Conservative Manifesto

Get Brexit Done and Unleash Britain's Potential

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My Guarantee

If there is a majority of Conservative MPs on December 13th, I guarantee I will get our new deal through Parliament. We will get Brexit done in January and unleash the potential of our whole country.

I guarantee:

- Extra funding for the NHS, with 50,000 more nurses and 50 million more general practice appointments a year.
- 20,000 more police and tougher sentencing for criminals.
- An Australian-style points-based system to control immigration.
- Millions more invested every week in science, schools, apprenticeships and infrastructure while controlling debt.
- Reaching Net Zero by 2050 with investment in clean energy solutions and green infrastructure to reduce carbon emissions and pollution.
- We will not raise the rate of income tax, VAT or National Insurance.

If Jeremy Corbyn's Labour and Nicola Sturgeon's SNP team up and take control on December 13th, we will have two referendums on Brexit and Scotland in 2020.

Please support a majority Conservative Government so our country can move on instead of going backwards.

Introduction

For the last three-and-a-half years, this country has been trapped by Brexit – like some super-green supercar blocked in the traffic. We have been paralysed by a broken parliament. Like Tantalus in Hades, we can see the opportunities in front of us, and yet every time we reach out to grasp them, we find they are whisked away.

With every week that goes by, this delay is costing us all. If we can get Brexit done, there are 'billions of pounds of investment just waiting to flood in. If we get Brexit done, businesses and families will have the certainty to take key decisions – taking a new job, buying a new house. If we get Brexit done, we can inject a surge of confidence into the UK and the UK economy.

And as things stand, there is only one way to get Brexit done, and that is via a majority Conservative government. No Prime Minister wants an early election. But we simply have no choice – because it is only by getting Brexit done in the next few weeks that we can focus on all the priorities of the British people.

I am very proud of the achievements of this Government in the last 100 days. We have begun to

map out a fantastic programme for the years ahead: to unite and level up, spreading opportunity across the whole United Kingdom and strengthening the ties that bind it together.

The UK has extraordinary advantages – leading the world in 21st century technologies, from batteries to bioscience. There are parts of this country that are more productive and more innovative than anywhere else in Europe.

And yet there are parts of the country that feel left behind. Talent and genius are uniformly distributed throughout the country. Opportunity is not. Now is the time to close that gap – not just because it makes such obvious economic sense, but for the sake of simple social justice.

We believe that every child should have the same opportunity to express their talents and make the most of their lives – and that is why we are investing £14 billion over three years to increase funding for every primary and every secondary school in the country.

I want everyone to have the fundamental security that comes from safe streets and safe neighbourhoods – and that is why we are backing our police, putting 20,000 more officers on the streets, and giving them the powers to tackle street crime with stop and search.

Everyone in the UK should have the peace of mind and confidence that comes from world-class health care – and that is why we are putting a record £34 billion into the NHS, hiring 50,000 more nurses and creating an extra 50 million General Practice appointments a year.

We believe in fantastic public services – and fantastic infrastructure – not just because they are a good thing in themselves, but because they are the bedrock of a dynamic free market economy.

If this One Nation Conservative government is lucky enough to be returned to office, we will have an infrastructure revolution for this country. Now is the time to invest in Northern Powerhouse rail, and the Midlands Rail Hub, and so many more projects, as well as a massive programme of improvements for the roads and gigabit broadband for every home and business.

We will invest in technology and innovation. And we will invest in Britain's people, by giving them the tools and training to flourish in the economy of the 21st century.

We are the only party that can deliver this programme, because we are the only party that understands the balance and symmetry at the heart of the UK economy.

There is only one way to pay for world-class health care and outstanding infrastructure – and that is to foster and encourage millions of British businesses, large and small, that create the wealth of the nation.

Their success is our success; and the tragedy of the modern Labour Party under Jeremy Corbyn is that they detest the profit motive so viscerally – and would raise taxes so wantonly – that they would destroy the very basis of this country's prosperity.

If you want to understand the impact of a Corbyn Government on ordinary people, remember that he has voted against tax cuts worth £7,800 for people on modest incomes. He is already committed to putting up corporation tax to one of the highest levels in Europe.

And what does he want to spend this tax grab on? A programme of sweeping and wasteful renationalization, alongside expropriating ten per cent of the value of businesses across the country. Not to mention the chaos and delay of two more referendums, one on the EU and another on Scotland. And remember: a vote for any other minor party is effectively a vote for Corbyn, and his catastrophic political and economic programme.

This government has succeeded where no one thought we could. We not only got a new deal from our EU partners, but a great deal. We are able to

deliver all the advantages of leaving the EU: making our own laws, controlling our own borders, taking back our money, and exercising all kinds of new freedoms.

From freeports to free trade deals, from abolishing the cruel live shipment of animals to cutting VAT on tampons, we in the UK will be able to remain close to our European friends and partners; but where we choose, we will be able to do things differently and better.

Above all, we will be able to respect the democratic will of the people. After three and a half years of procrastination, we have a great new deal that is ready to go.

Parliament has already given the deal its blessing – before, infuriatingly, voting for yet another delay. With a new Parliament and a sensible majority Government, we can get that deal through in days. It is oven-ready.
Then we can move on, via our programme of investment in education, infrastructure and technology, to create a high-wage, high-skill, low-tax economy. To make Britain the greatest place in the world to live, to go to school, to start a family, to own a home, to start a business – with the most ambitious environmental programme of any country on earth.

Let's get Brexit done, and take this country forward.

Boris Johnson

Prime Minister

Get Brexit Done

When the new Government entered Downing Street, the Prime Minister made a simple promise: to get Brexit done. Many said it would be impossible. But he swiftly negotiated a great new deal – despite Parliament's best efforts to block his progress.

And then, when he put it to MPs, they insisted on yet more delay.

We must move on. No more renegotiations. No more referendums. Every week is costing us. Investment is waiting to come into the country. Families and businesses cannot make vital decisions. The public services cannot get the attention they deserve.

Our priority as Conservatives is to get Brexit done – so that we can unleash the potential of this great country. So that we can push past the obstacles that other parties have put in our country's way. So that we can deliver on the people's decision in 2016 and use our new post-Brexit freedoms to transform the UK for the better by focusing on your priorities.

If we elect a majority of Conservative MPs to Parliament, we will start putting our deal through Parliament before Christmas and we will leave the European Union in January.

Boris Johnson's new deal takes the whole country out of the EU as one United Kingdom. It takes us out of the customs union, allowing us to set our own tariffs and do our own trade deals. It allows us to pass our own laws and ensures that it is our courts that enforce them.

Our deal is the only one on the table. It is signed, sealed and ready. It puts the whole country on a path to a new Free Trade Agreement with the EU. This will be a new relationship based on free trade and friendly cooperation, not on the EU's treaties or EU law. **We will keep the UK out of the single market, out of any form of customs union, and end the role of the European Court of Justice.**

This future relationship will be one that allows us to:

- **Take back control of our laws.**
- **Take back control of our money.**
- **Control our own trade policy.**
- **Introduce an Australian-style points-based immigration system.**
- **Raise standards in areas like workers' rights, animal welfare, agriculture and the environment.**
- **Ensure we are in full control of our fishing waters.**

We will negotiate a trade agreement next year – one that will strengthen our Union – and **we will not extend the implementation period beyond December 2020.** In parallel, we will legislate to ensure high standards of workers' rights, environmental protection and consumer rights.

The only way to deliver Brexit is with a Conservative majority in Parliament. A vote for any other party or candidate is a vote for Jeremy Corbyn – and a vote for more chaos.

Unleash Britain's Potential

For the past nine years, the Conservatives have been cleaning up Labour's mess. Because of the tough decisions that our party made and our success in bringing down the deficit, the economy has continued to grow, and the public finances have been restored. Thanks to Conservative policies, employment is at a near-record high.

We've helped millions of people into work, halving the unemployment rate. We've doubled the personal allowance to £12,500, meaning that every worker gets to keep more of what they earn. We've raised the National Living Wage – and will raise it still further.

The strength of the UK's balance sheet – the hard work done by all of us in this country – means that we are now in a position to invest properly in our future.

A Conservative government will give the public services the resources they need, supporting our hospitals, our schools and our police. We will help people and families throughout their lives, by bringing down the cost of living and making sure that work always pays.

We will keep costs down for small businesses – rather than hiking their taxes and crushing Britain's prosperity.

We will **not borrow to fund day-to-day spending,** but will **invest thoughtfully and responsibly in infrastructure** right across our country in order to increase productivity and wages. Our fiscal rules mean that **public sector net investment will not average more than 3 per cent of GDP,** and that **if debt interest reaches 6 per cent of revenue, we will reassess our plans to keep debt under control.**

This means that **debt will be lower at the end of the Parliament** – rather than **spiralling out of control under Labour.** And we will use this investment prudently and strategically to level up every part of the United Kingdom, while strengthening the ties that bind it together.

We will also **prioritise the environment** in the next Budget, investing in the infrastructure, science and

research that will deliver economic growth, not just through the 2020s, but for decades to come.

Above all, we will listen to the people who have felt left behind by the last few decades of economic growth and want to have more control of their future.

We will get Brexit done, so we can change Britain for the better.

We Will Focus on Your Priorities

In his first months in office, the Prime Minister has shown how he intends to make life better for everyone in the UK. Supporting our police. Increasing funding for our schools. Building new hospitals.

We have listened to you, and we have acted. Acted to ensure that we deliver world-class public services, so that you can have the help and support you need throughout your life. And we want to take that agenda further.

But none of it will happen without a Conservative majority government.

Strengthen the NHS and Social Care

The NHS represents the best of this country. It is there for us when our children are born, when our friends and families fall sick, when our loved ones succumb to old age and ill health.

It is precious to all of us – especially because it is free at the point of use and there for you on the basis of need, not your ability to pay.

We as Conservatives believe passionately in the NHS. Because we believe that everyone deserves the chance to live free of sickness and disease – and to know that if they do fall ill, our brilliant NHS staff will be there for them.

We are proud that since its foundation, it is the Conservative Party that has acted as the steward and guardian of the NHS and its principles for 44 of its 71 years. We are proud that it is coping with increasing demand, with more doctors and nurses, and using more advanced treatments than ever before.

And we are proud to have confirmed **a record £34 billion in additional funding for the NHS** – and to have begun work on **building 40 new hospitals across the country,** as well as investing in hospital upgrades and new machines to **boost early cancer diagnosis across 78 hospital trusts.**

But we want to do more.

Within the first three months of our new term, we will **enshrine in law our fully funded, long-term NHS plan.** This is the largest cash settlement in NHS history. One that is only possible because we have

delivered the growth and prosperity to pay for world-class public services – and will continue to do so.

Between 2018 and 2023, **we will have raised funding for the NHS by 29 per cent.** By the end of the Parliament, that will be **more than £650 million extra a week.** And we will ensure this money goes to the frontline so that you and your family get appointments more quickly and experience improved care.

We believe that the best way to improve the NHS and meet rising demand is to invest in its most important asset – its people. That is why we are devoting additional funding, on top of our existing record settlement, to hire and support more doctors, nurses and other health professionals.

Our NHS People Plan

The 1.4 million dedicated staff who deliver world-class care day in, day out are at the heart of the NHS. Our core priority is to make sure this workforce can grow and has the support it needs – in terms of numbers, training and resources. That means that if you do fall ill, you'll get the care and attention you deserve.

we will deliver:

- **50,000 extra nurses,** with students receiving a **£5,000-£8,000 annual maintenance grant every year during their course** to help with their cost of living – and they won't have to pay it back.

Everyone will receive at least £5,000 with further funding in regions or disciplines that are struggling to recruit – such as mental health – and help with the childcare costs of those in training.

