



# WHERE POLITICAL PARTIES STAND AT THE 2017 ELECTION AND BEYOND

## ASSESSING THE PARTY MANIFESTOS FOR CORE ACTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

### Introduction and aims

Ekklesia's General Election focus paper from 2015, 'Vote for What You Believe In',<sup>1</sup> outlined ten core value-based principles that we feel remain important for voters to consider when making their choice on 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017 – and also in the months and years to come.

Our ten 'benchmarks' for working for a better society and voting for the common good, rooted in solid Christian praxis and shared by people of goodwill of different faiths and non-religious convictions, are:

- *A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable*
- *Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities*
- *Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalised people*
- *Seeing people, their dignity and rights as the solution not the problem*
- *Moving from punitive 'welfare' to a society where all can genuinely fare well*
- *Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment*
- *Food, education, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all*
- *Care for planet and people as the basis for human development*
- *Investing in nonviolent alternatives to war and force as the basis for security*
- *Transparency, honesty and accountability in public and economic life*

---

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.ekkleisia.co.uk/node/21487>

Because of resource limits, the ‘snap’ nature of the election, the late publication of many manifestos, interruptions from two tragic terror attacks, and personal constraints for our researchers, this analysis of the parties’ positions has only just been published ahead of the vote itself – though Ekklesia has been engaging in analysis and debate on the web and on social media (as well as in several broadcast contributions) over the past few weeks. See <http://www.ekkleisia.co.uk/vote4commongoodintro> and <http://www.ekkleisia.co.uk/generalelection2017> for additional material and links.

Whatever the outcome of this General Election, a period of substantial change, adjustment and contestation is likely to follow. There are now wide differences across Britain in terms of political outlook and voting, not least between England and Scotland. There are huge crises emerging in health and social care (especially in England and Wales). Northern Ireland is in some respects on the brink. The massive challenges of environment and poverty (largely ignored in the 2017 campaign, which has excelled in clichés such as ‘strong and stable’) will continue to exert themselves. This document is not just for one ‘democratic moment’ on 8<sup>th</sup> June, but part of a process of holding Britain’s party power-brokers to account in the politics that will emerge beyond the election – recognising that civil society and dialogical advocacy by faith and secular groups is the place where ethical and moral issues and a case for a genuine “common good” (which requires a major shift in power and wealth to be meaningful) are often best sustained against the force of sectional interests, austerity and economic neoliberalism. As we outline at the end of this document, these are the issues Ekklesia wishes to focus on – with ‘believing in a better world’ as a galvanising concern – moving beyond this General Election.

## The method and nature of this analysis

Party manifestos are documents with varying amounts of detail. They are also, we recognize (and urge you to recognize!) only a snapshot of an often more substantial body of policy, and of the philosophy that shapes or underlines it. We have taken the time to review the key points in each party’s presentation to the electorate to see how well they reflect the core values and principles identified by Ekklesia in relation to establishing a socially just, more equal, peaceful, and economically and environmentally sustainable society.

We have chosen to look at the manifestos of the seven parties who took part in the first television leader’s debate, as they represent the five main UK-wide parties, and the two significant parties that only stand in Scotland and Wales but have an impact across the whole of the UK. Also included are the Women’s Equality Party, and the National Health Action Party, parties built around specific policy areas but no less important because of it. We would like to have included others – not least the parties in Northern Ireland, and will seek to do so in future. The future of the province, and of Ireland as a whole, is of vital importance, and there are potential threats to the peace and stability which people have been seeking to build as a result of the Brexit vote in the UK. (Both Northern Ireland and Scotland voted ‘Remain’, it should be noted.) In practice, Ekklesia operates in England,

Scotland and Wales, but does not have active associates in Ireland at the present time. We did not want to pontificate from a distance.

We are presenting the key information in one table per party. We have tried to note relevant and major items from each manifesto, set against each of the ten principles Ekklesia has enunciated. We then offer a verdict on how well we think the party's electoral claims reflect that principle, within the limits of the current political system. We have then concluded with a general impression of how each manifesto holds up against these principles, though this is very generalised.

We have aimed to be as fair as possible in our values and policy analysis, and to give an honest view of where each manifesto stands in relation to the values and principles that Ekklesia takes as foundational. These values and principles transcend party interests, we fully recognise. The task in the electoral arena is to try to pull the different protagonists forward in their care for people and planet, and to encourage civic organisations – including church and faith groups – to hold politicians to account on that basis.

After this election, we will continue to encourage people to act for *the common good* and to challenge all involved in politics (inside and outside the present system) to embrace these principles in order to work for real transformation, personally and collectively.

**Jake Cunliffe, Simon Barrow**

*Ekklesia*

3-6 June 2017

*The tables that follow are presented alphabetically, with a summary at the foot of the document, and a concluding comment at the end.*

## 1. Conservative Party

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
<p>1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable</p>	<p>Increase personal allowance to £12,500, and higher rate to £50,000, by 2020. No increase in VAT. Simplification of tax system. Continue to increase National Living Wage to 60% of median earnings by 2020. Protections (as yet undefined) for those working in the “gig” economy. Independent review into the cost of energy, to ensure lowest energy costs in Europe. Halve rough sleeping by the end of the next Parliament and eliminate it by 2027.</p> <p><b>VERDICT - While the pledge to add protections for those getting adequate work through the “gig” economy is welcome, a recognition of the causes of both out-of-work and in-work poverty is missing. The massive cuts to benefits and social security made by this government in the last two parliaments undermine the rhetoric on making a fairer Britain for all. The pledges to cut energy costs to the lowest in Europe and eliminate rough sleeping are welcome, but it is unclear how these will be delivered. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities</p>	<p>Require companies with more than 250 employees to report on pay gap between women and men, and different ethnic backgrounds. Improve shared parental leave, flexible work, and return-to-work assurances. Promise to legislate on findings of audit on racial disparity across public services; strengthen the enforcement of equalities for private businesses; mandate changes if “stop and search” and “stop to arrest” ratios do not improve; reduce the disproportionate use of force against Black, Asian and ethnic minority people being detained. Get one million more people with disabilities into employment over next 10 years. Domestic Violence and Abuse Bill to consolidate prevention and protection orders, and statutory definition of domestic violence and abuse to be legislated. “Breathing space” scheme to allow a debtor in serious problem debt to apply for legal protection from further charges for six weeks.</p> <p><b>VERDICT - The manifesto is vague about precisely how the Conservative party would act to meet this principle practically, though it makes definite pledges on social justice. The cuts faced by disabled people over the past seven years, documented by Ekklesia and others, have been savage. Little attention is given to economic injustice and inequality. Much more analysis is needed to support the premise that a growing economy will automatically lower economic inequality when the latest OECD figures (June 2017) indicate the scale of the failure of austerity and the UK is one of the least equal developed countries. There</b></p>

	<p>are no significant measures to address chronic low pay. Tax structuring has favoured the wealthy in society. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle in substance.</i></p>
3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people	<p>Reduce asylum claims made in Britain, and increasing the number of people helped in the most troubled regions around the world. Work with European countries and the UN to review international legal definitions of asylum and refugee status. Will make it harder for people to enter the country if they have a criminal conviction, and will implement satellite tracking for every foreign national offender subject to deportation proceedings. Push international bodies to eliminate Modern Slavery. Reduction of total immigration to 100,000. Immigration from outside of the EU to be reduced by increasing earnings thresholds for sponsors of family visas; tougher visa requirements for students and expect them to leave at the end of their course. End freedom of movement for EU citizens.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – It is difficult to envisage quite how the UK government could meet the needs of asylum seekers if they remain in the countries they are trying to flee. The unwillingness of the Conservative government in the last parliament to assist asylum seekers (particularly seen in its opposition to the Dubs Scheme) shows a lack of concern for their plight and that of refugees more generally. The adoption of an essentially anti-immigration agenda and rejection of freedom of movement is disturbing. It is unclear what concrete action on Modern Slavery is being proposed. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem	<p>Will not bring the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights into UK law; however, will not repeal Human Rights Act until process of leaving the EU concludes. Remain signatories to the European Convention on Human Rights for the duration of the next parliament.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – As with much in the manifesto, the future of human rights legislation in the UK depends a considerable deal on the nature of Brexit. The pledge to remain signatories to the European Convention on Human Rights would ensure that human rights have legal protection until Brexit. The position on the Human Rights Act, which Theresa May has previously sought to abolish, is at best ambiguous. Misplaced anti-human rights rhetoric following the latest terror attacks has caused great concern for Amnesty, Liberty and others. <i>The information in the manifesto does not indicate that it meets this principle.</i></b></p>
5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well	<p>No plans for “radical welfare reform” in this parliament, and will continue roll-out of Universal Credit. A years’ holiday on National Insurance Contributions for employers who employ former wards of the care system, someone with a disability, those with chronic mental</p>

