for those who wish to do so, to discuss with their local representatives on the WEC.

* strengthen the link between the membership of the Party and the officials who support the day-to-day conduct of the Party on their behalf.

* Back the Welsh Labour Charter for Women for Westminster, the Welsh Assembly and local government. Act swiftly to create the conditions in which more women and more people from under-represented groups put themselves forward as potential Labour candidates in the next round of local authority elections, and that more of those individuals are selected to represent our Party.

* I do not favour a policy of mandatory re-selection for Labour Assembly Members or Labour Members of Parliament in Wales. No-one who has the privilege of being selected by our Party to stand for such elections has a right to continue unaccountably in such roles. Where local parties lose faith in their local representative, there must be a mechanism for that being tested by the wider membership. Our current system of 'trigger ballots' needs to be moderated to bring it up to date and responsive to our new mass membership. Provided it works effectively it offers a proportionate means of ensuring that elected members remain in a continuous relationship with their local Parties, and where confidence is lost that action can be taken.



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