- **6,000 more doctors in general practice** and **6,000 more primary care professionals,** such as physios and pharmacists. This is on top of the **7,500 extra nurse associates** and **20,000 primary care professionals** that we have already announced.
- We will **improve staff morale** with more funding for professional training and more supportive hospital management.
- **We will introduce an NHS Visa.** Our NHS People Plan will ensure that we train and employ tens of thousands more NHS professionals here in the UK. But we also want to make sure that those from overseas who want to work in and support our NHS are encouraged to do so. That is why qualified doctors, nurses and allied health professionals with a job offer from the NHS, who have been trained to a recognised standard, and who have good working English, will be offered fast-track entry, reduced visa fees and dedicated support to come to the UK with their families.

Our new funding will deliver **50 million extra general practice appointments a year,** an increase of **over 15 per cent.** That means that if you need an appointment, waiting times will be shorter and you'll get the service you deserve.

We also want to make sure that doctors spend as much time as possible treating patients, so **we will address the 'taper problem' in doctors' pensions,** which causes many to turn down extra shifts for fear of high tax bills. Within our first 30 days, we will hold an urgent review, working with the British Medical Association and Academy of Medical Royal Colleges to solve the problem.

Our NHS Prevention and Treatment Plan

- **We will build and fund 40 new hospitals over the next 10 years.** This is on top of the 20 hospital upgrades announced in the summer. We will roll out cancer diagnostic machines across 78 hospital trusts to boost early diagnosis. We are committed to **reducing health inequality.** We will **review Labour's disastrous PFI deals** and cancel the worst.
- **We will invest in preventing disease as well as curing it.** We will tackle the underlying causes of increases in NHS demand, for example via a long-term strategy for **empowering people with lifestyle-related conditions such as obesity to live healthier lives,** as well as tackling childhood obesity, heart disease and diabetes. We will have a **national vaccination reminder system** for every GP practice. We will **extend social prescribing** and expand the new National Academy of Social Prescribing. We will **overhaul NHS screening** and use new technology and mobile screening services to prevent ill health. We will **focus on helping**

patients with multiple conditions to have simplified and more joined-up access to the NHS. And we will improve hospital food alongside our wider National Food Strategy.

- **We will develop new treatments for serious diseases.** We will **extend the successful Cancer Drugs Fund** into an 'Innovative Medicines Fund' so that doctors can use the most advanced, life-saving treatments for conditions such as cancer or autoimmune disease, or for children with other rare diseases. If you or a loved one is unlucky enough to fall ill, we'll ensure you have access to the best available medicines. We will also **improve the early diagnosis and treatment of all major conditions.**
- **We will treat mental health with the same urgency as physical health.** We will legislate so that patients suffering from mental health conditions, including anxiety or depression, have greater control over their treatment and receive the dignity and respect they deserve.
- **We will make it easier for people with learning disabilities and autism to be discharged from hospital** and improve how they are treated in law.
- **we will expand the number of gambling addiction clinics.**
- **We will improve NHS performance,** using our record funding settlement to bring down operating waiting times, improve A&E performance and increase cancer survival rates. We will study carefully the recommendations of the ongoing

review led by NHS clinical staff into A&E and clinical performance.

- **We will use technology to improve patients' experience,** provide flexible working for clinicians, and help save lives. We will also hold an annual health technology summit.
- **We will support our precious hospices,** developing the plans already announced by Boris Johnson to secure their future, with a £25 million cash injection in August to support 200,000 people at the end of their lives.
- We will **make the NHS the best place in the world to give birth** through personalised, high-quality support. And we'll uphold our commitment to **extend healthy life expectancy by five years** by 2035.
- **We will end unfair hospital car parking charges** by making parking free for those in greatest need, including disabled people, frequent outpatient attenders, parents of sick children staying overnight and staff working night shifts. This will eliminate costs for those in need, while making sure there are enough spaces for everyone.
- **We will clamp down on health tourism,** ensuring that those from overseas who use NHS services pay their fair share. And we will **increase the NHS surcharge** paid by those from overseas.
- **When we are negotiating trade deals, the NHS will not be on the table.** The price the NHS pays for drugs will not be on the table. The services the NHS provides will not be on the table.

Improving social care

It is a basic, compassionate Conservative belief that we should care for those in need – helping those who cannot help themselves.

Thanks to decades of economic growth and scientific innovation, people are living longer, healthier lives. But this, alongside the rise of dementia and other chronic conditions, means that the pressures on the elderly care system are ever-increasing. There has also been significant growth in the number of working-age people with disabilities who need care at a younger age.

We need to have a system to **give every person the dignity and security that they deserve.** This is a significant and complex challenge and in order to lay the foundations, we must plan for the infrastructure, workforce growth and healthcare integration that is required for a care system fit for the 21st century.

Because this is a long-term problem that will affect so many people, **any solution has to be able to survive long-term. We must build the same level of consensus on social care as we have already built on the NHS.**

So we will **build a cross-party consensus** to bring forward an answer that solves the problem, commands the widest possible support, and stands the test of time. That consensus will consider a range

of options but one condition we do make is that **nobody needing care should be forced to sell their home to pay for it.**

As a first step, and to stabilise the system, we announced in the autumn **additional funding of £1 billion** for the year beginning in April 2020. We are now **confirming this additional funding in every year** of the new Parliament.

We need a long-term solution for social care – that's why we are committing to an ambitious three-point plan:

1) **£1 billion extra of funding every year** for more social care staff and better infrastructure, technology and facilities.
2) We will commit to **urgently seek a cross-party consensus** in order to bring forward the necessary proposal and legislation for long-term reform.
3) The prerequisite of any solution will be **a guarantee that no one needing care has to sell their home to pay for it.**

We will also **extend the entitlement to leave for unpaid carers,** the majority of whom are women, to one week.

We also want to save millions of people, and their families, from suffering the agony of a slow decline due to dementia. We will make **finding a cure for dementia one of our Government's biggest**

collective priorities – one of the 'grand challenges' that will define our future along with the impact of climate change or artificial intelligence. This will include **doubling research funding into dementia** and **speeding up trials** for new treatments.

We will also provide £60m over three years for **additional capacity in community care settings for those with learning disabilities and autism.**

Invest in Our Schools

Talent is evenly spread in this country, but opportunity is not. As Conservatives, we believe absolutely in equality of opportunity – the idea that every child, in every part of the country, should have a fair chance. It is not only the most important thing we can do to unleash the UK's economic potential, but is at the heart of creating a fair and just society.

Which is why we want to ensure every child has access to a great state school – that every pupil gets the qualifications they need for a prosperous future, while learning in an environment where they will be happy and fulfilled.

In his first months in office, Boris Johnson announced **an extra £14 billion in funding for schools.** That translates to £150 million a week, and will include **at least £5,000 a year for each secondary school pupil** and **at least £4,000 for each primary school**

pupil. This also includes **£780 million in new funding to support children with Special Educational Needs next year alone.**
One of the Conservative Party's proudest achievements is that we have raised standards in our schools and improved behaviour. Students learn best when they are stretched, challenged and nurtured – in an environment where there is no disruption and no excuses for bad behaviour.

In the last nine years, the percentage of children passing their primary reading check has gone up from 58 per cent to 82 per cent. We have strengthened teachers' powers to deal with bullying and disruption. We have given schools the ability to decide how money is best spent – because we trust parents and headteachers to know what is best for the children in their care.

For our children to get the training and opportunities they deserve, they need to have the best teachers. We want to attract the best talent into teaching and recognise the great work they do, so we're **raising teachers' starting salaries to £30,000** – among the most competitive in the graduate labour market.

We also want to build on our record of raising standards, improving behaviour and promoting knowledge and creativity.

- **We will do more to back heads and teachers on discipline.** We will expand our programme to help schools with the worst behaviour learn from the best – and **back heads to use exclusions.** Ofsted will be given more time to **make sure schools are focusing on safety and behaviour** and we will **pilot no-notice inspections.** We will continue to **help teachers tackle bullying,** including homophobic bullying. No child should be bullied on account of who their parents are or where they come from.
- **We will create more great schools.** We will continue to do everything we can to ensure every school is a great school. We will continue **to support innovation,** like our successful maths schools, set up for the most gifted young physicists and mathematicians. We will also **expand 'alternative provision' schools** for those who have been excluded. We will also **deliver more school places for children with complex Special Educational Needs.** We **will intervene in schools where there is entrenched underperformance.** We will continue to ensure **that parents can choose the schools that best suit their children** and best prepare them for the future. And we will **continue to build more free schools.**
- **We will invest in arts, music and sport.** Over the last nine years we have made real improvements in the teaching of maths, English and science, and given more children access to a rich academic curriculum. We retain our commitment to the core

subjects and also want young people to learn creative skills and widen their horizons, so we will **offer an 'arts premium' to secondary schools to fund enriching activities for all pupils.** And to ensure children are getting an active start to life, we will **invest in primary school PE teaching** and ask **Ofsted to inspect PE lessons in all schools.** We will also create a fund to **help schools improve their sports facilities** and make better use of them out-of-hours, and promote physical literacy and competitive sport.

Vulnerable children

Children who end up in care are more likely to struggle as adults, denied the love and stability most of us take for granted. **We will prioritise stable, loving placements for those children** – adoption where possible or foster parents recruited by the local authority. **We will review the care system** to make sure that all care placements and settings are providing children and young adults with the support they need.

A strong society needs strong families. We will improve the Troubled Families programme and champion Family Hubs to serve vulnerable families with the intensive, integrated support they need to care for children – from the early years and throughout their lives. We will **set out new plans on the critical 1,001 days of a new baby's life.**

Support Working Families

Since 2010, the Conservatives have helped more than 1,000 people on average into work every day.

That is an extraordinary figure. And it has only been possible because the strong economy we have helped to create; our support for business; and our welfare reforms, which have encouraged more people into work. The majority of jobs created since 2010 have been high quality: full-time and outside London and the South-East.

Whoever you are, we want to make it easier for you to get a good and rewarding job – and to be able to combine a rewarding career with raising a family or caring for elderly or disabled relatives, rather than being forced to prioritise between them. We want to make sure that you get to keep more of the money you earn, and that we keep your bills low. And we want to make sure that those who can't work, or have entered retirement, get the level of support they need.

We have focused, over the past decade, on making sure that work always pays – particularly for those most in need of support. We have raised the minimum wage significantly and introduced and consistently raised the National Living Wage. We have doubled the personal allowance to £12,500, so that everyone gets to earn a decent amount before they are taxed. And we have made sure the state pension keeps pace with earnings.

In our first months, we announced **an increase in the National Living Wage to two thirds of average earnings currently forecast at £10.50 an hour,** and **widened its reach to everyone over 21.** That means **an average pay rise of £4,000 per year for 4 million people by 2024.**

To help young people get a foot on the employment ladder, we **abolished employers' National Insurance Contributions for under-21s and apprentices under 25**.

Creating millions more jobs is one of the Conservatives' proudest achievements. A Labour Government that makes it harder for businesses to grow and to hire – that allows people to sink into dependency rather than encouraging them to work and earn – could undo all of this progress.

A majority Conservative Government will deliver a major package of measures designed to ensure that it always pays to work, while doing everything we can to protect and support those who cannot – and to address the cost of living pressures that we all face.