	<p>health problems, those who have committed a crime where sentence has been served, or those who have been unemployed for over a year. Maintain Triple Lock pensions until 2020, when it will be replaced by new Double Lock, meaning pensions will rise in line with earnings that pay for them, or in line with inflation – whichever is highest. Means-test domiciliary care and residential care costs, taking value of home and savings into account, and require those with means to pay for care up to a capital floor of £100,000 (since amended – see Verdict). Means-test Winter Fuel Payments.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – Much publicity has been given to the Conservative party’s “U-turn” on the means testing of residential and domiciliary care since the publishing the manifesto. Now, the party has said there will be a cap on what people pay for care, but the level will not be revealed until after the election. Policies on finding work and work readiness are not detailed in the manifesto, so we assume there is little change from the policies of the previous government. The cutting of benefits for the most vulnerable also suggests there will be no change to the punitive ‘welfare’ approach, with substantial cuts still to come. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment	<p>Devolution in England of some powers from the UK Government to local governments. Diversification of public sector/civil servant jobs around the country. Channel 4 to be relocated out of London. Regional deals for Welsh regions, and economic partnerships between Welsh and English regions. Removing any restriction on the ability of ‘faith schools’ to select on the basis of religion.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – While the detail on how communities will grow and develop in the manifesto is not set out, there is a broad commitment to the principle of ‘localism’. Approaches for each of the four nations, and for urban, rural and coastal areas are outlined. But what of the substance? Local authorities have faced cuts of up to 25% over the past seven years, with no indication of a reversal of this. Scotland has also faced real terms cuts. Diversification, as with HMRC, means real-terms cuts. Educational selection on the basis of religion is divisive. <i>The manifesto is unconvincing on this principle.</i></b></p>
7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all	<p>Grow, sell, and export more British food. Take action to reduce childhood obesity.</p> <p>Increase NHS spending by minimum of £8 billion in real terms over the next five years. Train sufficient numbers of clinical staff while retaining existing staff from EU countries. Recruit up to 10,000 more mental health professionals. Increase the cost of medical treatment</p>

	<p>for people not resident in the UK; increase Immigration Health Surcharge to 600 for migrant workers and 450 for international students.</p> <p>Deliver a million homes by end of 2020 and half a million more by end of 2022.</p> <p>Continue to increase National Living Wage to 60% of median earnings by 2020 and then by rate of median earnings.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The proposed action to reduce childhood obesity is undercut by the promise to means-test free school meals for young children. The promise to train sufficient numbers of clinical staff while curbing immigration and removing freedom of movement for EU citizens seems optimistic. The proposed increase in the Immigration Health Surcharge for workers and students make the UK a less welcoming and unattractive place to live and work in: can the UK sufficiently staff the NHS without recruiting non-British citizens? Proposed expenditure on the NHS will not be sufficient to match the growing debt within the system. Social housing stock continues to diminish and the definition of ‘affordability’ is way beyond the capacity of low-income families. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security</p>	<p>Maintain spending on international development at 0.7% of national income; maintain spending on defence at 2% of national income.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: There is no commitment to supporting nonviolent security strategies. The party appears unqualified in its support for nuclear weapons. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development</p>	<p>Development of shale gas industry; setting up of Shale Environmental Regulator. Protections given to the environment under EU law to be maintained in British law after exit from the EU. A 25 Year Environment Plan to chart how environment will be improved after exit from the EU. Withdrawal from London Fisheries Convention. Continue to take a lead in global action against climate change.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The manifesto implies that the ratification of the Paris Agreement will be upheld, and notes the UK’s progress in reducing carbon emissions. However, the manifesto pledges to expand shale gas extraction, and goes into details on the benefits of shale gas compared to coal, without mentioning the evidenced concerns that environmentalists and others have cited. In practice, there have been cuts to renewables and the Green Investment Bank. <i>The manifesto is unconvincing on this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>10. Transparency, honesty and</p>	<p>Retain first past the post system of voting in parliamentary elections,</p>

<p>accountability in public life</p>	<p>and extend this system to police and crime commissioner (PCC) and mayoral elections. Repeal Fixed-term Parliaments Act.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The first-past-the-post system benefits the Conservative and Labour parties over smaller challengers in parliamentary elections. In PCC and mayoral elections, which are often held in the format of first-preference and second-preference votes, the Conservative party is often at a disadvantage because a voter who votes for a non-Conservative party as their first-preference is very unlikely to vote Conservative as their second-preference. So introducing a first-past-the-post format to these elections could benefit the Conservatives. The Fixed-term Parliaments Act was circumvented in April by a cross-party consensus: repealing it would return the term-length of parliaments to the discretion of the prime minister, as was the case before the Con-Lib Dem coalition of 2010-15. This gives a significant advantage to the party in government as it can choose to call an election at the time that best suits. The party remains opposed to Proportional Representation and fair votes, and would even remove proportional provisions in some existing elections. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p><b>CONCLUSION</b></p>	<p><b>Where the Conservative party manifesto takes risks, it mostly does so to take away money for services, rather than to provide more services and to meet the ten principles. It maintains the austerity of the last parliament, and demonstrates a confidence in the party's chances of success by aiming cuts at a key demographic for the Conservatives, the elderly (although the Conservative party has had to retreat somewhat from its social care proposal). There is some positive rhetoric, particularly on social equality and devolution from London to local communities, but <i>for the most part this manifesto seems to have little concern with the ten principles Ekklesia has set out.</i></b></p>



## 2. Green Party

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable	<p>Steps towards the introduction of a universal basic income, including a government sponsored pilot scheme. Phase in a four-day working week, with a 35-hour maximum, and end zero hours contracts. Introduce living wage of £10 an hour by 2020.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The manifesto does not for the most part directly address the causes of poverty, or the current status of the problem, though the party has done so elsewhere. It has many innovative of ideas for a more just society. It has clear policies on fair work. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities	<p>End gender pay gap, and require a minimum 40% of public sector boards to be women. Use government-owned RBS to create local people's banks for every city and region. Crackdown on tax dodging; include a wealth tax on the top 1% of earners. Robin Hood tax on high value transactions in finance sector, and inheritance taxed according to recipient's wealth. Abolition of the cap on employees' national insurance so wealthiest pay more. Use community credit and green investment to support start-ups and creative enterprises. Implement a UK-wide strategy to tackle gender based violence, including FGM and trafficking. Tackle racism and discrimination on basis of faith or disability, equality for LBGTIQA+ people and rights for mixed gender couples to have a Civil Partnership.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The proposed policies and actions show a real commitment to correcting social and economic injustice. There seems to be a recognition that social and economic justice are linked and mutually beneficial to each other. It is not possible to reach one while ignoring the other. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people	<p>Develop a humane immigration and asylum system, recognising where the UK has a role in causing the flow of migrants worldwide.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: While the pledge to develop 'a humane immigration and asylum system' is vague, the principle is upheld. The consideration given to the causes of international migration and travel for asylum is important, as is the acknowledgement of the UK's actions being a cause. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem	<p>Defend the Human Rights Act and UK membership of the European Convention on Human Rights. Reinstate funding for the Equality and Human Rights Commission. End the sale of personal data for commercial ends. Protect the BBC and prevent individuals or companies from owning more than 20% of a media market.</p>

	<p><b>VERDICT: The Green party look set to fight to keep and extend current human rights legislation. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
5. Moving from punitive 'welfare' to a society where all can genuinely fare well	<p>A single budget covering health and social services. Redress pension injustice, with pensions system for everyone. Redress benefits injustice with social security system that provides support whenever people need it.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The manifesto is light on detail in this section, and could include the Greens' position on winter fuel allowance and Universal Credit. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment	<p>Increase funding for local authorities to provide good quality public services and create thousands of jobs, investing in communities.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The Greens commit to local communities and the provision of services at the local level. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all	<p>Promote sustainable food and farming.</p> <p>Ensure health and dental services are always publicly provided and funded, and free at the point of access, through an NHS Reinstatement Act. Bring mental health care in line with physical health care, and introduce mental health awareness training within public sector. Provide immediate funding for the NHS to ensure services are met. Major investment in social care. Assess how care is provided at the transition age of 18.</p> <p>A 'living rent' for all through rent controls and secure tenancies for private renters, no letting fees and mandatory licensing for landlords. Renters' unions to give tenants a voice. Build affordable zero carbon homes including 100,000 socially rented homes each year by 2022. End mass council house sales and scrap Right to Buy at discounted prices. Abolish the bedroom tax. Trial of Land Value Tax to encourage the use of vacant land. Reinstatement housing benefits for under 21s and reverse housing benefits cuts. Aim for house price stability by removing buy-to-let tax breaks, and back community-led approaches to build affordable homes. Improve housing choice for deaf, disabled and older people by requiring councils to appropriately plan for housing needs and increase the numbers of appropriate homes built.</p> <p>Scrap age-related wage bands. Scrap tuition fees, forgive student debt and reintroduce living grants, to protect opportunities for young people in work.</p>

	<p><b>VERDICT: Reforms to health and social care, housing and the education to work pipeline for young people address this principle well. The proposed move to universal basic income, over time, is a positive proposal that needs more research and piloting, as the party agrees. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security	<p>Cancel Trident replacement. Ethical foreign policy that builds capacity for conflict resolution, and ending support for aggressive wars of intervention. No arms sales to oppressive regimes. Increase overseas aid budget to 1% of GDP.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The manifesto proposes to both limit and remove violent means of ensuring security, and positive, nonviolent actions to make the world a more peaceful place. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development	<p>An Environmental Protection Act to safeguard and restore the environment. A public works programme of home insulation, and investment in flood defences and natural flood management. Replacing fossil fuels and nuclear power with renewable energy. Introduce a one-off fine on car manufacturers who cheated emissions testing and create a new Clean Air Act, expanding and funding a mandatory clean air zone network. More effective network of marine protected areas, including no take zones. Introduction of Deposit Return Schemes, with a zero waste target. Deliver climate justice and promote ecologically sustainable development, to help strengthen the global deal on climate change.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Legislation at the UK government level and the creation of protected areas show a comprehensive approach towards caring for the planet. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life	<p>Introduce proportional representation for elections, and votes at 16. Allow job-shares in parliament, 50/50 gender representation, and replace the House of Lords with an elected second chamber. Allow for 40% of local electorate to secure a referendum on local government decisions or recall their MP. Give Parliament a vote on new trade deals. Introduce non-biased political education and active citizenship for young people.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Big changes are proposed to reform elections and Parliament, including a new elected chamber. The manifesto is offers a holistic and comprehensive review of the electoral and governance systems. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<p><b>In some sections the manifesto is brief or vague, and costings are often absent. For the most part however policy and reform proposals are creative and thorough <i>The manifesto does very well in meeting most of the ten principles.</i></b></p>