- **We promise not to raise the headline rates of income tax, National Insurance or VAT.** This is a tax guarantee that will protect the incomes of hard-working families across this Parliament.
- **We not only want to freeze taxes, but to cut them too.** We will **raise the National Insurance threshold to £9,500 next year** – representing **a tax**

cut for 31 million workers. Our ultimate ambition is to ensure that **the first £12,500 you earn is completely free of tax** – which would **put almost £500 in people's pockets.**

- Raising a family should be the most fulfilling experience of your life. But for too many parents, the costs of childcare are a heavy burden. We want to give parents the freedom, support and choice to look after their children in the way that works best for them. We will establish **a new £1 billion million fund to help create more high quality, affordable childcare, including before and after school and during the school holidays.**
- For many families, energy costs are a major source of financial pressure. We will **keep our existing energy cap and introduce new measures to lower bills**. We will also give the Competition and Markets Authority enhanced powers to tackle consumer rip-offs and bad business practices. We recognise that water bills can be a major source of financial pressure, so will **extend the water rebate for those in the South-West.**
- On entering government in 2010, the Conservatives acted decisively to protect the UK's pensioners. The 'triple lock' we introduced has meant that those who have worked hard and put in for decades can be confident that the state will be there to support them when they need it. We will **keep the triple lock, the winter fuel payment, the older person's bus pass and other pensioner benefits,** ensuring that older people have the security and dignity they deserve.

We recognise the value of **free TV licences for over-75s and believe they should be funded by the BBC.**

- A number of workers, disproportionately women, who earn between £10,000 and £12,500 have been missing out on pension benefits because of a loophole affecting people with net pay pension schemes. **We will conduct a comprehensive review to look at how to fix this issue.**
- We will use our freedom from the EU to improve the UK's tax regime – not least by **abolishing the tampon tax.**
- We as Conservatives believe that everyone who can work, should work – and that it should always pay them to do so. But we also believe that those who truly can't work must be given the help they need. That is why we will **continue the roll-out of Universal Credit,** which combines multiple benefits into one while building a clearer pathway from welfare into work. We have already acted to increase work allowances, a move worth £630 to working families with children and those with disabilities, and we will **do more to make sure that Universal Credit works for the most vulnerable.** We will also **end the benefit freeze,** while **making sure it pays to work more hours.**
- At the same time, we will make sure **those who cheat the system by committing benefit fraud** are punished. There is no excuse for exploiting others who have worked hard and paid in.

- To help those looking after family members, especially women, we will support **the main carer in any household receiving the Universal Credit payment.** And we will continue our efforts through the tax and benefits system to **reduce poverty, including child poverty.** Children should grow up in an environment with no limits to their potential – which is one of the reasons we are making it a priority to put more money in the pockets of low-paid workers and **maintaining our commitment to free school meals.**
- We will also **extend the entitlement to leave for unpaid carers,** the majority of whom are women, to one week.
- As part of our efforts empower and support disabled people, we will **reduce the number of reassessments** a disabled person must go through when a significant change in condition is unlikely – because you should not have to provide repeated proof of your disability in order to receive support. We will publish a **National Strategy for Disabled People** before the end of 2020. This will look at the ways to improve the benefits system, opportunities and access for disabled people in terms of housing, education, transport and jobs. It will include our existing commitments to **increase SEND funding** and **support pupils, students and adults to get careers advice, internships, and transition into work**. We will **reduce the disability employment gap.**

Make Our Country Safer

Our first duty as a Government is to keep our country safe. One of Boris Johnson's first actions as Prime Minister was to start recruiting **20,000 new police officers. These new officers will take violent criminals off the streets and protect us and our country.**

The Conservatives will always back the brave men and women of our police and security services, which is why we will empower the police, backing the increased use of stop and search as long as it is fair and proportionate. And we will provide them with the equipment they need.

We need a fair justice system – one that stands for the law-abiding majority, not the criminal minority, and that gives a second chance to those who have served their time and wish to make a fresh start.

Our plan to cut crime

- **We will back our police** by equipping officers with the powers and tools they need to keep themselves, and all of us, safe, including **tasers and body cameras.** We will **put the Police Covenant into law** to ensure they have the support they need.
- Police will be empowered by a new court order to target known knife carriers, making it **easier for officers to stop and search those convicted of knife crime.** Anyone charged with knife possession

will **appear before magistrates within days not weeks. Those who use a knife as a weapon should go to prison.**

- **We will introduce tougher sentencing for the worst offenders and end automatic halfway release from prison for serious crimes.** For child murderers, there will be **life imprisonment without parole.**
- **We will use our new freedoms after Brexit to prevent more foreign national offenders entering our country.** We will **cut the number of foreign nationals in our prisons,** and increase penalties to stop them returning.
- **We will back all those who put their lives on the line to keep us safe – police and prison officers and emergency service workers.** We will pass the Police Protection Bill and consult on doubling the maximum sentence for assaulting workers in emergency services such as police officers, firefighters and paramedics.
- **We will strengthen the accountability of elected Police and Crime Commissioners and expand their role.** People must have an accountable local leader delivering on their crime and justice priorities, who they can vote out.
- **We will expand electronic tagging** for criminals serving time outside jail, including the use of sobriety tags for those whose offending is fuelled by alcohol.
- **We will toughen community sentences,** for example by tightening curfews and making those

convicted do more hours of community payback to clean up our parks and streets.

- **We will embrace new technologies and crack down on online crimes.** We will create **a new national cyber crime force,** and empower the police to **safely use new technologies** like biometrics and artificial intelligence, along with wider use of DNA, within a strict legal framework. We will also **create a world-class National Crime Laboratory.**
- **We will counter the growing threat of serious and organised crime.** We will **strengthen the National Crime Agency** so it can tackle the threats we face, from fraud, county lines gangs and child sexual abuse to illicit finance, modern slavery and people trafficking.
- **We will add 10,000 more prison places,** with £2.75 billion already committed to refurbishing and creating modern prisons.
- **We will maintain the ban on prisoners voting from jail.**
- **We will conduct a root-and-branch review of the parole system** to improve accountability and public safety, giving victims the right to attend hearings for the first time, and we will establish a **Royal Commission on the criminal justice process.**
- **We will combat extremism** and do all we can to ensure that **extremists never receive public money.**
- **We will keep our country safe from terrorism.** We will **invest in the police and security services**

and give them the powers they need to combat new threats. In the wake of the terrible events in Manchester in 2017, we will **improve the safety and security of public venues.**

- **We will tackle unauthorised traveller camps.** We will give the police new powers to **arrest and seize the property and vehicles** of trespassers who set up unauthorised encampments, in order to protect our communities. We will **make intentional trespass a criminal offence,** and we will also give councils greater powers within the planning system.

In order to successfully keep our streets safe, we also need to turn people away from crime and **end the cycle of reoffending:**

Youth offending

Young people are less likely to get into trouble in a well disciplined school, which is why we will **back teachers to enforce discipline.** We are investing £500m in **youth services** for young people. If they endanger others, we will put young people in new **alternative provision** schools. If they are offenders, we are trialling **Secure Schools.** New laws will require schools, police, councils and health authorities to work together through **Violence Reduction Units** to prevent serious crime.

Addiction

Drug addiction fuels crime, violence and family breakdown – and new dangerous substances are

driving an increase in deaths from drug abuse. We will tackle drug-related crime, and at the same time create a dedicated **Prevention and Recovery Agency** to improve drug treatment and help break the cycle of crime linked to addiction.

Rehabilitation

We will create a **prisoner education service** focused on work-based training and skills. We will improve employment opportunities for ex-offenders, including a job coach in each prison. This approach has reduced reoffending. We are improving prison security to protect staff, stop drug smuggling and reduce violence.

Supporting all victims of crime

Delivering justice does not just mean treating defendants fairly, but doing right by victims. So we will pass and implement a Victims' Law that guarantees victims' rights and the level of support they can expect.

- **We will support all victims of domestic abuse** and pass the Domestic Abuse Bill. We will **increase support for refuges and community support for victims of rape and sexual abuse.** We will **pilot integrated domestic abuse courts** that address criminal and family matters in parallel.
- **We will continue to fight crime against women and girls,** including rape, Female Genital Mutilation and forced marriage. Our support for the main carer receiving the household payment of Universal Credit

will help give greater independence to individuals, most often women, trapped with coercive partners.

- **We will protect people from physical attack or harassment** whether for their sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion or disability, and expand funding for and protect places of worship. We will **vigorously combat harassment and violence** against all religious groups, and against LGBT people. We will ensure that **those who work in countering extremism are protected** from threats and intimidation. We will **ban public bodies from imposing their own direct or indirect boycotts,** disinvestment or sanctions campaigns against foreign countries. These undermine community cohesion.
- **We will legislate to make the UK the safest place in the world to be online** – protecting children from online abuse and harms, protecting the most vulnerable from accessing harmful content, and ensuring there is no safe space for terrorists to hide online – but at the same time defending freedom of expression and in particular recognising and defending the invaluable role of a free press. Also, given how the online world is moving, the Gambling Act is increasingly becoming an analogue law in a digital age. We will review it, with a particular focus on tackling issues around loot boxes and credit card misuse.

Fix Our Immigration System

The vote to leave the EU was, among other things, a vote to take back control of our borders.

That is why a majority Conservative government will get Brexit done, and then introduce **a firmer and fairer Australia-style points-based immigration system,** so that we can decide who comes to this country on the basis of the skills they have and the contribution they can make – not where they come from. **Migrants will contribute to the NHS – and pay in before they can receive benefits.**

Our new system gives us real control over who is coming in and out. It allows us to **attract the best and brightest from all over the world.**

Only by **establishing immigration controls and ending freedom of movement** will we be able to attract the high-skilled workers we need to contribute to our economy, our communities and our public services. There will be **fewer lower-skilled migrants** and **overall numbers will come down.** And we will ensure that **the British people are always in control.**

Our Australian-style points system

We will prioritise people who:

- Have a good grasp of English

- Have been law-abiding citizens in their own countries
- Have good education and qualifications

Most people coming into the country will **need a clear job offer.** In addition:

- **We will not allow serious criminals into the country.** If people abuse our hospitality, we will remove them as quickly as possible.
- **We will keep track of who is coming in and out of our country.**
- **We will overhaul the current immigration system, and make it more fair and compassionate** – what happened to the Windrush generation was horrific and we will ensure it never happens again. We are committed to the Windrush compensation scheme.
- **We will treat EU and non-EU citizens equally.** Regardless of whether they are from Europe or another part of the world, we welcome people who meet our criteria.
- **We want EU citizens who came to live in the UK before Brexit to stay** – and we have committed absolutely to guaranteeing their existing rights and ensuring that they feel a welcomed and valued part of our country and community after Brexit. That is why we introduced the EU Settlement Scheme and will put it into law as soon as we are in Government.

Attracting the best and brightest

We want the UK to be a magnet for the best and brightest, with special immigration routes for those who will make the biggest contribution. We will create bespoke visa schemes for new migrants who will fill shortages in our public services, build the companies and innovations of the future, and benefit Britain for years to come. These include:

- **The NHS Visa.** Qualified doctors, nurses and allied health professionals with a job offer from the NHS, who have been trained to a recognised standard, and who have good working English, will be offered fast-track entry, reduced visa fees and dedicated support to come to the UK with their families.
- Actively recruiting **leaders in their field** to come to the UK. The small number of the best technology and science graduates from the top universities in the world and those who win top scientific prizes will be offered fast-track entry to the UK – these people can do more than any others to drive scientific progress and help our NHS and our economy.
- Our **student visa** will help universities attract talented young people and allow those students to stay on to apply for work here after they graduate.
- Our **start-up visa,** alongside our new rules for those of exceptional talent, will ensure that we can attract the entrepreneurs of the future who want to start great businesses here in the UK.

Integration and openness

We want our party, and our Government, to represent modern Britain – a diverse and tolerant country with confidence in its own identity and values. We believe the enduring beliefs that unite us are far more important than our differences.