### 3. Labour Party

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
<p>1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable</p>	<p>Guarantee of no rises in income tax for those earning below £80,000 a year, and no increase in National Insurance Contributions or the rate of VAT. Raise [undefined] corporation tax. Public ownership of public utilities and lowering of costs. Extension of 30 free hours childcare weekly to all two year-olds.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – This manifesto proposes a tax policy that rules out increases in tax for the poorest and most vulnerable, while aiming to collect more from the wealthy. Some who perhaps do not need to be protected from paying more tax will benefit, while some of those who work for and run small businesses may find meeting a corporation tax rise difficult. In general however, the tax and wages policy aims at a fairer deal for those who most need it. Lower utility costs and a significant extension of free childcare demonstrate an important commitment to this principle. Little direct mention of poverty. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part and moves in the right direction overall.</i></b></p>
<p>2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities</p>	<p>A Tax Transparency and Enforcement Programme will close down tax avoidance loopholes. A Labour cabinet would be at least 50% women. Appoint a Violence Against Women Commissioner. Abolish unemployment tribunal fees. Introduce equal pay audit requirements on employers to close pay gap for Black and Asian workers. Make Minimum Wage a real Living Wage (expected to be at least 10 by 2020) for all workers aged 18 or over. Implement Parker Review’s recommendations to increase ethnic diversity on companies’ largest companies. Review rules on union recognition to give more workers security of a union. End Public Sector Pay Cap. Maximum pay ration of 20:1 in public sector and companies bidding for public contracts. Ban unpaid internships. Double paid paternity leave to 4 weeks and increase paternity pay. Review redundancy arrangements.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto addresses both social and economic injustices and equalities with some specific policies and proposals. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people</p>	<p>New rules on immigration to be developed. Income thresholds for potential migrants and sponsors replaced by prohibition on recourse to public funds. Crack down on “unscrupulous” employers. Reinstate the Migrant Impact Fund where necessary. Review current arrangements for housing and dispersing refugees.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto side-steps making a firm statement on immigration. While Labour avoids defining an arbitrary target</b></p>

	<p>for net migration, it states that policy will be informed by economic needs, and regrettably that the party would end free movement from the EU. The commitment to receiving refugees is made boldly. The tone seeks to be positive toward migration, while hedging its bets policy-wise. The plight of many vulnerable people who currently have no recourse to public funds will not improve. <i>The manifesto only meets this principle in part.</i></p>
<p>4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem</p>	<p>Ensure right to choose safe and legal reproductive choice for women. Reform Gender Recognition and Equality acts to ensure Trans people are protected. Sign UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) into law. Full recognition of British Sign Language. Restore rights of migrant domestic workers. Equal rights for all employees, regardless of FT/PT, permanent/temporary, or employed/self-employed status. Ban zero hour contracts. Repeal Trade Union Act and roll out sectoral collective bargaining. Strengthen the law so that those working 12 hours a week or more have the right to a contract. Reduce employer-enforced self-employment.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto makes a clear statement that Labour back human rights for all, and affirms the dignity of workers. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well</p>	<p>Triple Lock state pension guaranteed and will rise by at least 2.5% a year. Winter Fuel Allowance guaranteed. Legislate to ensure that accrued rights to basic state pension cannot be changed. Review pension age and future rises. Scrap punitive sanctions, Bedroom Tax, and cuts to Bereavement Support Payment. Reinstate Housing Benefit for under-21s. Reform and redesign Universal Credit (UC) and end ‘rape clause’. Increase Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) by 30 a week for those in work-related activity group. Increase Carer’s allowance to level of Jobseekers’ Allowance. Implement court decision on Personal Independence Payment (PIP) so there is “parity of esteem” between those with physical and mental health conditions. Scrap Work Capability and PIP assessments. End privatisation of assessments. Commission report into expanding Access to Work programme. Change how Jobcentre Plus staff are performance managed. Enhance Equality Act to allow people with disabilities to challenge discrimination at work. Report hate crime and violence annually under Istanbul Convention.</p> <p><b>VERDICT - Some of the more punitive and unpopular aspects of the previous government’s ‘welfare’ policies are reformed or scrapped in the manifesto, including the bedroom tax, PIP assessments and the ‘rape clause’. This section of the manifesto is thorough in including less harsh policies from pensions to</b></p>

	<p><b>employment readiness. <i>The manifesto meets the principle.</i></b></p>
6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment	<p>“Labour is the party of devolution and we believe in handing back power to communities.” End government cuts to youth services. End child burial fees for parents in all council areas. Ensure libraries are preserved for future generations. End the closure of Crown Post Office branches, and establish a Post Bank. Give communities more power to shape their town centres. Invest in broadband, housing and transport to boost rural infrastructure and industry. Introduce a ‘Rural proofing’ process so all laws, policies and programmes consider their impact on rural communities.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto goes into some detail on what the Labour party would do to empower and support communities. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all	<p>Free school meals for all primary school children. Implement the Soft Drinks Industry Levy (the sugar tax).</p> <p>Guarantee access to treatment within 18 weeks, and that patients are seen at A &amp; E within four hours. Fund free parking in NHS England. Introduce Index of Child Health to measure UK data against international standards. New £250 million Children’s Health Fund. Scrap the NHS pay cap. Re-introduce bursaries and funding for health-related degrees. Immediately guarantee the rights of EU staff working in health and care services. Commit to over 30 billion in extra funding over the next parliament. Reverse privatization of the NHS. Repeal of the Health and Social Care Act. Reinstate the powers of the Secretary of State to have overall responsibility for the NHS, and ensure excess private profits are not made out of the NHS at the expense patient care.</p> <p>Invest to build over one million new homes. By the end of the next parliament, build at least 100,000 affordable council and housing association homes. Establish new Department of Housing. Begin a new generation of New Towns to avoid urban sprawl.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – Along with sustainable income (living wage), the manifesto meets these principles. A word of caution, though, is sounded on the potential cost of the policies and initiatives outlined. (IFS) <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security	<p>Complete strategic defence and security review. Cyber security to form an integral part of strategy. Commit to effective UN peacekeeping. Commit to spending at least 2% of GDP on defence. Support renewal of Trident nuclear deterrent; lead multilateral effort to create a nuclear-free world. Secure long-term future of the UK defence industry: publish a Defence Industrial Strategy White Paper</p>

	<p>including a National Shipbuilding Strategy. Work to end conflict in Syria, and support international efforts to prosecute perpetrators of war crimes. Publish a strategy for protecting civilians in conflict, making detailed plans for work on conflict prevention and peace building. Commit to a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine. Call for an end to actions by both sides that make peace harder to achieve. Immediately recognize the state of Palestine. Urge negotiations towards political resolutions. Reduce tensions through insistence on multilateral political dialogue. Advocate for a long-term multinational strategy to confront Daesh (IS). Review training and equipment contracts with other governments to ensure Britain does not collude in mistreatment of civilians. Work to build support for UN reform. Implement Arms Trade Treaty to sustain a regulated trade in arms, and to cease exports to countries where there is concern that arms will be used to violate international humanitarian law.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The pledges to use diplomacy to resolve conflict and security issues is commendable, as is the commitment to regulate the arms trade. However, the promise to renew Trident and build warships runs contrary to this principle, and there is nothing on alternative approaches to security. <i>The manifesto meets the principle in part.</i></b></p>
<p>9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development</p>	<p>Preserve the Paris Agreement and deliver on international agreements to reduce emissions, while mitigating impacts of climate change in developing countries.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – There are not many words expended on the environment, which is a concern. A detailed outline of what the Labour party’s approach to environmental concerns, such as the shale gas industry, is missing from the manifesto. <i>The manifesto only meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
<p>10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life</p>	<p>Establish a Constitutional Convention to reform the way Britain works. Consult and invite recommendations on extending democracy. Consider the option of a more federalised country. End hereditary principle and reduce size of the House of Lords, with the fundamental belief that it should be replaced by a democratically elected second chamber. Extend Freedom of Information Act to private companies that run public services.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – A process for extending and reforming democracy across the UK is outlined, with the goal of addressing the ‘democratic deficit’ in Britain. <i>The manifesto addresses the principle in general terms.</i></b></p>
<p><b>CONCLUSION</b></p>	<p><b>The title of the manifesto, “For the many not the few,” is largely upheld by its contents. The document is detailed, with policy</b></p>

	<p>costings given throughout. This is a bolder manifesto than the same party's attempt in 2015, with more initiative taken on behalf of those who have felt the effects of austerity the most. <i>The manifesto does well to meet most of the principles.</i></p>
--	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------