Our society has been enriched by immigration and we will always recognise the contribution of those who have helped build our public services, businesses, culture and communities.

We will ensure **no matter where in the world you or your family come from, your rights will be respected and you will be treated with fairness and dignity.**

We will tackle prejudice, racism and discrimination and address the complex reasons why some groups do less well at school, earn less at work, or are more likely to be victims of crime. We will act to improve the lives of all and reject the politics of division. Our priority is to focus on practical solutions that make a real difference to people's lives.

- **We will boost English language teaching** to empower existing migrants and help promote integration into society.
- **We will back the National Citizen Service** and promote it in schools as a way of bringing communities together. The Youth Futures

Foundation will invest at least £90 million to improve employment outcomes for young people.

- We will improve the **quality of evidence and data** within Government about the types of barriers different groups face, ensuring that fairness is at the heart of everything we do.
- We will **continue to grant asylum and support to refugees fleeing persecution,** with the ultimate aim of helping them to return home if it is safe to do so.
- We will **champion freedom of expression and tolerance,** both in the UK and overseas.
- We will ensure that the historic contribution of migrant groups is recognised. We will maintain our support for **a memorial recognising the contribution of the Windrush Generation** in a prominent site in London.

Contributing to our country

It is a basic point of principle – and natural justice – that you should not be able to take out before you have put in. Of course we should help those in genuine need – especially those who have fled from persecution. But at the same time, it is both right and fair that, as in other countries, people making the UK their home should pay into the tax system for a reasonable period of time before they can access welfare. Our new immigration system will mean:

- People coming into the country from the EU will **only be able to access unemployment, housing,**

and child benefit after five years, in the way non-EEA migrants currently do.

- We will **no longer allow people to claim child benefit for children living overseas.**
- **We will require new arrivals to contribute to the funding of the NHS** and will increase the health surcharge to ensure it covers the full cost of use. We will also enforce charges on those who come to our country and use our health services without contributing, **doubling the budget for our health tourism enforcement unit.** We will continue to offer free emergency care to anyone who needs it.
- In order to help communities cope better with pressures on public services, we will **ensure that new GP and school places are delivered ahead of people moving into new housing developments,** and will invest in technical skills and work incentives so British workers take up as many jobs as possible.

This is a package of measures that is fair, firm and compassionate – that brings the immigration system, after so many years, into line with the British people's own sense of what is right. But we cannot do any of it unless we have a strong Conservative government that can get Brexit done.

We Will Unleash Britain's Potential

Getting Brexit done allows us to focus on making this the best possible place to live and work – to use our

post-Brexit freedoms to build prosperity and strengthen and level up every part of the country.

Because it is not just Britain's potential that we want to unleash, but that of the British people.

Our plan means making sure people have access to world-class public services, that they feel safe on the streets, that working families get to keep more of their own money, and that we help with cost of living pressures.

But it also means making sure that we share prosperity across the country, addressing the longstanding economic challenges in parts of the country. We will invest responsibly and prudently in the infrastructure that can make a difference, and ensure communities in every corner of the United Kingdom are pleasant, safe and prosperous. And we will invest far more in helping workers train and retrain for the jobs and industries of the future.

Investing in people, restoring the fabric of our towns and cities, building the homes we need, supporting science and industry, strengthening the great Union between the United Kingdom's four nations – that is how we will unleash our country's full potential.

We are the only party that can deliver this programme, because we are the only party that understands the symmetry at the heart of the UK economy. That the

only way to fund world-class public services, training for everyone and outstanding infrastructure is to encourage the millions of British businesses that create the wealth of the nation – especially small businesses, family firms and the self-employed.

We stand for the people working every hour they can, those taking a risk on a new idea, those challenging existing markets. Their success is our success.

And we stand for those who give their time to help others – the charities, community groups and volunteers who already do so much to make our country a better place.

We believe, in other words, that Britain is a great country – the greatest on earth. Together, we can make it greater still.

Revive Our Towns and Cities

People across the UK are rightly proud of where they come from, and of their local areas. But too many communities feel let down. Violent crime and anti-social behaviour are ignored amid a backdrop of boarded-up department stores, shops and pubs. Great towns and cities are being held back.

We as Conservatives want to give you freedom – low taxes, opportunity, the chance to realise your dreams. But we also want to give you security – safe and

pleasant streets, and the ability to take pride and comfort from the community around you.

This is why, in his first months as Prime Minister, Boris Johnson has set out an agenda for **levelling up every part of the UK** – not just investing in our great towns and cities, as well as rural and coastal areas, but giving them far more control of how that investment is made. In the 21st century, we need to get away from the idea that 'Whitehall knows best' and that all growth must inevitably start in London. Because we as Conservatives believe you can and must trust people and communities to make the decisions that are right for them.

To underpin this national renewal, we will invest **£100 billion in additional infrastructure spending** – on roads, rail and other responsible, productive investment which will repair and refurbish the fabric of our country and generate greater growth in the long run. For example, **flood defences will receive £4 billion in new funding.**

We will ensure that we are always spending what we can afford – with strict limits on borrowing and repayment costs.

We will use this historic investment to **level up and connect this country**, so that **everyone can get a fair share of its future prosperity.**

A new deal for towns

Our new Towns Fund will help communities make sure their towns are safe to walk in and a pleasure to be in. We want there to be things to do, great places to shop and eat and transport to be easy. Above all, we want the town's future to be in the hands of the people who live there.

- **Regenerating towns.** The Towns Fund will go to an initial 100 towns to improve their local economy – and they and only they will make the choice about what improvements their local area needs.
- **Thriving high streets.** We will cut taxes for small retail businesses and for local music venues, pubs and cinemas.
- **Giving young people a future.** As well as our investment in schools and technical education, we will invest £500 million in new youth clubs and services.
- **Safer streets, safer towns.** A new Safer Streets Fund will invest in preventative measures like new CCTV or community wardens.
- **New civic infrastructure.** We have announced the largest cultural capital programme in a century, of £250 million. This will support local libraries and regional museums. We will work with local universities to do more for the education, health and prosperity of their local areas.
- **Community ownership.** We will establish a £150 million Community Ownership Fund to encourage local takeovers of civic organisations or community assets that are under threat – local

football clubs, but also pubs or post offices. We will set up a fan-led review of football governance, which will include consideration of the Owners and Directors Test, and will work with fans and clubs towards introducing safe standing. And we will help communities that want to create 'pocket parks' and regenerate derelict areas.

- **Community spirit.** Through our Cultural Investment Fund, outlined above, we will support activities, traditions and events that bring communities together. We will support local and regional newspapers, as vital pillars of communities and local democracy, including by extending their business rates relief.

A transport revolution

A key part of our plan to level up the UK's cities and regions is to connect them. Leeds is the largest city in Western Europe without a light rail or metro system. And European cities are often more productive than our own in large part because they have better infrastructure.

- We will **connect our cities:**
- We will build **Northern Powerhouse Rail** between Leeds and Manchester and then focus on Liverpool, Tees Valley, Hull, Sheffield, and Newcastle.
- We will invest in the **Midlands Rail Hub,** strengthening rail links including those between Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, Coventry, Derby, Hereford and Worcester

- We will also invest in improving services to the South West and East Anglia.
- We will extend contactless pay-as-you go ticketing to almost 200 more stations in the **South-East,** meaning that 50 per cent of all rail journeys and almost all London commuter journeys can be completed using a contactless bank card.
- We will give **city regions the funding to upgrade their bus, tram and train services to make them as good as London's,** with more frequent, better-integrated services, more electrification, modern buses and trains and smart ticketing.
- The railways need accountability, not nationalisation. So we will end the complicated franchising model and **create a simpler, more effective rail system,** including giving metro mayors control over services in their areas.
- We will make a **£28.8 billion investment in strategic and local roads.** We will invest £1 billion in **completing a fast-charging network** to ensure that everyone in the UK is always within 30 miles of a rapid electric vehicle charging station. We will consult on the earliest date by which we can **phase out the sale of new conventional petrol and diesel cars.**
- We will require that a **minimum service operates during transport strikes.** Rail workers deserve a fair deal, but it is not fair to let the trade unions undermine the livelihoods of others.
- **HS2** is a great ambition, but will now cost at least £81 billion and will not reach Leeds or Manchester

until as late as 2040. We will consider the findings of the Oakervee review into costs and timings and work with leaders of the Midlands and the North to decide the optimal outcome.

- Connectivity is not just about the UK's great cities. To help communities across the country, we will **restore many of the Beeching lines,** reconnecting smaller towns such as Fleetwood and Willenhall that have suffered permanent disadvantage since they were removed from the rail network in the 1960s.
- We will invest in **superbus networks** with lower fares – flat fares in urban areas – and increased frequency. We will keep bus fares low, bring back and protect rural routes, and speed up your journeys. We will invest in electric buses, developing the UK's first all-electric-bus town.
- We will launch the **biggest ever pothole-filling programme** as part of our National Infrastructure Strategy – and our major investment in roads will ensure new potholes are much less likely to appear in the future.
- We will **support commuter cycling routes,** so that more people can cycle safely to work and more families can go out together. We will **create a new £350 million Cycling Infrastructure Fund** with mandatory design standards for new routes. We will extend Bikeability – cycling proficiency training – to every child. And we will work with the NHS to promote cycling for healthier living.
- In terms of air travel, Parliament has voted in principle to support **a third runway at Heathrow,**

but it is a private sector project. It is for Heathrow to demonstrate that it can meet its air quality obligations, that the project can be financed and built and that the business case is realistic. The scheme will receive no new public money. More broadly, we will use new air traffic control technology to **cut the time aircraft spend waiting to land,** reducing delays, noise nuisance and pollution. We will also **build on Britain's pioneering work in electric and low-carbon flight.**

Connecting the UK is not just about transport. We are Europe's technology capital, producing start-ups and success stories at a dazzling pace. But not everyone can share the benefits. We intend to bring **full fibre and gigabit-capable broadband to every home and business across the UK by 2025.**

We know how difficult it will be, so we have announced a raft of legislative changes to accelerate progress and **£5 billion of new public funding** to connect premises which are not commercially viable.

Supporting local communities

Local government is the bedrock of our democracy. We are proud that Conservative councils have led the way in helping keep council taxes low, providing value for money and supporting local communities.

We will ensure that councils continue to deliver essential local services – which is why they received a substantial funding increase in the most recent Spending Round. Local people will continue to have the final say on council tax, being able to veto high rises. This does not prevent councils raising more – but it does ensure that they will need to have solid and convincing reasons for doing so.

We remain committed to **devolving power to people and places across the UK.** Our ambition is for full devolution across England, building on the successful devolution of powers to city region mayors, Police and Crime Commissioners and others, so that every part of our country has the power to shape its own destiny. We will publish **an English Devolution White Paper** setting out our plans next year.

Through our **City and Growth Deals** we have already delivered more than £9 billion of funding across England, and almost £3 billion to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Through bodies like the Northern Powerhouse, Western Gateway and Midlands Engine we will **drive greater levels of foreign investment into the UK,** promoting our towns, cities and counties around the world. As part of our plans for full devolution we will also invite proposals from local areas for similar growth bodies across the rest of England, such as the Oxford-Cambridge Arc.

Taken together, this is an agenda which shows that the days of Whitehall knows best are over. We will give towns, cities and communities of all sizes across the UK real power and real investment to drive the growth of the future and unleash their full potential.

Deliver the Housing People Need

Home ownership is one of the most fundamental Conservative values. People are happier, more secure and more rooted in their communities when they own their own home – and know that they can pass it on to future generations.

For the UK to unleash its potential, young people need the security of knowing that home ownership is within their reach – that they too can have a tangible stake in society, can be rooted in their communities and have a place to raise a family.

A majority Conservative Government will continue to increase the number of homes being built. But we must also rebalance the housing market towards more home ownership – while ensuring fairness for the new generation of renters.

Helping people buy and rent

- The biggest problem that young people face in getting on the housing ladder is the deposit. There are more than three million people, many of them with good jobs and secure prospects, who would have been homeowners before the economic crisis

in 2008 but have been locked out of the mortgage market. We will encourage a new market in **long-term fixed rate mortgages which slash the cost of deposits,** opening up a secure path to home ownership for first-time buyers in all parts of the United Kingdom.

- We will **offer more homes to local families,** enabling councils to use developers' contributions via the planning process to discount homes in perpetuity by a third for local people who cannot otherwise afford to buy in their area. Councils could use this to prioritise key workers in their area, like police, nurses and teachers.
- We will maintain our commitment to a **Right to Buy** for all council tenants. We will also maintain the voluntary Right to Buy scheme agreed with housing associations. Following the successful voluntary pilot scheme in the Midlands, we will evaluate new pilot areas in order to spread the dream of home ownership to even more people. And we have **extended the Help to Buy scheme** from 2021 to 2023 and will review new ways to support home ownership following its completion.
- We will reform shared ownership, making it fairer and more transparent. We will **simplify shared ownership products** by setting a single standard for all housing associations, thereby ending the confusion and disparity between different schemes.
- We will continue with our **reforms to leasehold** including implementing our ban on the sale of new leasehold homes, restricting ground rents to a

peppercorn, and providing necessary mechanisms of redress for tenants.

- We will bring in **a Better Deal for Renters,** including abolishing 'no fault' evictions and only requiring one 'lifetime' deposit which moves with the tenant. This will create a fairer rental market: if you're a tenant, you'll be protected from revenge evictions and rogue landlords, and if you're one of the many good landlords, we will strengthen your rights of possession.

While we want to encourage as many people as possible into home ownership, we recognise that not everyone can afford their own home – and that those in social housing deserve the same dignity, respect and fair treatment as private renters.

As Boris Johnson has promised, we will bring forward a **Social Housing White Paper** which will set out further measures to **empower tenants and support the continued supply of social homes.** This will include measures to provide greater redress, better regulation and improve the quality of social housing.

We will also commit to **renewing the Affordable Homes Programme,** in order to support the delivery of **hundreds of thousands of affordable homes.** This is a key part of our efforts to prevent people from falling into homelessness, along with fully enforcing the Homelessness Reduction Act. We will also **end the blight of rough sleeping** in the next Parliament

by expanding successful pilots and programmes such as the Rough Sleeping Initiative and Housing First, and working to bring together local services to meet the health and housing needs of people sleeping on the streets.

We will help pay for this by bringing in a **stamp duty surcharge on non-UK resident buyers.**

Places we want to live in

Since 2010 there has seen a considerable increase in homebuilding. We have delivered a million homes in the last five years in England: last year, we delivered the highest number of homes for 30 years.

But it still isn't enough. That is why we will continue our progress towards our target of 300,000 homes a year by the mid-2020s. This will see us build **at least a million more homes,** of all tenures, over the next Parliament – in the areas that really need them. And we will **make the planning system simpler** for the public and small builders, and **support modern methods of construction.**

Crucially, however, we need to make sure homes are built in a way that makes sense for the people already living in the area and for the families moving in:

- **Infrastructure first.** We will amend planning rules so that the infrastructure – roads, schools, GP surgeries – comes before people move into new

homes. And our new £10 billion Single Housing Infrastructure Fund will help deliver it faster.

- **Beautiful, high-quality homes.** We will ask every community to decide on its own design standards for new development, allowing residents a greater say on the style and design of the development in their area, with local councils encouraged to build more beautiful architecture.
- **Building safety.** Following the Grenfell tragedy there has rightly been a focus on building safety. No report or review can truly capture the heartache, sorrow, anger and grief that many people feel. We have already committed to implementing and legislating for all the recommendations of the Hackitt Review and the first phase of the independent inquiry. We will continue to work with industry, housing associations and individuals to ensure every home is safe and secure. And we will support high rise residential residents with the removal of unsafe cladding, and continue with our rigorous process of materials testing.
- **Community housing and self-build.** We will support community housing by helping people who want to build their own homes find plots of land and access the Help to Buy scheme. We will also support communities living on council estates who want to take ownership of the land and buildings they live in.
- **Environmentally friendly homes.** We will support the creation of new kinds of homes that have low energy bills and which support our environmental

targets and will expect all new streets to be lined with trees.

- **Homes for the Future.** We will encourage innovative design and technology to make housing more affordable, accessible, and suitable for disabled people and an ageing population.
- **The Green Belt.** We will protect and enhance the Green Belt. We will improve poor quality land, increase biodiversity and make our beautiful countryside more accessible for local community use. In order to safeguard our green spaces, we will continue to prioritise brownfield development, particularly for the regeneration of our cities and towns.

Make Britain the Best Place to Start and Grow a Business

We want Britain to be the best country in the world to start and grow a business – a place where entrepreneurs know they can build on their ideas and find success.

Not only because businesses are good for society – creating the jobs that put bread on the table, and generating the tax revenue that funds our vital public services.

But because we believe that we should do everything we can to support those who want to start their own company, strike out on their own, and have an idea that grows into a world-leading business. Our mission

as Conservatives is to give everyone across the country the opportunity to fulfil their potential.

We have many strengths. We are a highly competitive economy with a strong education system and well-respected regulatory framework. We have more world-class universities than anywhere in Europe.

We are a magnet for talent, and home to more innovative and successful new companies than anywhere on the continent – especially in the technology sector. In areas such as tech, financial services, law and the creative industries we lead the world – and will continue to do so after Brexit.
Of the nearly six million businesses in this country, the vast majority are small and medium sized. Small and family businesses are the backbone of the economy and Britain is immeasurably stronger for their contribution.

Once we get Brexit done, we can use our new freedoms to ensure that Britain's businesses can unleash their enormous potential – that they can invest, hire, export and grow, rather than being crushed by Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell's inexorable hostility towards aspiration and entrepreneurship.

Driving down costs and supporting small businesses

We understand the challenge of increasing running costs, especially for smaller firms, and are committed to reducing them.

Our plan to upgrade infrastructure will make it easier for businesses to operate – to move goods around the country and to connect to customers around the world via gigabit broadband. And our **new £3 billion National Skills Fund,** alongside other major investment in skills and training and our reforms to high-skilled immigration, will ensure that businesses can find and hire the workers they need.

But we also want to tackle the other everyday obstacles that they face.

- **We will cut the burden of tax on business by reducing business rates.** This will be done via **a fundamental review of the system.** As a first step, we will **further reduce business rates for retail businesses, as well extending the discount to grassroots music venues, small cinemas and pubs.** That means protecting your high street and community from excessive tax hikes and keeping town centres vibrant.
- We will **increase the Employment Allowance for small businesses** – a tax cut for half a million small firms.
- **We will support start-ups and small businesses via government procurement, and commit to**

paying them on time. We will also **clamp down on late payment** more broadly, by strengthening the powers of the Small Business Commissioner to support small businesses that are exploited by their larger partners.

- **We will expand start-up loans,** which have particularly high take up from women and BAME entrepreneurs. The British Business Bank has supported 90,000 smaller businesses with over £7 billion in investment or loans, and will continue to grow.
- **We will help SMEs to become exporters,** so that they can seize the opportunities that will become available once we get Brexit done.
- Good regulation is essential to successful businesses: we will strive to **achieve the right regulatory balance** between supporting excellent business practice and protecting workers, consumers and the environment. Through our Red Tape Challenge, we will **ensure that regulation is sensible and proportionate, and that we always consider the needs of small businesses** when devising new rules, using our new freedom after Brexit to ensure that British rules work for British companies.
- As well as **encouraging investment in physical building and equipment,** we will **help employers invest in skills** and look at how we can **improve the working of the Apprenticeship Levy.**

Backing entrepreneurs and innovation

Every day, people risk their savings and their future by becoming entrepreneurs. They invent the new goods and services that improve our lives. From decarbonisation to expanding the frontier of artificial intelligence, they are tackling some of the great challenges of our time. We want to be a nation of start-ups, and of successful scale-ups. We have more 'unicorns' – new billion-dollar tech companies – than any other nation in Europe.

We are proud of the work we have done to support entrepreneurship and want to see more entrepreneurs, including women and those from BAME backgrounds. Some of our work has been spectacularly successful – such as the **Seed Enterprise Investment Scheme** and **Enterprise Investment Scheme,** which we will **continue in the next Parliament.** And by cutting corporation tax from 28 per cent to 19 per cent, we have encouraged more businesses to invest and grow in the UK.

Some measures have worked, but need to go further – as with **R&D tax credits.** We will **increase the tax credit rate to 13 per cent and review the definition of R&D** so that important investments in cloud computing and data, which boost productivity and innovation, are also incentivised.

We also have to recognise that some measures haven't had exactly the impact we hoped, so we will review and reform **Entrepreneurs' Relief.**

Of course, supporting enterprise is not just about championing businesses – more people than ever are moving into self-employment, especially women. We will therefore launch a review to **explore how we can better support the self-employed.** That includes improving their access to finance and credit (not least mortgages), making the tax system easier to navigate, and examining how better broadband can boost home-working.

Building a fairer taxation system

Conservatives believe in a corporate tax system which rewards entrepreneurship and punishes evasion. We will always be whole-heartedly on the side of business, while making sure everyone pays their fair share of tax. Already, the top 1 per cent of income taxpayers pay over 29 per cent of income tax – higher than at any time under the last Labour Government.

We will continue to build on this to **tackle tax evasion and reduce opportunities for aggressive tax avoidance.**

Since 2010, we have **introduced more than 100 anti-avoidance measures** and **secured more than £200 billion which would otherwise have gone**

unpaid – £24 billion in the last year alone. We have led the international fight against aggressive tax avoidance and offshore tax havens, rewriting global rules to ensure tax is paid where profit is made. This has included committing 100 jurisdictions to ending bank secrecy.

But we can go further still. The gap between the amount of tax that should be paid and is actually collected stands at £35 billion – still too high. Hard-working families and businesses who do pay their fair share should know that we will not permit evasion to go unchecked. So we will **set out a new anti-tax avoidance and evasion law.** This will:

- **Double the maximum prison term to 14 years** for individuals convicted of the most egregious examples of tax fraud.
- **Create a single, beefed-up Anti-Tax Evasion unit in HMRC** that covers all duties and taxes, from individual errors to deliberate non-compliance – which is put on a legislative footing.
- **Consolidate existing anti-evasion and avoidance measures and powers.**
- **Introduce a new package of anti-evasion measures,** including measures to end tax abuse in the construction sector, crack down on illicit tobacco packaging and further measures to avoid profit-shifting by multinational companies to avoid paying taxes.

Major multinational companies should pay their fair share of tax. As part of our approach, we will **implement the Digital Services Tax.**

While always backing entrepreneurs that choose to make the UK the place to invest and set up a business, we will take further action to **redesign the tax system so that it boosts growth, wages and investment and limits arbitrary tax advantages for the wealthiest in society.**

We are also strengthening the UK's corporate governance regime, and will **reform insolvency rules and the audit regime** so that customers and suppliers are better protected when firms like Thomas Cook go into administration. We will also carefully study the results of the ongoing investigation into its collapse. We will also **improve incentives to attack the problem of excessive executive pay and rewards for failure.**

We will reintroduce legislation that **protects pension pots from being plundered by reckless bosses,** helps savers be better informed with pension dashboards, and **creates a new style of pension scheme** which is more sustainable for workers and employers.