## 4. Liberal Democrats

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
<p>1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable</p>	<p>Immediate 1p rise on all rates of Income Tax to raise £6 billion, which would be ringfenced for the NHS and social care services. In the long term, raise the employee National Insurance Contributions threshold to that of Income Tax. To ensure all pay their fair share, reversal of tax cuts from the last government, including Corporation Tax, Capital Gains, and the Marriage Allowance. Introduce a General Anti-Avoidance Rule. Reform Corporation Tax to advantage small businesses over big companies.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The pledge to reverse the tax cuts from the last parliament is positive. The raising of income tax and NIC to fund health and social care, coupled with an increase in benefits such as Jobseekers' and Universal Credit, upholds this principle. The manifesto meets this principle.</b></p>
<p>2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities</p>	<p>More extensive childcare and better back-to-work support to reach an ambitious goal of one million more women in work by 2025. Push for at least 40% of board members being women in FTSE 350 companies and increase ethnic minority representation. Extend Equality Act to all companies with 250+ employees, requiring them to monitor and publish data on gender, BAME, and LGBT+ employment levels and pay gaps. Require diversity in public appointments: every shortlist to include at least one BAME candidate. Encourage adoption of a "good employer" standard. Extend requirements on larger employers to publish ratio between top and median pay, and number of people paid less than the living wage. Scrap employment tribunal fees.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The manifesto outlines actions to address social and economic injustice in business leadership and fair pay. The manifesto meets this principle.</b></p>
<p>3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people</p>	<p>Continue to allow 'high-skilled' immigration to support key sectors of the economy. Remove students from the official migration statistics. Reinstate post-study work visas for graduates in STEM subjects who find work in within six months of graduating. Give the devolved administrations the right to sponsor addition post-work study visas. Establish a centrally funded Migration Impact Fund to help local communities adjust to new migration and meet unexpected pressures on public services and housing. Provide additional government funding for English classes. Offer safe and legal routes to the UK for refugees, to avoid dangerous journeys; consider reform of family reunion rules to make it easier for refugees to join relatives already living in the UK. Expand the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement</p>

	<p>Scheme to offer sanctuary to 50,000 people during the next parliament. Re-open the Dubs unaccompanied child refugee scheme, taking in 3,000 children and offering indefinite leave to remain beyond the age of 18. End indefinite immigration detention by introducing a 28-day limit. Offer asylum to people where their sexual orientation or gender identification means they risk particular persecution, and stop deporting people at risk in particular countries.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: This principle is upheld for the most part. A more open immigration policy that welcomes more than ‘high-skilled’ migrants and STEM graduates would be a stronger commitment. But the expansion of the Syrian Vulnerable Persons scheme and the re-opening of Dubs are very positive, as is the limit to immigration detention. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
<p>4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem</p>	<p>Focus on good practice, including training for police and prosecutors, in tackling modern slavery. Campaign to reduce hate crimes. Guarantee the freedom of people to where religious or cultural dress. Introduce ‘X’ option on passports and other official forms for those who do not wish to identify as male or female. Decriminalise the sale and purchase of sex. Introduce mixed-sex civil partnerships and extend rights to cohabiting couples. Extend protection of gender reassignment in equality law. Develop a government-wide plan to tackle BAME inequalities. Provide free sanitary products to girls at school. Improve accessibility to public places for wheelchair users and blue badge holders. Oppose any attempt to withdraw from the European Convention on Human Rights and the Human Rights Act. Enshrine the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in UK law. Introduce a digital bill of rights. Ensure delivery of independent self-regulation of the press. End ministerial veto on and reduce number of Freedom of Information requests where information is withheld by government departments. Order Ofcom to launch an immediate full assessment of media plurality, including a review of the “fit and proper persons test”.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: This section of the manifesto makes a strong commitment to the principle of dignity and rights. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well</p>	<p>Shared Parental Leave. More flexible working. Provide 15 hours a week free childcare to parents of all two-year olds in England; next priority is all working parents of 9 month to two-year olds. Commit to long-term goal of 30 hours’ free childcare a week for all parents in England with children aged 2 to 4, and all working parents from the end of paid parental leave to two years. Separate employment support from benefits administration. Take 13,000 children out of</p>

	<p>poverty by letting both parents earn before Universal Credit is cut and reverse cuts to the Family Element. Abandon two-child policy on family benefits and abolish “rape clause”. Reverse cuts to housing benefit for 18 to 21 year olds and increase rates of Jobseeker’s Allowance and Universal Credit for those aged 18 to 24 at the same rate at minimum wages. Reverse cuts to Employment Support Allowance to those in the work-related activity group. Increase Local Housing Allowance (LHA) in line with average rents in an area. Scrap the “bedroom tax”.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: By seeking to undo some of the cuts made to ‘welfare’ by the previous government, the party makes a commitment to soften punitive conditions to social benefits. The best example in this manifesto might be the proposed improved links between job-seeking and health benefits, as noted in principle 7. <i>The manifesto addresses this principle.</i></b></p>
6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment	<p>Reduce powers of central government to interfere in elected local government. Remove requirement to hold local referenda for council tax changes. Increase the number of neighbourhood, community and parish councils and promote tenant management in social housing. Deliver greater devolution of financial responsibility to English local authorities, ensuring that any changes balance the objectives of more local autonomy and fair equalisation between communities. Ensure charities and social enterprises can access the support and finance needed to deliver solutions to challenges in their communities. Enable central and local government to prioritise employee-owned and community-benefit companies in awarding procurement contracts. Ensure every property in the UK is provided with a superfast broadband connection by 2022, investing £2 billion to do so. Set up £2 billion Rural Service Fund to allow communities to co-locate services. Ensure mobile phone companies provide fast and reliable coverage. Commit to preventing Post Office closures.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – While the manifesto summarised is that of the English party, the Liberal Democrats aim for a ‘federal and united UK’. This proposed system is unexplained but might be assumed to involve devolution-max, in terms of what decisions would be taken at the regional level. The pledge to boost high-speed internet across the country is a good example of a positive infrastructure action a government can take to promote local empowerment. Cuts in local government are not meaningfully addressed. <i>The manifesto addresses this principle.</i></b></p>
7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all	<p>Develop strategy to tackle childhood obesity including restricting the marketing of junk food to children and closing loopholes in the sugary drinks tax. Introduce mandatory targets for food and drink producers.</p>

Introduce a national strategy to promote the production and consumption of healthy, sustainable and affordable food. Ensure that those using food banks are aware of their rights and how they can access hardship payments where relevant.

Taking the £6 billion in additional revenue from the 1p Income Tax rise to be invested in social care, primary care, mental health and public health. Commission the development of a dedicated health and care tax and set out on payslips what the government is spending. Introduce a statutory independent budget monitoring agency for health and care, similar to the Office for Budget Responsibility. By 2020, merge the NHS and social care into 'one seamless service'.

Reach a housebuilding target of 300,000 homes a year, ensuring half a million affordable, energy efficient homes are built by the end of the parliament. Create at least 10 new garden cities in England. Set up a new government-backed British Housing and Infrastructure Development Bank to provide long-term capital for major new settlements. End Voluntary Right to Buy pilots. Lift the borrowing cap on local authorities and increase the borrowing capacity of housing associations. Scrap exemptions on smaller housing development schemes from their obligation to provide affordable homes. Require local plans to take into account at least 15 years of future housing need. Enable local authorities to: levy up to 200% council tax on second homes and "buy to leave empty" investments from overseas; enforce housebuilding on unwanted public sector land; end the Right to Buy if they choose.

Reverse cuts to Work Allowances in Universal Credit. Seek to expand Access to Work, which supports people with disabilities in work. Improve links between Jobcentres and Work Programmes and the local NHS to ensure those receiving health-related benefits are getting the support to which they are entitled. Uprate working-age benefits at least in line with inflation.

Independent review to consult on how to set a 'genuine' living wage; ensure this is paid in all public sector jobs.

**VERDICT: For food, housing, work and sustainable income, the manifesto meets the principle. The party goes further than others on housing, with not only new housing construction proposed but new towns. Regarding health, positive action is proposed but it is unclear as to how a successful merging of health and social care can be achieved. The Liberal Democrats are not the only party to propose this action, and it is being**

	<p><b>implemented by the Scottish Government. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security</p>	<p>Champion the ‘rules-based international order’ and multilateral action. Use all aspects of government policy to strengthen UK efforts to prevent violent conflict. Support the UN principle of Responsibility to Protect, focusing on conflict prevention and only resorting to military intervention to prevent mass civilian atrocities if all other means of resolution have been fully exhausted. Improve control of arms exports. Remain committed to negotiated peace settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with a two-state solution. Suspend UK arms sales to Saudi Arabia. Support recognition of an independent Palestinian state. Promote democracy in Ukraine and other neighbouring countries, against an aggressive Russia. Stand by obligations under NATO treaty in the event of threats.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The manifesto proposes an activist foreign policy to prevent violent conflict. The commitment to multilateral diplomacy and consideration of targeted arms sales embargos are positive. However keeping military intervention as a possibility, in the aftermath of the Liberal Democrat vote for armed intervention in Syria in 2016, suggests that the party may not expend too much effort to avoid conflict before backing military strikes. The support of democracy in countries bordering Russia might be considered provocative. But the party still backs Trident renewal. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
<p>9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development</p>	<p>A diesel scrappage scheme, and a ban on the sale of diesel cars and small vans by 2025. Extend ultra-low-emission zones to 10 more towns and cities. All private hire vehicles and diesel buses in urban areas to run on ultra-low- or zero-emission fuels by 2022. A Zero-Carbon Britain Act to set new legally binding targets to reduce net greenhouse gas emissions by 80% by 2040 and to zero by 2050. Support the Paris agreement, ensuring the UK meets its commitments. Generate 60% of electricity from renewables by 2030. Support investment in energy storage, smart grid technology, hydrogen, offshore wind, and tidal power. Oppose “fracking”. Allow construction of new power plants, with conditions and with no public subsidy. Pass a new Green Buildings Act, including an ambition for every home in England to reach at least an energy rating of Band C by 2035. Ensure that at least four million homes are made highly energy efficient by 2022. Restore the zero-carbon standard for new homes, extending it to non-domestic buildings by 2022. Back new entrants to the energy market, with at least 30% of household market to be supplied by non-“Big 6” companies by 2022. Establish a £2 billion flood prevention fund. Pass a Nature Act to set legally binding targets</p>

	<p>on biodiversity and clean air and water. Protect and restore England’s lakes, rivers and wetlands. Plant a tree for every UK citizen over the next 10 years, and protect ancient woodlands.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto makes numerous proposals to support a commitment to caring for the planet, and is exemplary of the kind of proactive approach the next government will have to take towards protecting and nurturing the environment. <i>The manifesto makes some positive proposals to address this proposal.</i></b></p>
10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life	<p>‘Deliver home rule for each of the nations of a strong, federal and united UK’. Introduce votes at 16 for all elections and referenda. Ensure people legally entitled to vote are included on electoral registers. Introduce Single Transferable Vote for general elections across the UK and local elections across England. Reform House of Lords with a democratic mandate. Cap donations to political parties at £10,000 per person a year. Cancel the boundary review due to report in 2018. Mandate provision of televised leaders’ debates in general elections. Strengthen and expand the lobbying register, and prohibit MPs from accepting paid lobbying work. Introduce trials of weekend voting. Introduce legislation to allow all-BAME and all-LGBT+ parliamentary shortlists.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – A radical approach to reforming government and the process by which governments are elected is found in the manifesto. The proposals outlined would improve our democracy and make power more accountable. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
CONCLUSION	<p><b>The manifesto proposes bold changes, and is thorough in its consideration of how different policy areas need complement each other. There is a strong commitment to human rights in particular, but the manifesto does not lack for economic justice-based solutions either. <i>The manifesto meets or partly meets all of the principles.</i></b></p>

## 5. National Health Alliance Party

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable	<p>Reinstatement of the 50% higher rate of tax. Higher taxes on luxury goods and services. Greater efforts made to close tax avoidance loopholes, with inspectors directed to focus on tax evasion of the richest. Sign up to Financial Transaction Tax proposals, to join eleven European nations who levy a tax of 0.1-0.5% on all financial transactions.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – Seeks to make the tax system fairer, with higher tax for those who are wealthier. The primary concern of the manifesto is health care, and it is not broad enough to really address this principle in details, but its trajectory is clearly in the right direction. <i>The manifesto addresses this principle.</i></b></p>
2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities	<p>Give every child the best start in life. Enable young people to make the most of their potential for healthy lives. A healthy standard of living for all. Create healthy and sustainable communities. Promote well-being and prevent ill health. Support introduction of statutory Living Wage. End two-child policy and “rape clause” for child benefits. Shared parental leave with nine months statutory pay. Maternity pay should be the same as a Living Wage. Free and comprehensive universal childcare. Encourage employers via tax benefits to support flexible working and job sharing. Paid leave allowance for carers. Extend reporting on gender pay gaps to all companies with 50 or more employees. End “tampon tax” which treats sanitary items as luxury goods. Provide sanitary protection to minors who cannot afford it.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – Shows the importance of linking social and economic issues to bring about justice. Narrow, but thorough enough. <i>The manifesto meets the principle.</i></b></p>
3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people	<p>EU citizens and families living and working in the UK must be able to continue their lives without hindrance. Ensure refugees and asylum seekers have access to emergency and maternity care. Treat all individuals with infectious diseases, regardless of citizenship.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – Immigration and asylum policy is not really considered, other than briefly and in relation to health care. <i>The manifesto does not address the principle in detail, but moves in the right direction.</i></b></p>
4. Seeing people, their dignity	There is nothing in the manifesto about human rights legislation;

<p>and their rights as the solution and not the problem</p>	<p>however, the manifesto’s inclusion and affirmation of rights-based policy is found under principles 2 and 3.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – <i>The manifesto points in the right direction on this principle, though in a limited way because of the specific focus of the party.</i></b></p>
<p>5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well</p>	<p>Replace capability assessment system with a ‘human’ system based on abilities and needs, and the resources needed to support people back to employment. Support ending the “sanction” system. Scrap the Bedroom Tax.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – While the manifesto only touches briefly on this principle, it clearly takes aim at punitive ‘welfare’ and proposes a human and more caring tone. The manifesto meets the principle.</b></p>
<p>6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment</p>	<p>The manifesto does not have any content on communities and neighbourhoods specifically.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – <i>The manifesto does not address the principle.</i></b></p>
<p>7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all</p>	<p>Introduce sugar tax. Force the fast-food industry to cut sugar and salt. Universalise detailed food and drink labelling. Greater transparency around links between food and drinks industry and public health research.</p> <p>Halt service closures. Restore NHS to public ownership. Halt and reverse privatisation by abolishing competition, and remove requirement to tender out to private sector. Implement “<a href="#">NHS Reinstatement Bill</a>”. Defend the District General Hospital (DGH) model as a good one for the majority of people. Bring the UK closer to the G7 average spend on health care. Increases in funding of 4% per year. Reverse cuts to public health budgets and invest. Abolish prescription charges. Abolish PFI. Stop carrying out eligibility checks prior to emergency care. Support traditional model of General Practice, increasing number of GPs by 10,000. Keep GPs free from financial incentives. Reverse cuts to general practices. Safe staffing levels for nurses, and fair pay. No more cuts to nursing. Effective service for women and their babies at point of maternity care, addressing midwife shortages and focusing on maternal mental health issues. Restore bursary for nursing and health care students. Implement pay structure in the NHS, with salaries rising with inflation and the living wage as the lowest rate payable. Mental health funding to be addressed, increasing staffing levels and ending privatisation. Better central funding for social care and reversal of cuts to local authority cuts. Implement Dilnot Commission recommendations, sharing social care costs across the whole</p>



	<p>community.</p> <p>Reinstate government house-building programmes for ‘truly affordable homes’. Restore presumption in favour of building on brownfield sites before greenfield sites. Efficient housebuilding and modification, and investment in a national infrastructure to support these objectives. Introduce further council tax bands to reach top property values. Examine evidence around the ability for a national Land Value Tax to stop house prices being driven up, and to deter empty houses. Make use of tax havens to purchase and own UK property illegal. Protect tenants with regulation of rented property. Support extended tenancy agreements giving sitting tenants first refusal. Introduce national register of landlords.</p> <p>Oppose zero-hour contracts. Promote full employment with jobs that are secure and well paid.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – Health is the primary reason for this manifesto, and it is thorough on this issue. Food advertising and taxation is linked with health. By proposing an end to privatisation and return to full public ownership, the party clearly aims at health care for all. Creative policies are suggested for council tax reform and property tax. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security</p>	<p>There are no specific policies in the manifesto on this principle.</p> <p><b>VERDICT - <i>The manifesto does not address the principle.</i></b></p>
<p>9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development</p>	<p>Redouble efforts to meet or surpass the most ambitious goals of Paris Climate conference. Promotion of renewable fuels and phasing out of fossil fuels, with a ban on fracking. Move to 100% renewables as soon as possible. Take urgent steps to address crisis in air quality. Keep legislation that bans fox hunting.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The Paris Agreement is held up as the benchmark by the manifesto, but the goal of the party is to go beyond. <i>The manifesto meets the principle.</i></b></p>
<p>10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life</p>	<p>Restrict ability of MPs and Peers to support legislation where they have a personal interest. A monthly ‘People’s Question Time’. More transparency and control over corporate lobbying of civil servants and elected officials. Begin move towards proportional representation. Lower voting age to 16. Repeal the Transparency of Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Bill. Abolish House of Lords and replace with a new second chamber that is 80% elected, using a single transferrable vote system.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The pledge to create a new, largely-elected second</b></p>

	<p>chamber is popular across the manifestos of different parties. Along with this and an emphasis on accountability, the policies proposed would strengthen our democracy. <i>The manifesto meets the principle.</i></p>
<p><b>CONCLUSION</b></p>	<p>The party exists for to protect the NHS and to fight its privatisation. In setting out how it would do this, the manifesto aligns for the most part with the principles. It is impressive that there is also consideration of policies that are close to some of the principles in areas that are not directly health-related. <i>The manifesto meets or partly meets all of the principles.</i></p>

## 6. Plaid Cymru

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable	<p>Push for targeted tax discounts for new and existing businesses. Demand Wales has power to set its own rates of Corporation Tax, Air Passenger Duty and VAT. Ensure £4.3 billion in public sector contracts are spend in Wales and introduce a living wage. Introduce a fuel duty regulator to stop rising costs.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – There is not much mention of policies that would assist the poorest and most vulnerable. The manifesto is mostly concerned with gaining powers for the Welsh National Assembly before focusing more closely on the needs of the people. <i>The manifesto does not address this principle sufficiently.</i></b></p>
2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities	<p>Put an end to the unfair business rates system. Reverse cuts to legal aid and protect victims of crime so they can give evidence without being intimidated.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The pledges to reverse legal aid cuts and protect victims of crime are positive proposals. However more breadth is needed in the manifesto to demonstrate the party has a clear analysis of social and economic justice. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people	<p>Guarantee the rights of all Europeans currently living and working in Wales. Uphold the Dubs amendment. Create a Welsh Migration Advisory to fit skills gaps and protect from staff shortages. Take international students out of migration targets.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – These are positive pledges that meet the principle of welcoming the stranger. The focus on skills in immigration applications implies a lack of welcome to those who do not meet the criteria, however. <i>The manifesto meets the principle in part.</i></b></p>
4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem	<p>Create a human rights charter for Wales.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto keeps this short and sweet. For a party of Wales, this is sufficient, but a more robust and broad outline on the protection of rights would be welcomed. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well	<p>Powers over social security devolved to Wales. Ban private firms from carrying out benefits assessments for profit. Scrap the bedroom tax, fight the “rape clause” and changes to bereavement support payments. Support and encourage disabled people into employment without threat of sanctions. Living Pension for all and guarantee the Triple Lock. Oppose the raising of the state pension retirement age.</p>