Invest in Britain's People

The 2020s will see a transformation in jobs. Automation and computing will change how

businesses function. Our plan to deliver clean energy and a carbon-neutral future means new kinds of jobs in new industries. And our departure from the European Union means we can develop forward-looking regulations to ensure we are first in line to develop and benefit from the technologies of the future.

This requires a dramatic rebooting of our training system – to support public services, existing businesses and the businesses of the future. But above all, we want to ensure that Britain's workers have the skills they need to flourish – and that every citizen of this country has the opportunity to express their talents to the fullest.

Levelling up Britain's skills

Since 2010, the Government has invested significantly in technical qualifications and apprenticeships, with 3.8 million more apprenticeships.

In the next Parliament, we expect to train up hundreds of thousands more highly skilled apprentices. But we will go further and **require significant numbers of new UK apprentices for all new big infrastructure projects** – new hospitals, new schools, major transport projects and so on, being built with pride by a new generation of British workers.

Whatever age you are, nothing is more Conservative than working hard to improve your lot – and nothing is more important for the Conservative Party than supporting people in those efforts.

Our reforms and investment in education and skills mean more children are leaving school better equipped for working life and there are more high quality apprenticeships. But there is much more to do to level up the skills of the entire nation. Not just to improve Britain's productivity, but to enable people to fulfil their potential.

As the centrepiece of our plan, we will **create a new National Skills Fund worth £3 billion** over the next Parliament. This fund will provide matching funding for individuals and SMEs for high-quality education and training. A proportion will be reserved for further strategic investment in skills, and we will consult widely on the overall design.

The National Skills Fund will help to transform the lives of people who have not got onto the work ladder and lack qualifications, as well as people who are keen to return to work from say, raising a family, or switch from one career to another. It will not only make this country more prosperous, but fairer.

Just as universities have been transformed by significant long-term investment over the last few decades, we need to make sure local colleges are

equally excellent places for people to learn. We are therefore **investing almost £2 billion to upgrade the entire further education college estate.** And we'll also have **20 Institutes of Technology,** which connect high-quality teaching in science, technology, engineering and maths to business and industry.

Vitally, leaving the EU also means that we can take back control of the money that was being channelled via its Structural Funds. We have already announced a UK Shared Prosperity Fund, to ensure that the people of the UK do not lose out from the withdrawal of EU funding (which was, of course, only a small part of the billions of pounds we were contributing), and to replace the EU programme with one that is fairer and better tailored to our economy. And we will ensure that **£500 million of the UK Shared Prosperity Fund** is used to give disadvantaged people the skills they need to make a success of life.

Taken together, this package of measures represents a profound commitment to Britain's future – to helping people of whatever age and background navigate the new world of work, equip themselves with the skills they need, increase their earnings and make Britain more productive.

World-leading universities

The UK is home to leading universities, which attract students from all over the world, conduct vital research, and generate enormous benefits for our

economy and our society. They also do an excellent job of generating many of the skills that our economy needs, producing globally renowned scientists, entrepreneurs and creators, and enabling millions of people to fulfil their potential.

In the next parliament we will **work to maintain and strengthen our global position in higher education.** The Augar Review made thoughtful recommendations on tuition fee levels, interest rates on repayments, the balance of funding between universities, further education and apprenticeships and adult learning, and we will consider them carefully.

We also will continue to explore ways to **tackle the problem of grade inflation and low quality courses,** and **improve the application and offer system** for undergraduate students. Our approach will be underpinned by a commitment to fairness, quality of learning and teaching, and access.

We will also **strengthen academic freedom and free speech in universities** and continue to **focus on raising standards.**
We will strengthen universities and colleges' civic role. We will invest in local adult education and require the Office for Students to look at universities' success in **increasing access across all ages,** not just young people entering full-time undergraduate degrees.

Fairness in the workplace

As well as making Britain the best place to start a business, and the best place to learn and develop your skills, we want to make the UK the best place in the world to work.

The increase in employment that the Conservative Government has overseen since 2010 is proof that there is no contradiction between high employment and high standards – between dynamic growth and protecting employees from unfair policies and discriminatory treatment. Over the last year, for example, unemployment has continued to fall, even as average real wages have increased.

We have **raised the personal income tax allowance** and increased the minimum and introduced and consistently raised the National Living Wage to ensure that people get to keep more of what they earn and that work always pays. And we have aimed to **struck the right balance between the flexibility that the economy needs and the security that employees deserve,** introducing new protections for workers while preserving the dynamism and job creation that drive our shared prosperity.

And once we have got Brexit done, we will go further. Because **people cannot fulfil their potential if they do not have jobs that treat them with dignity and respect**, and if they are not in control of their lives and their futures.

As Conservatives we will always **prioritise the principle of fairness in the workplace,** whether it is in the job application process, ensuring equal pay for equal work, or people's working conditions. We scrapped exclusivity clauses in zero hours contracts to give workers more flexibility.

We have already taken forward a number of recommendations from the Taylor Review and will build on existing employment law with measures that protect those in low-paid work and the gig economy. For example:

- **We will create a single enforcement body and crack down on any employer abusing employment law,** whether by taking workers' tips or refusing them sick pay.
- We will ensure that **workers have the right to request a more predictable contract** and other reasonable protections.

We also want to look at more radical ways to support working families in the UK. Our lifestyles have been transformed over the last four decades – many families today have two working parents who are juggling both work and other responsibilities. They have to stretch themselves daily to care for children, elderly relatives and those with disabilities. For women, who still tend to be the main carers in households, this can have a big impact on their careers and limit their participation in the workplace.

But while the modern workplace is adapting as a result, we can do more as a Government to make things easier, learning from sensible approaches adopted in other countries. We will therefore introduce a raft of measures that balance the needs of employees and employers:

- We will **encourage flexible working** and consult on making it the default unless employers have good reasons not to.
- We will **reformed redundancy law so companies cannot discriminate against women** immediately after returning from maternity leave.
- We will legislate to **allow parents to take extended leave for neonatal care,** to support those new mothers and fathers who need it during the most vulnerable and stressful days of their lives. And we will look at ways to **make it easier for fathers to take paternity leave.**
- We will **extend the entitlement to leave for unpaid carers,** the majority of whom are women, to a week.

Over the last nine years, we have extended the offer of free childcare hours to more working parents. We know that people value this support, but wish it could be more flexible. As outlined above, **we will fund more high-quality childcare before and after school and during the holidays** so that working parents do not have to choose between their careers and their children.

Our vision for the labour market, in other words, is not one where the state does everything for you. It is one where the state does everything it can to help you help yourself – by upgrading your skills, or by being able to balance work and family life. It is one in which a deep commitment to entrepreneurship and business is matched by a desire to ensure that the jobs that are created are highly skilled, well-paid and fulfilling.

Unleash Innovation

The UK has a proud record of innovation and discovery. We are the country that gave the world penicillin, the World Wide Web, the theories of gravity and evolution, that unravelled the structure of DNA. The University of Cambridge alone has played host to more Nobel laureates than have been produced by any country in the world bar the United States. More, indeed, than France, Japan, India and China – combined.

That spirit of discovery is still alive in this country today. But we have not always turned our genius for innovation into jobs and companies here in Britain. EU regulations have been another barrier to innovation.

We need to use science and research to unite and level up our country, giving people opportunity and hope.

Once we have got Brexit done, we will turn our attention to the great challenges of the future such as

clean energy and advanced energy storage; a cure for dementia; solving antibiotic resistance. To do this we will make an unprecedented investment in science so we can strengthen research and build the foundations for the new industries of tomorrow.

We are committing to the fastest ever increase in **domestic public R&D spending, including in basic science research** to meet our target of 2.4 per cent of GDP being spent across the economy. Some of this new spending will go to **a new agency for high-risk, high-payoff research,** at arm's length from government. We will continue to support our outstanding science sector as we leave the EU.

Unlike Corbyn's Labour, we will not spend blindly and wastefully.

- We will **focus our efforts on areas where the UK can generate a commanding lead in the industries of the future** – life sciences, clean energy, space, design, computing, robotics and artificial intelligence.
- In particular, we will make **the UK the leading global hub for life sciences after Brexit.**
- We will use our £1 billion Ayrton Fund to **develop affordable and accessible clean energy** that will improve lives and help us to lead the world in tackling climate change.
- We will use our increased R&D funding from Government to **attract and kickstart private investment.**

- We will **support international collaboration and exchange** and ensure UK teams can recruit **the skills and talent they need from abroad.**
- We will **reform the science funding system** to cut the time wasted by scientists filling in forms.
- We will **unlock long-term capital in pension funds to invest in and commercialise our scientific discoveries,** creating a vibrant science-based economy post-Brexit.
- We will continue to **collaborate internationally and with the EU on scientific research,** including Horizon.

These unprecedented increases to the science budget will be used to **drive forward the development of technologies of critical importance to the UK,** by investing in clusters around world-leading universities and spreading knowledge.

But it isn't just about laboratory work. The UK is at its best when it allies its extraordinary design and artistic abilities with science and technology. The **Festival of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in 2022** – a national celebration which coincides with the **Birmingham Commonwealth Games** – will encourage our leading arts and cultural organisations, universities, research institutes and businesses to come together to inspire the next generation in British innovation and creativity.

We will **invest in world-class computing and health data systems** that can aid research, such as the ground-breaking genetic sequencing carried out at the UK Biobank, Genomics England and the new Accelerating the Detection of Disease project, which has the potential to transform diagnosis and treatment.

We will **use government procurement to support new ideas and new companies.** We will continue to support charities such as, New Schools Network, Unlocked and Frontline which have helped to transform our public services.

Alongside investing in science, we will maintain our support for the arts and culture, taking pride in the world-beating strengths of the UK's creative industries and its unparalleled cultural heritage. In addition to our **new support for arts in schools, business rates relief for music venues and cinemas,** and the **largest cultural capital programme in a century** – £250 million to support local libraries and museums – we will **maintain support for creative sector tax reliefs** and **free entry to the UK's national museums.**

Support Rural Life and Coastal Communities

Even as the UK forges ahead in the future, we must not forget those communities that have not shared fully in the growth generated by our economy.

This Government is committed to levelling up all parts of the United Kingdom – and getting Brexit done will enable us to give new support to people in rural and coastal communities, and for our farming and fishing industries.

We intend to make their lives much easier:

- We intend to **roll out gigabit broadband across the country by 2025, with £5 billion in funding already promised, and provide greater mobile coverage** across the country.
- We will use our additional police resources to **tackle rural crime.**
- For areas – such as some coastal towns – which have historically been poorly served in terms of education and public services (among much else), we will **expand our Opportunity Areas programme** to raise standards and support regeneration. We will also **invest in the bus network** to improve infrequent or non-existent services in the countryside, including with more on-demand services.

Just as in the wider economy we can combine strong employment growth with high employment standards, so we believe that **British farmers and fishermen should be able to profit by producing food and fish that are the envy of the world** – both for their quality and the high standards to which they were produced.

We want people, both at home and abroad, to be lining up to buy British. And one of the great opportunities of Brexit is the chance to **lead the world in the quality of our food, agriculture and land management** – driven by science-led, evidence-based policy.

And we want those same farmers and fishermen to act as the **stewards of the natural world,** preserving the UK's countryside and oceans as they have for generations.