	<p>Independent review into the Mineworkers’ Pension Scheme surplus to ensure scheme members get their fair share. Support for veterans, including mental health care and housing. Free full-time nursery places for all three year olds, and measures to end fuel poverty through reduced household bills.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – There is good detail on this principle, and the proposals outlined are aimed closely at moving away from the punitive ‘welfare’ of the last government. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment</p>	<p>Introduce £7.5 billion investment programme to fund projects throughout Wales. Open a publicly-owned bank and a Welsh Development Bank. Make available ultra-fast broadband to all Wales and roll out 5G mobile signal. Fight to ensure that European funding is replaced by the UK government. Require the UK government to gain the endorsement of each UK country before any new trade deal is signed. Reform the Red Meat Levy. Create a Welsh legal jurisdiction and a justice system that reflects the needs of Wales. Double the funding for Visit Wales. Develop an international policy for Wales, and introduce a Welsh Development Agency to boost trade. Give Wales the power to decide media and broadcasting policy. Ensure S4C has funding it needs.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – This is a strong section in the manifesto. While the proposals are specific to Wales, they would be positive if applied to the other countries or regions of the UK. The amount of investment called for is considerable but is intended to boost economic development and growth. The notion of fighting for the UK government to provide funding previously given by the EU seems optimistic, however, not least considering that the majority of Welsh voters who chose to leave the EU. It will depend on who is in Downing Street after 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017 <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all</p>	<p>Train an additional 1,000 doctors and 5,000 nurses for the Welsh NHS in the next decade. Establish a medical school. Introduce social care rescue plan to help people live independently, and increase role of community hospitals. Ensure health and social care services are seamlessly provided. Save 10,000 lives over ten years, through public health actions and promoting lifestyle changes. Increased funding for and access to counselors and therapists.</p> <p>Implement a nationwide scheme to make housing more efficient, and compensation for badly installed government-back wall insulation.</p> <p>Oppose centralization of tax offices, and fight to keep job centres open</p>

	<p>to protect jobs in Wales. Guarantee employment, education or training to any person under 25 looking for work.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The proposed actions on health are positive and tie in social care, as do other party manifestos. Investment and new staff are needed for the NHS across the UK if it is to survive. The housing proposal does not include a commitment to massive construction, but possibly this does not suit Wales' aims as opposed to those of the UK in general. The guarantee of work experience or education to under 25s is a positive proposal. The manifesto addresses this principle positively.</b></p>
<p>8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security</p>	<p>Oppose military action without UN and parliamentary authority. Scrap Trident. Invest in home-based troops and strengthen conventional forces. Maintain 0.7% of GDP on international aid.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The proposed strengthening of conventional and home-based troops seems reasonable given the stated protections against the resort to military action. More details would be helpful, to explain precisely what the party's criteria would be for engagement in military action: while the authority of the UN and Parliament should be considered necessary steps, they do not necessarily protect against the unjust resort to military action. Plaid opposes Trident and nuclear weapons. The manifesto meets this principle in part.</b></p>
<p>9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development</p>	<p>Increase energy generation from renewables; deliver tidal lagoons. Establish national vehicle charging network and transfer responsibility over Welsh energy generation to the National Assembly. Create a Welsh energy company to cut the cost of energy for consumers, and shift to decentralised networks. Create a new Wildlife Act for Wales, and create an Animal Abuse Register. Introduce a Climate Change Act, setting reduction targets for 2030 and 2050. Reduce plastic waste with a deposit return scheme. Oppose use of pylons through National Parks.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Another strong section. The vision for Wales' potential for developing renewable fuel generation is very positive and melds well with proposed legislation for the protection of the environment. The manifesto meets this principle.</b></p>
<p>10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life</p>	<p>Expand the vote to include 16 and 17 year-olds. Demand new independent commission to oversee redistribution of funds across the UK, based on a needs-based formula.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Not much of the manifesto is given to this principle. While changing the minimum age of the vote to 16 is a very necessary step, the proposed independent commission for</b></p>

	redistribution of funds might not radically change the current needs-based system across the UK. <i>The manifesto addresses this principle in part.</i>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<i>The manifesto meets the principles for the most part, though its focus on gaining powers for Wales means the party's positions on commitment to the poorest and most vulnerable are not foregrounded. Detail is also lacking in some sections. There is much here that can be commended as inspiration for UK-wide policy, as well as for the aspirations of Wales.</i>

## 7. Scottish National Party (SNP)

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
<p>1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable</p>	<p>Call on the UK government to reintroduce targets to end child poverty. Establish Poverty and Inequality Commission. Demand an end to austerity. Balance the budget by the end of the parliament. Reduce UK's net borrowing requirement to 2.3% of GDP. Reduce debt from 2019/20 onwards. Release £120 billion for public spending over the next parliament. Increase in Additional Rate of Income Tax to 50% from 2018/19, freeze on basic rate of Income Tax. Oppose any proposed increase in VAT or NIC; support reversal of married couple's allowance, and introduction of tax on bankers' bonuses. Improve transparency of tax paid by international countries.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The policies outlined here are aimed at helping the poorest and providing fiscal relief for those below the Additional Rate threshold. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities</p>	<p>Ask the independent pay review body to make fair recommendations. Introduce a fuel duty regulator to stabilise diesel and petrol prices. Freeze in Insurance Premium Tax hikes, which penalise those who pay more for insurance. Provide resources for financial health check-ups to ensure people secure the best energy tariffs. Reduce bills and protect energy consumers. Strengthen a Fair Work Convention to deliver workplace policy. Ensure workers' rights are not diminished with Brexit. Support for a Living Wage. Repeal Trade Union Act. Abolish fees for Employment Tribunals. Ban zero-hour contracts. Protect women from pregnancy- and maternity-based redundancies. Penalise companies who do not pay men and women the same rate for the same job. Introduce equal pay audits for employers who have 150 employees or more, and look at gender, race and disability. Ensure public sector employers with more than 20 employees provide gender pay gap reports every two years, and equal pay statements every four years. Legislate for gender balance in public sector boardrooms. Change Equality Act to stop employers having different dress codes for men and women. Ensure workplaces provide new parents with information on their rights when they return to work. Call for strengthened Equality Impact Assessment provisions which ensure legislation is sensitive to interests of minority communities. Review and reform gender recognition laws, and demand full devolution of equality law to the Scottish Parliament. Implement UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities across the UK.</p>

	<p><b>VERDICT: Social and economic injustices are challenged in the manifesto, and policies are weighted towards equality in the workplace. A good deal of what is proposed suggests consultation to ensure policies are well-informed. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people</p>	<p>Press for immigration powers to be devolved to the Scottish Parliament. Ensure rights of EU nationals to remain in UK, and UK nationals to remain in EU countries. Reintroduce Post-Study Work Visa scheme for Scotland. Remove Skills Immigration Charge (employers pay £1,000 per non-EEA worker per year). Limit immigration detention to 28 days. Review citizenship application process, with the intent of bringing down cost of application. Reverse closure of Dubs Scheme for unaccompanied child refugees. Implement a National Refugee Integration Strategy that ensures agencies take part in supporting refugees. Treat those requesting asylum with dignity and conduct processing efficiently. Allow those who have waited six months to work, and opposed cuts to asylum seekers. ‘Fundamentally’ change system for housing asylum seekers. Remove demands for “proof” of sexuality or gender identity of LGBTI individuals.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: A strong set of policies on immigration, with no mention of restrictive skills-tests for potential migrants, although the manifesto does not suggest open-doors immigration. The measures are welcoming to asylum seekers with a stress on showing dignity during the process. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem</p>	<p>Private Member’s Bill to fund services such as women’s refuges and rape crisis helplines, to support victims of gender-based violence. Ensure rights currently protected by EU membership are not lost after the UK leaves. Re-affirm commitment to European Court on Human Rights and Human Rights Act. Support the establishment of a UN special envoy to promote the rights of LGBTI people worldwide.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Without being too broad, the policies here would maintain and strengthen UK human rights protections. The establishment of a UN special envoy for LGBTI people demonstrates a connection to rights in the wider world. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well</p>	<p>Demand full control for the Scottish Parliament over Scottish social security benefits. Reverse the cuts to Employment and Support Allowance for disabled and ill people assessed as not fit to work. Halt and replace the current Work Capability Assessment. Urge UK government to review Personal Independence Payments, ensuring</p>



	<p>the process is rooted in dignity. Oppose the cap that restricts Child Tax Credits to first two children and removal of family Universal Credit. Oppose the “rape clause” to tax credits. Support the annual uprating of all benefits by at least CPI inflation. Abolish the Bedroom tax in Scotland completely when have powers to do so. Call for current benefit sanctions to be scrapped. Halt to the roll-out of Universal Credit in Scotland until it is ‘designed to treat everyone with fairness and respect’. Reinstate work allowance to all benefit claimants. Pursue a Bill to commence the section of the Equality Act requiring public bodies to evaluate how well their policies impact inequality. End charges on parents through Child Maintenance Service. End premium-rate telephone charges on those calling the DWP. Restore housing support for 18-21 year olds. Reverse cuts to Bereavement Payments and Widowed Parents’ Allowance. Call for full devolution of employment and employability policy, including the Minimum Wage; until devolution, call for the UK government to establish a Fair Work Commission to protect workers’ rights from effects of Brexit.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: The tone of policies on benefits proposed is one of support for claimants rather than indignity. Many cuts or restrictions are mitigated, and an increase in benefits spending overall is argued for. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment</p>	<p>Campaign for UK government funding for regional ‘Growth’ or ‘City’ deals. Demand commitment for UK government to match Scottish Government’s investment in Aberdeen and Inverness. Establish a ‘new enterprise agency’ to address skills needs of south Scotland, and demand UK government provide funding. Demand that EU funds gained by the UK government because of Scotland’s low average farm payments be passed on to Scottish farmers. Ensure forestry and Less Favoured Areas grants for 2019 and beyond are guaranteed immediately. Fight attempts of UK government to ‘sell out’ Scotland’s fishing communities during Brexit negotiations. Protect Scotland’s place in the Single Market, and seek guarantees for 3,000 EU nationals working in fish processing to remain. Ensure that EU fisheries funding be matched and transferred to Scotland by the UK government. Upgrade Universal Service Obligation (USO) of broadband provision to 30Mbps download speed, and find solutions to providing mobile internet to isolated areas. Have a “rural areas first” policy for mobile spectrum licensing. Champion the interest of communities to benefit financially from renewable energy projects. End unfair delivery charges for consumers in the Highlands and Islands.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Much of the proposed actions concerning this principle call for guarantees from the UK government to provide</b></p>