A post-Brexit deal for farming

- Once we have got Brexit done, we will **free our farmers from the bureaucratic Common Agricultural Policy and move to a system based on 'public money for public goods'.**
- To support this transition, we will **guarantee the current annual budget to farmers** in every year of the next Parliament.
- In return for funding, they must farm in a way that protects and enhances our natural environment, as well as safeguarding high standards of animal welfare.
- When we leave the EU, we will be able to **encourage the public sector to 'Buy British'** to support our farmers and reduce environmental costs.
- We will **increase the annual quota for the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme** we are piloting from 2,500 to 10,000.

A post-Brexit deal for fisheries

- Upon leaving the EU, we will **leave the Common Fisheries Policy,** becoming an independent coastal state and **taking back control of our waters.**
- We will **maintain funding for fisheries across the UK's nations** throughout the Parliament and support the regeneration of our coastal communities.
- There will be a **legal commitment to fish sustainably** and a legal requirement for a plan to achieve maximum sustainable yield for each stock.

Stewards of our environment

Our Environment Bill will guarantee that we will protect and restore our natural environment after leaving the EU. Because conservation has always been at the very heart of Conservatism.

- We will set up a new independent **Office For Environmental Protection and introduce our own legal targets, including for air quality.**
- We will **invest in nature,** helping us to reach our Net Zero target with a £640 million new **Nature for Climate fund.** Building on our support for creating a **Great Northumberland Forest,** we will reach **an additional 75,000 acres of trees a year** by the end of the next Parliament, as well as **restoring our peatland.**
- We welcome the Glover Review and will **create new National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty,** as well as making our most loved

landscapes greener, happier, healthier and open to all. We will **make the coast to coast path across the most beautiful areas of the North a National Trail.**

- We will continue to **lead the world in tackling plastics pollution, both in the UK and internationally,** and will introduce a new levy to **increase the proportion of recycled plastics in packaging.** We will introduce extended producer responsibility, so that producers pay the full costs of dealing with the waste they produce, and boost domestic recycling. We will **ban the export of plastic waste to non-OECD countries,** consulting with industry, NGOs and local councils on the date by which this should be achieved.
- We will **crack down on the waste and carelessness that destroys our natural environment and kills marine life.** We will **increase penalties for fly tipping, make those on community sentences clean up their parks and streets,** and introduce a **deposit return scheme** to incentivise people to recycle plastic and glass.
- We will **make no changes to the Hunting Act.**

Strengthen Our Union

The United Kingdom is the most successful political and economic union in history. Together, England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are safer, stronger and more prosperous. For more than 300 years, our people have built this great

country together. And we believe our best days lie ahead.

By getting Brexit done, we will deliver certainty so that all four nations of the UK can move on together. This will allow us to strengthen the Union, by making it our mission as a Government to work for the whole of the United Kingdom, delivering for all of its people wherever they live.

Investing across the Union

UK Shared Prosperity Fund: The UK Shared Prosperity Fund will be used to **bind together the whole of the United Kingdom, tackling inequality and deprivation in each of our four nations.** It will replace the overly bureaucratic EU Structural Funds – and not only be better targeted at the UK's own needs, but at **a minimum match the size of those funds in each nation.**

Strengthening the Union: Conservatives have a proud history of upholding and strengthening the devolution settlements in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. We also want to ensure that the UK Government and its institutions are working effectively to realise the benefits of four nations working together as one United Kingdom. We will csreugll consider the recommendations of Lord Dunlop's Independent Review into UK Government Union capability when it is published as we work to strengthen our Union going forward.

Freeports: We will aim to ensure that **our new freeports benefit the people in each of the four nations.** We believe that there are many places across the United Kingdom that have the opportunity to be **successful innovative hubs for global trade.**

Standing up for Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland enjoys huge benefits from membership of the United Kingdom and our country is stronger and richer for Northern Ireland being part of it. That is why we will never be neutral on the Union and why we stand for a proud, confident, inclusive and modern unionism that affords equal respect to all traditions and parts of the community.

Our commitment to the 1998 Belfast Agreement and its successor agreements is unshakeable and we will not deviate from the principle of consent or the three-stranded approach. We will continue to work with all sides to **re-establish the Northern Ireland Executive and Assembly** so that the people of Northern Ireland can enjoy the full advantages of devolved government for the benefit of the whole community.

- **Guaranteeing the full economic benefits of Brexit.** Northern Ireland will enjoy the **full economic benefits of Brexit** including new free trade agreements with the rest of the world. We will ensure that Northern Ireland's businesses and producers enjoy **unfettered access to the rest of**

the UK and that in the implementation of our Brexit deal, we **maintain and strengthen the integrity and smooth operation of our internal market.**

- **Turbocharging the Northern Ireland economy.** After Brexit, we will support the Northern Ireland Executive to **improve infrastructure, enterprise and tourism,** reduce public sector dependence and make the most of our new city deals. We intend to **devolve responsibility for corporation tax** and will consider the same for short-haul Air Passenger Duty to serve our goal of making our Union more prosperous and connected than ever before.
- **Security and legacy issues.** Keeping people safe and secure will always be our priority. That means taking action to **tackle the threat from terrorism and the scourge of paramilitarism.** We will also **never forget the immense contribution of the police and Armed Forces** in standing firm against terrorists in the past and the debt we owe them for peace today. We will continue to seek better ways of dealing with legacy issues that **provide fair outcomes for victims and do more to give veterans the protections they deserve.**

Delivering for Scotland

Twelve years of SNP Government have led to an obsessive focus on independence – all while Scotland's public services and its economy have been neglected. So long as the SNP are in power, Scottish schools and hospitals will always take

second place to the pursuit of another independence referendum.

We are opposed to a second independence referendum and stand with the majority of people in Scotland, who do not want to return to division and uncertainty. Nicola Sturgeon and the SNP promised that the 2014 referendum would be a 'once in a generation' vote and the result was decisive. **We believe that outcome should be respected.**

Only the Scottish Conservatives can block a Sturgeon/Corbyn alliance and stop a second independence referendum, so that we can get Brexit sorted and Scotland can move on from uncertainty and division.

- **A post-Brexit deal for Scottish fishing:** As outlined above, we will leave the Common Fisheries Policy, become an independent coastal state, and **take back control of our waters.**
- **Alcohol Duty Review:** Scotch whisky is a national export that supports 42,000 jobs across the UK. Yet the tax on each bottle of Scotch sold in this country represents almost three quarters of its price. That is why over the past two years we have frozen the duty on spirits, cutting the price of a bottle of Scotch by 30p. Now, we want to do more, which is why we will **review alcohol duty to ensure that our tax system is supporting British drink producers.**
- **Oil and gas sector deal:** The oil and gas industry employs almost 300,000 people, of whom four in ten

work in Scotland. We believe that the North Sea oil and gas industry has a long future ahead and know the sector has **a key role to play as we move to a net zero economy.** We will support this transition in the next Parliament with **a transformational sector deal.**

Investing in Wales

In the 2016 Referendum, Wales voted to Leave – yet the Welsh Labour Government and Plaid Cymru are intent on overturning that decision by holding another referendum on our membership of the EU.

Only the Welsh Conservatives can end the current uncertainty by **delivering on the democratic decision of the Welsh people to Leave** – getting Brexit done so we can unleash Wales's potential as part of the United Kingdom.

We are ambitious for the Welsh economy and for our Union. We will **ensure that Wales gets a fair deal, with major investments in infrastructure and industry** to deliver real opportunity across the nation.

After Brexit, we will **continue to be a champion for Welsh exports and Wales's presence on the global stage** as part of a strong United Kingdom.

- **Marches Growth Deal:** Too often infrastructure is focused on national connectivity within England and within Wales, rather than across the communities

which live and work near the border. We will work with the Welsh Government and councils on both sides of the border to negotiate **a transformative Marches Growth Deal, focusing on cross-border infrastructure which supports the local and cross-border economy.** This will be modelled on the successful collaboration between governments and councils through the Borderlands Growth Deal in Northern England and the South of Scotland – building on the work of the Western Gateway partnership we have already announced.

- **Transport:** To support our Union, we will **upgrade the A55** as the main road transport artery for North Wales – improving its capacity and resilience to build connections between Wales and the rest of the United Kingdom. A Welsh Conservative Government would **deliver the M4 relief road** which has been mothballed by the Labour administration. We gave financial support to the Welsh Government to build the relief road, yet the Labour administration decided to abandon those plans out of timidity. This road is a vital economic lifeline and its cancellation shows that Wales is continually being held back by the Labour Welsh Government. We will also deliver on our commitment to **fund the building of the West Wales Parkway Station** outside of Swansea.
- **Automotive industry:** The automotive industry in Wales sustains tens of thousands of jobs and we believe that it has a bright future ahead. In September, we worked to bring INEOS Automotive

to Bridgend, which will create 500 new jobs. We will continue to **back Welsh car manufacturing,** as the industry transitions to building **electric vehicles** in the coming decades.

- **Welsh language:** Conservatives are proud of Welsh language and culture. We will **support Welsh institutions** such as S4C, the National Library and Museum, the Urdd and the National Eisteddfod. We will support the ambition for **one million people in Wales to be able to speak Welsh by 2050.**

Protect Our Democracy

As Conservatives, we stand for democracy and the rule of law. Our independent courts and legal system are respected throughout the world.

One of the strengths of the UK's constitution is its ability to evolve – as times have changed, so have Parliament, government and the judiciary.

Today, that need is greater than ever. The failure of Parliament to deliver Brexit – the way so many MPs have devoted themselves to thwarting the democratic decision of the British people in the 2016 referendum – has opened up a destabilising and potentially extremely damaging rift between politicians and people. If the Brexit chaos continues and a second Scottish referendum too, they will lose faith even further.

It is only by getting Brexit done that we can start the necessary task of restoring public trust in government and politics:

- We will **get rid of the Fixed Term Parliaments Act** – it has led to paralysis at a time the country needed decisive action.
- We will ensure we have **updated and equal Parliamentary boundaries,** making sure that **every vote counts the same** – a cornerstone of democracy.
- We will **continue to support the First Past the Post system** of voting, as it allows voters to kick out politicians who don't deliver, both locally and nationally.
- We will **protect the integrity of our democracy,** by **introducing identification to vote** at polling stations, **stopping postal vote harvesting** and measures to **prevent any foreign interference in elections.**
- We will **make it easier for British expats to vote** in Parliamentary elections, and get rid of the arbitrary 15-year limit on their voting rights.
- We will **maintain the voting age at 18** – the age at which one gains full citizenship rights.
- We will ensure that **no one is put off from engaging in politics or standing in an election by threats, harassment or abuse,** whether in person or online.
- We will **champion freedom of expression and tolerance,** both in the UK and overseas. We will

also strongly protect free speech, especially on contentious issues of identity.

- To support free speech, we will **repeal section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2014,** which seeks to coerce the press. We will **not proceed with the second stage of the Leveson inquiry.**
- We will **ensure redundancy payments can be clawed back when high-paid public servants move** between jobs.
- We will improve the **use of data, data science and evidence** in the process of government.

Once we get Brexit done, Britain will take back control of its laws. As we end the supremacy of European law, we will be free to craft **legislation and regulations that maintain high standards but which work best for the UK.** We want a balance of rights, rules and entitlements that benefits all the people and all the parts of our United Kingdom.

After Brexit we also need to **look at the broader aspects of our constitution:** the relationship between the Government, Parliament, and the courts; the functioning of the Royal Prerogative; the role of the House of Lords; and access to justice for ordinary people. The ability of our security services to defend us against terrorism and organised crime is critical. We will update the Human Rights Act and administrative law to ensure that there is a proper balance between the rights of individuals, our vital national security and effective government. We will

ensure that judicial review is available to protect the rights of the individuals against an overbearing state, whilst ensuring that it is not abused to conduct politics by another means or to create needless delays. In our first year we will set up **a Constitution, Democracy & Rights Commission** that will examine these issues in depth, and come up with proposals to restore trust in our institutions and in how our democracy operates.

We Will Strengthen Britain in the World

As Conservatives, we are immensely proud of the UK's history and its standing in the world. Unlike those currently leading the Labour Party, we view our country as a force for good.

The strength of the Armed Forces, our alliances with like-minded democracies and our willingness to act are all reasons for the UK to hold its head high.

So too is our work in promoting international development and fighting climate change – both issues on which the Conservative Party and Conservative Governments have driven the agenda forward.

And in an uncertain world, in which the threat of terrorism, rogue states and malign non-state actors is ever-present, it is vital that Britain stands up and is counted.

Getting Brexit done will allow us to do more on the international stage. We will continue to be an outward-looking country that is a champion of collective security, the rule of law, human rights, free trade, anti-corruption efforts and a rules-based international system.

After Brexit, we will bolster the alliances and institutions that help project our influence and keep us safe: the UN and the UN Security Council; NATO; the Commonwealth; Five Eyes; the G20; G7; and the World Trade Organisation. We will open new markets and support free trade and global growth.

We will build on our fantastic track record of delivering major international sporting events – including supporting the upcoming Commonwealth Games, UEFA European Women's Championships and Rugby League World Cup – and we would back a potential UK and Ireland bid for the 2030 FIFA World Cup.

As we extend our diplomatic network, we will reinvigorate relationships with Europe and seek to strengthen old and new partnerships across the world. We will work with our cultural institutions like the BBC and British Council to expand our influence and project our values. And unlike Jeremy Corbyn, we will stand up to foreign countries that threaten the stability of Europe, or commit state-sanctioned murder on British soil.

Put Our National Security First

The security of our nation comes first. We will protect the British people at home and abroad, and also ensure that the democratic rights of people in Gibraltar, the Falklands and all our overseas territories are protected.

- We will **continue to exceed the NATO target of spending 2 per cent of GDP on defence** and **increase the budget by at least 0.5 per cent above inflation every year** of the new Parliament.
- We will **modernise the equipment and improve the capability of our world-class Armed Forces and intelligence agencies.**
- We will **invest in training and equipping our Armed Forces,** and constantly champion their exemplary contribution to our security and our country.
- We will **maintain our Trident nuclear deterrent,** which guarantees our security.
- We will adapt to new threats, **investing more in cybersecurity and setting up the UK's first Space Command.**
- We will **stand against terrorism and extremism** around the world.
- We will **support the UK's world-class defence industry** by investing in ambitious global programmes, including building the new Type 31 frigates in British shipyards Rosyth and a new generation of armoured vehicles, made in Britain.

Supporting our veterans and investing in the men and women of today's Armed Forces

A Conservative Government understands the sacrifices made by Armed Forces personnel, veterans and their families.

That is why we will **introduce new legislation to tackle the vexatious legal claims that undermine our Armed Forces and further incorporate the Armed Forces Covenant into law.**

We will continue to **acknowledge and commemorate the invaluable contribution of diaspora communities** in previous armed conflicts. We also recognise the contribution in the present day of so many from beyond these shores, such as the Gurkhas.

In addition, we will bring in a range of measures to support former and current Service personnel.

- We will **reduce National Insurance contributions for employers** if they employ ex-Service personnel.
- We will offer **wraparound childcare for Forces families.**
- We have **established a new Office for Veterans' Affairs** and we will **introduce a Veterans' Railcard.**
- We will offer **a guaranteed job interview for veterans** for any public sector role they apply for.

Promote Our Values

From helping to end the slave trade to tackling modern slavery, the UK has long been a beacon of freedom and human rights – and will continue to be so. We are proud of our peace-building and humanitarian efforts around the world, particularly in war-torn or divided societies, and of our record in helping to reduce global poverty. We will continue to support international initiatives to achieve reconciliation, stability and justice across the world, and in current or former conflict zones such as Cyprus, Sri Lanka and the Middle East, where we maintain our support for a two-state solution.

Once we leave the EU, we will champion these values even more strongly.

- We will **further develop an independent Magnitsky-style sanctions regime** to tackle human rights abusers head on.
- We will **stand up for the rights and opportunities of women and girls** to be educated and safe.
- We will **continue our campaigns to promote international media freedom** and to **eradicate human trafficking and the scourge of modern slavery.**
- We will **support marginalised communities in the developing world,** hosting the UK government's **first ever international LGBT conference.** We will seek to **protect those persecuted for their faith** and implement the Truro Review recommendations.

- We will **proudly maintain our commitment to spend 0.7 per cent of GNI on development,** and **do more to help countries receiving aid become self-sufficient.**
- Building on this Government's existing efforts, we will **end the preventable deaths of mothers, new-born babies and children by 2030,** and **lead the way in eradicating Ebola and malaria.**
- We will support the construction of the planned **UK Holocaust Memorial.**

Fight Climate Change and Protect the Environment

Conservation is, and always has been, at the heart of Conservatism. Our Government's stewardship of the natural environment, its focus on protecting the countryside and reducing plastic waste, is a source of immense pride.

But today, the climate emergency means that the challenges we face stretch far beyond our borders.

Thanks to the efforts of successive Governments, the UK has **cut carbon emissions by more than any similar developed country.** We are now **the world's leader in offshore wind** – a fantastic success story of Government and the private sector working hand in hand to cut costs and deliver ever more electricity at plummeting costs.

Unlike Jeremy Corbyn, we believe that free markets, innovation and prosperity can save the planet.

Yet we recognise that there is far more that needs to be done.

- **We will lead the global fight against climate change by delivering on our world-leading target of Net Zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050,** as advised by the independent Committee on Climate Change. We have **doubled International Climate Finance.** And we will use our position hosting the UN Climate Change Summit in Glasgow in 2020 to **ask our global partners to match our ambition.**
- We will **set up new international partnerships to tackle deforestation** and protect vital landscapes and wildlife corridors. We will establish **a new £500 million Blue Planet Fund** to help protect our oceans from plastic pollution, warming sea temperatures and overfishing, and **extend the Blue Belt programme** to preserve the maritime environment. We will continue to lead diplomatic efforts to protect 30 per cent of the world's oceans by 2030.

Our first Budget will prioritise the environment: investing in R&D; decarbonisation schemes; new flood defences, which will receive £4 billion in new funding over the coming years; electric vehicle infrastructure including a national plug-in network and gigafactory; and clean energy.

In the next decade, we will work with the market to **deliver two million new high quality jobs in clean growth.** We have ambitious targets:

- Our world-leading **offshore wind industry will reach 40GW by 2030,** and we will enable new floating wind farms.
- We will **invest £800 million to build the first fully deployed carbon capture storage cluster** by the mid-2020s.
- We will **invest £500 million to help energy-intensive industries move to low-carbon techniques.**
- We will **support gas for hydrogen** production and **nuclear energy** as important parts of the energy system, alongside **increasing our commitment to renewables.**
- We placed a **moratorium on fracking** in England with immediate effect. Having listened to local communities, we have ruled out changes to the planning system. We will **not support fracking** unless the science shows categorically that it can be done safely.
- We will help **lower energy bills by investing £5.4 billion in the energy efficiency of homes, schools and hospitals.**
- We will support **clean transport to ensure clean air,** as well as **setting strict new laws on air quality.** We will consult on the earliest date by which we can phase out the **sale of new conventional petrol and diesel cars.**

Animal Welfare

High standards of animal welfare are one of the hallmarks of a civilised society. We have a long tradition of protecting animals in this country, often many years before others follow. Under a Conservative Government, that will continue – and we will continue to support such efforts overseas.

- We will introduce **tougher sentences for animal cruelty.**
- We will **crack down on the illegal smuggling of dogs and puppies**
- We will **bring in new laws on animal sentience.**
- We will **end excessively long journeys for slaughter and fattening** – one of the many benefits of leaving the European Union.
- We will **continue with the ivory ban and extend it to cover other ivory-bearing species,** and **ban imports from trophy hunting** of endangered animals.
- We will **ban keeping primates as pets.**
- We will **bring forward cat microchipping,** giving cat owners peace of mind and increasing the measures we have available to tackle cat theft.

Increase Trade and Prosperity

For the first time in nearly half a century, the UK will have its own independent trade policy once we leave the EU.

Free trade has been proven time and again to be the best way to increase exports, cut prices for consumers, increase investment and create jobs right here in the UK. We believe we can use this historic opportunity to connect the UK to the world's fastest-growing nations, create new export opportunities and enrich ourselves and our trading partners.

As part of the EU, we were forced into accepting trade deals that put their priorities first. Now, we will be able to **tailor our trade deals to the needs of British firms and the British economy.**

Our trade deals will not only be free but fair – in particular towards the developing nations whose economies could be transformed by access to the UK's markets and expertise. We can, for example, include provisions in our new free trade agreements that promote the fair treatment of workers and advance women's empowerment.

Our goals for British trade are accordingly ambitious. We aim to **have 80 per cent of UK trade covered by free trade agreements within the next three years,** starting with the USA, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. These will be negotiated in parallel with our EU deal.

We will also **forge stronger links with the Commonwealth,** which boasts some of the world's most dynamic economies such as India, with which

we already share deep historical and cultural connections. We will use export finance to increase our businesses' access to emerging markets and engage diaspora communities in the UK with this agenda

The UK is a world leader in many areas such as architecture, engineering, accountancy, information technology, digital services, law and the creative arts. Just as we led the way in opening up trade in manufactured goods in the last two centuries, **we should open up trade in services,** in which the majority of us work and where most new jobs will be created.

As part of our commitment to making the most of the opportunities of Brexit, and levelling up the nation, we will **create up to ten freeports around the UK,** benefiting some of our most deprived communities. We will also redouble our efforts to **promote British business and UK exports** and **dismantle barriers to trade and retake our seat at the World Trade Organisation.**

In our trade talks, we will follow the following principles:

- **We will seek to provide security to the British people in a world of heightened trade tensions and tariffs.**

- **We will seek to gain market access for British businesses and lower the cost of trade for them.**
- **We will drive a hard bargain with all of our trading partners – and, as with all negotiations, we will be prepared to walk away if that is in the national interest.**
- **We will defend British industries from dumping and other anti-competitive practices from overseas.**
- **In all of our trade negotiations, we will not compromise on our high environmental protection, animal welfare and food standards.**
- **The NHS is not on the table. The price the NHS pays for drugs is not on the table. The services the NHS provides are not on the table.**

We Will Put You First

Getting Brexit done. Investing in our public services and infrastructure. Supporting workers and families. Strengthening the Union. Unleashing Britain's potential.

The future is there for us to grasp. Not a future in which we endlessly refight the battles of Brexit and the Scottish independence referendum, or in which Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell – propped up by Nicola Sturgeon – lead a Government which rejects everything that has made the UK great.

The Conservatives offer a future in which we get Brexit done, and then move on to focus on our priorities – which are also your priorities.

Because more important than any one commitment in this manifesto is the spirit in which we make them. Our job is to serve you, the people. To deliver on the instruction you gave us in 2016 – to get Brexit done. But then to move on to making the UK an even better country – to investing in the NHS, our schools, our people and our towns.

We will build a Britain in which everyone has the opportunity to make the most of their talents. We will ensure that work will always pay. We will create a fair society, in which everyone always contributes their fair share.

Given the Parliamentary arithmetic, a vote for any other party or candidate is a vote for Jeremy Corbyn – and a vote for chaos and delay.

We need to end the paralysis so we can do our job in the way you deserve. That is why we ask you to vote for a Conservative majority Government on December 12th.

So that together, led by Boris Johnson, we can get Brexit done, and move on to unleash the full potential of this great country.