	<p><b>funding, and demand the protection of benefits supplied by the EU. The Scottish Government is reliant on the UK government for many investment decisions, and the party is right to fight secure funding for communities. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all</p>	<p>Close loopholes in the sugary drink tax, tighten regulations on junk food advertising seen by children and introduce clearer food labeling.</p> <p>Commit to increase in NHS revenue budget of £500 million more than inflation by the end of this term of the Scottish Parliament, a total increase of £2 billion in total. Argue for increase in frontline health spending. Protect the health service across the UK from privatization, and work on a cross-party basis to support a NHS Reinstatement Bill that returns the NHS in England to its founding principles. Commit to a free NHS, including free prescriptions. Invest an additional £1.7 billion in Scotland’s health and social care over term of the Scottish Parliament. Reform primary care, and an increase in the number of GPs and nurses. Tackle obesity. Follow a new ten-year Mental Health Strategy, including increasing the mental health workforce and improving child mental health services. Enshrine safe NHS staffing levels in law. Reject caps on public sector pay, and work with unions to submit evidence to independent pay review body, promising to implement its recommendations in full. Protect the rights of European NHS workers to live and work in the UK. Stay part of the European Medicines Agency to maintain access to vital drugs. Ensure continuity of European Health Insurance Card. Make provision of Pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) available across the UK. Support a full public inquiry on contaminated blood products in the UK.</p> <p>Build new homes in Scotland through the £25 million Rural Housing Fund. Deliver 100 affordable homes in island communities through a £5 million fund.</p> <p>Abandon proposed closures of 23 Jobcentre Plus sites in Scotland. Support continued use of procurement processes to seek Living Wage for workers in firms who win contracts from public sector.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Commitments to increase funding for the NHS, resist privatisation and continue to coordinate health initiatives with Europe are positive steps towards health care for all. The housing proposals are limited; much on work and employment is found in the sections on economic injustice and social security benefits. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security</p>	<p>Scrap Trident, and press the government to meet obligations to multilateral nuclear disarmament. Invest in conventional forces, and campaign to keep Scotland’s bases open. Support a new Strategic</p>

	<p>Defence and Security Review and permanently base patrol ships and planes in Scotland. Co-operate with Europol on organized crime, cybercrime and terrorism, ensuring UK law enforcement agencies have access to Europol. Oppose any moves to use security co-operation as a ‘bargaining chip’ during EU exit negotiations. Greater transparency in UK defence spending. Press for more Scottish SMEs in Scotland to benefit from supply chain for defence projects. Immediate ban on arms sales to Saudi Arabia. Immediately halt military support and arms sales to regimes suspected of violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Promote Scotland as a centre for the training of female peacemakers, and reaffirm the role of women in the prevention of conflicts. Pursue a political resolution through the UN to the struggle against Daesh (IS). Uphold the international agreement that has ended Iran’s nuclear weapons programme. Pursue a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto makes firm proposals on nuclear disarmament, arms sales and Scotland’s role in peacemaking. The commitment to investment in conventional armed forces might be necessary for defence, but seems to be made primarily for economic reasons. This is the only manifesto specifically to address a peacemaking initiative, which is very welcome. <i>The manifesto meets the principle in part.</i></b></p>
<p>9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development</p>	<p>Press the UK government to include onshore and offshore wind, tidal energy, and wave power in its industrial strategy. Protect Scotland’s funding and cooperation with the EU for renewable energy. Develop technology for Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) by securing funding from the UK government for Peterhead Power Station. Demand reform of transmission charging regime, involving fees paid by energy generators to connect to the electricity grid. Oppose and hold to account the UK government in its decision to build the Hinkley Point C nuclear plant. Follow draft Climate Change Plan, produced by the Scottish Government, to reduce emissions over the coming years. Safeguard and protect UK commitments to tackle climate change from threat of Brexit. Oppose any relaxation to laws on fox hunting. Deliver a strong deal for the oil and gas sector, including incentives to develop small pool discoveries, and support to stimulate exploration activity. Press UK government for assurances that oil and gas industry is treated as a high priority. Urge UK government to provide incentives for companies to diversify into renewables. Invest in infrastructure and ensure supply chain companies can compete for contracts associated with decommissioning; build ultra-deep water port and associated facilities.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Most of the policies in the manifesto fulfill the</b></p>

	<p><b>principle of caring for the planet, and are ambitious. The commitment to the oil and gas industry tempers the generally impressive environmental position; however, the proposed incentives for diversification to renewables and hoped-for decommissioning projects suggest that life after fossil fuels is on the party's agenda. <i>The manifesto meets the principle in part.</i></b></p>
<p>10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life</p>	<p>Oppose high cost of refurbishing the Palace of Westminster. Vote to abolish House of Lords. Ensure support for disabled people, and those of all classes, races and gender identities to stand for the House of Commons. Support replacing first-past-the-post with the Single Transferable Vote. Grant 16-17 year olds the right to vote in all elections, and extend the franchise to all EU citizens living in the UK. Support the recommendations of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Democratic Participation to get millions more onto electoral register. Provide Electoral Commission with legal authority to investigate offences, and increase the maximum penalty for offences from £20,000 to £1.5 million. Support strict rules on lobbying but push to remove legislation that 'gags' campaigning charities.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The policies proposed protect and further democracy in the UK as in Scotland, and would increase electoral participation and the public's voice. <i>The manifesto meets the principle.</i></b></p>
<p><b>CONCLUSION</b></p>	<p><b>This is an ambitious and thorough manifesto. While the party is committed to Scottish independence and naturally prioritises Scotland in its policies, the manifesto generally puts forward proposals that would be applicable to the rest of the UK; at the least, the UK would be affected beneficially, however the constitutional question ends up being addressed. <i>All of the principles are fully or partially met.</i></b></p>

## 8. UK Independence Party

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
<p>1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable</p>	<p>Remove VAT from domestic energy bills and scrap green levies from bills. Together this will cut household bills by 170 a year. Abolish the TV licence. Remove VAT from hot takeaway food and women's sanitary products. Raise Income Tax personal allowance to £13,500 by the end of the next parliament. Raise the 40% Income Tax threshold to £55,000, with the intent of raising to £100,000 in the long-term. Raise thresholds for and eventually eliminate inheritance tax. Close loopholes allowing companies to pay corporation tax in whichever country they choose. Keep winter fuel allowance, free bus passes, prescriptions and eye tests for all age 60 and over. Encourage businesses to fund job placements for older people, and protect them against workplace discrimination. Create a new Veterans' Association, with its own minister. Build eight halfway house veterans' hostels, and assign 500 affordable rent homes every year. Guaranteed jobs in police service, prison service or border force for anyone who has served in the armed forces for a minimum of 12 years. Prevent legal harassment of ex-service personnel.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – While the proposed raising of Income Tax personal allowances and thresholds might seem to help the poorest, the proposals include the raising of the 40% threshold to 55,000, which will not help. Less tax revenue means less public spending, which needs to be increased if a government is to commit to those who need the most help. The keeping of benefits for over 60s is positive but seems to be aimed at winning votes rather than pursuing policies based on needs. Likewise, the support for veterans is positive but perhaps overstated. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities</p>	<p>Allow women to retire at age 60 if they choose. End zero hour contracts for home care workers. Create an £80 million fund to help childminders and childcare providers to care for more children with special needs.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: In what it says on narrow demographics, the manifesto meets the principle. However there should be much more breadth of thought on how social and economic injustice can be addressed. Moreover, the restrictive positions on freedom of cultural expression elsewhere in the manifesto undermine any attempt here pursue social equality. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and</p>	<p>Establish a Migration Control Commission and cut net migration to zero over a five-year period. Place a freeze on low-skilled</p>

<p>marginalized people</p>	<p>immigration for five years after the UK leaves the EU. Reform visa system, with priority going to highly skilled workers with a job offer paying a minimum of £30,000 per annum. Family reunion visa application would require proof that marriage is not to obtain British residency. Comply with obligations of 1961 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. New immigrants are expected to make tax and national insurance contributions before claiming UK benefits or non-essential NHS healthcare. Must obtain and maintain private medical insurance as a condition of visa. ‘No amnesty’ for so-called illegal immigrants. EU citizens to have indefinite leave to remain if they lived in the UK before the triggering of Article 50. If they arrived after 29th March 2017 there is no automatic right to remain and these citizens will lose access to benefits, except non-urgent healthcare, when the UK leaves the EU.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The ‘no amnesty’ for so-called illegal immigrants goes against this principle. The requirement for private medical insurance for new immigrants is also troubling. For much of the rest of the proposals, the manifesto does not diverge too far from others, particularly the reformed visa system prioritizing ‘highly skilled’ workers. It is somewhat welcome to read a clear proposal on the status of EU citizens post-Brexit. The overall anti-immigration stance of the party is clear, and one that Ekklesia fundamentally disagrees with. <i>The manifesto does not meet the principle.</i></b></p>
<p>4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem</p>	<p>Promote ‘British values’, including free speech and patriotism, in the legal system and schools. Protect all women from culture and ignorance of the law. ‘Zero tolerance’ for FGM and ‘breast ironing’, and take steps to prosecute FGM better. Prosecute “offences committed to protect family or personal honour”, and child and force marriage, and polygamy. Ban wearing of the niqap and the burqa in public places.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto is resolutely insensitive to cultural diversity in the UK, and to the rights of individuals to choose how to represent their culture. ‘British values’ seems to be some appeal to an idealised homogenous British culture; the enforcement of such a contrived set of values would be patently and offensively un-British. In claiming to defend women the party seems to seek to attack the dignity and rights of ethnic and religious communities. The opposition to FGM is commended. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well</p>	<p>Maintain Triple Lock on state pension. Reverse cuts to care budgets, investing up to two billion every year. Pay Attendance Allowance to those over 65 who need help with personal care. No cuts to disability</p>

	<p>benefits. Reform Work Capability Assessments in consultation with people who are disabled. Give carers an extra five days' holiday annually, and increase Carer's Allowance to £73.10 a week. Offer wraparound childcare from 8am to 6pm during term time. Make play spaces compulsory in housing estates, and promote nursery or crèche provision in developments such as shopping centres.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – In themselves, the policies proposed here address the principle. How they would be realized s another matter. <i>The manifesto addresses this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment</p>	<p>Hold binding referenda. Oppose cabinet system of local governance, replace with a committee system. Councillors encouraged to ensure basic services work well before investing in new projects. Keep Council Tax as low as possible, cutting allowances and executive pay in councils. Marketing and promotional materials to be kept to a minimum. Partnerships with other local councils to save costs, and remove 'non-essential' jobs and red tape. End the use of council procurement cars.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The proposed cuts to council tax and council spending make it difficult to see how local government can encourage community and neighborhood empowerment. Community empowerment does not necessarily rely on council funding, and in some cases a weakened council might mean there is a more need for strong community. But communities and neighborhood are not mentioned. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all</p>	<p>Provide NHS England with an additional 9 billion a year by 2021/22. An additional 2 billion for social care will be funded by savings made from the foreign aid budget. Lift the cap on medical school training places from 7,500 to 10,000. Cover the cost of tuition fees provided medical students work for at least 10 out of the first 15 years after they qualify. Fund the cost of "return to practice" training, encouraging retired GPs or GPs with children to work part time or in job-share schemes. Make it easier for doctors who have worked overseas to re-register. Increase the number of nurse training placements and reinstate bursaries to cover nursing, midwifery and other health professionals' tuition and accommodation costs. Cover the cost of re-training nurses who have had a career break. End the 1% pay increase cap for NHS workers earning under £35,000. Train more emergency medicine consultants. Establish a Department for Health and Care, and create a social care system assimilated into the NHS. Launch the 'toughest ever' crackdown on foreign nationals using the NHS. Limit the amount that can be spent on external management consultancy contract to £50,000. End the use of Private Finance</p>

Initiative (PFI) contracts. Establish a royal commission to allow the NHS to hold fast to its values. Treble the amount allocated to dementia research and treatment in 2015, to 400 million each year over the next parliament. Increase spending on mental health services by £500 million every year, enough to fund 6,000 more clinical psychologists to see 500,000 more adults and young people every year. Cut waiting times to a maximum of 28 days. Integrate mental health training into the teacher-training syllabus. Counseling services at all secondary schools. Extend remit of Internet Safety Strategy to consider whether new legislation is needed to address the problem of online abuse. 'Vigorously' enforce current legislation on drugs and commit to not legalising currently classified drugs. Integrate mental wellbeing into medical examinations for serving armed forces personnel. Extend the period during which discharged service personnel are able to access mental health scheme to 2 years.

A policy to build high quality, low cost factory-built modular homes, to be affordable at the national average wage of £26,000. Bring 100,000 affordable homes onto the market every year. Could build one million by 2022. Launch a review into housing associations' management of socially rented housing. Use money regained from the EU regional development budget to manufacture modular homes, ensuring the manufacturing takes place in the UK to boost jobs.

Require employers to advertise jobs to British citizens before offering them overseas. Ensure employers are legally free to employ a British person under 25 ahead of a better-qualified non-British applicant.

Introduce a Single Farm Payment (SFP) to support smaller farms. Subsidies capped at £120,000 per year, and paid to farmers, not landowners. Organic farms will be paid 25% more. Subsidies to those who farm without antibiotics, in response to Anti-Microbial Resistance.

**VERDICT – On health, the proposals are broad and detailed, addressing the need for increased funding for mental health and an end to PFI contracts. The proposal for constructing houses are suitably ambitious but do not seem to have been formulated with consideration of the environment or communities. The suggestion of allowing employers to prioritize 'British workers' over 'foreign' applicants is very negative, and undermines other principles. The farming proposals are interesting. *The manifesto meets the principle in part; it is noted that when the manifesto does not meet the principle, it is also going against other principles.***



<p>8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security</p>	<p>Commit to 2% of GDP on defence, and a further 1 billion per year by the end of the parliament. Review ‘demilitarisation’ of the country.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The language against ‘demilitarisation’ implies an inherent opposition to foreign and defence policies that seek military action only as a last resort, and to any kind of nonviolent or civic approach to security. There is little to suggest here that diplomatic and multilateral discussion, not to mention a review of arms sales, will be pursued. The party is vigorously pro-Trident. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development</p>	<p>Repeal EU Common Agricultural Policy, Common Fisheries Policy and Water Framework Directive. Scrap HS2. Amend planning legislation to require inclusion of trees and open space into new developments. Investigate possibility of introducing deposit scheme on plastic. Repeal 2008 Climate Change Act, and withdraw from the Paris agreement and EU Emissions Trading Scheme. Invest in shale gas outside of national parks.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The firm pledges to scrap international legislation on protecting the environment is alarming. Even allowing for the possible weaknesses of these agreements, there is no suggestion of reworking them or considering new agreements. The plan to invest in shale gas would also be detrimental to the environment. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p>10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life</p>	<p>Introduce proportional voting that retains a constituency link. Scrap postal voting ‘on demand’. Abolish the House of Lords. Reduce the size of the House of Commons to 325. Introduce legislation to hold a national referendum every two years on the issues gaining the highest number of signatures on petitions. These referenda would be legally binding and included in the Queen’s Speech.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The willingness of the 2010-2015 Conservatives to grant referenda carried huge risks, not least the exit from the EU that is now underway. A commitment to mandatory referenda every two years could be damaging to national interests, as well as divisive. While proportional voting would be a positive action, it is not clear what good nearly halving the size of the Commons would do. <i>The manifesto does not meet this principle.</i></b></p>
<p><b>CONCLUSION</b></p>	<p><b><i>The principles for the most part have not been met. The most positive things to say regarding the principles are on health care and benefits. However, the good proposals outlined in those sections are undermined by excluding rhetoric, and a lack of concern for human rights and social justice. The party has shifted the political agenda in many parts of Britain in a reactionary direction, and this manifesto illustrates why.</i></b></p>

## 9. Women’s Equality Party

Core Principles	Manifesto Claims
1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable	<p>Investment in universal childcare. Shared parental leave. End zero-hour contracts in care sector, and living wage for all care workers. Introduce right to 5-10 days paid care leave in workplace. Increase in carers’ allowance.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – While the manifesto on the whole focuses gender inequalities and women’s rights in a number of topics, the care sector is singled-out for improvements. The policies proposed aim at aiding care workers and the beneficiaries of care. However, other social or industry sectors are not mentioned, and neither are policies to help the poorest and most vulnerable more generally. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities	<p>Gender equality. Extend requirement for gender pay reporting to businesses of 50 or more, and collect data on age, ethnicity, race, disability also. Lower employment claim fees for those claiming to suffer workplace discrimination. Implement a fully equal system of nine months parental leave at 90% of pay, and make parental leave available regardless of how long mothers have been in the same job. Make flexible working the default through working with the business community.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto chiefly aims to reduce gender injustice and inequality. The easing of economic inequality through fiscal or monetary means is not a priority, although full income equality for women, and equality in family leave and in the workplace, would lead to a fairer society economically. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people	<p>Increase the number of quota refugees, and work with the EU and UN to respond to the refugee crisis. Allow women with dependent visa status to apply for independent visas following a year’s residency.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The policies proposed on immigration and the inclusion of the disabled in the workplace show that the manifesto is on the side of the displaced and marginalized. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem	<p>Abolish the “no recourse to public funds” status for migrants. End detention of migrant pregnant women and limit detention altogether. Put universal human rights at the core of international law and trade deals. Ensure EU-derived legislation brought into Parliament to</p>

	<p>protect rights to annual leave, overtime pay, rest breaks and others for working women.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – Universal human rights, with priority given to gender, is at the core of this agenda. <i>The manifesto meets this principle.</i></b></p>
5. Moving from punitive ‘welfare’ to a society where all can genuinely fare well	<p>There are no specific policies in the manifesto on this principle, though the direction of travel away from a punitive approach to welfare is implicit in policies on health and social care</p> <p><b>VERDICT – <i>The manifesto does not address the principle.</i></b></p>
6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment	<p>There are no specific policies in the manifesto on this principle.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – <i>The manifesto does not address the principle.</i></b></p>
7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all	<p>Launch a parliamentary inquiry into gender inequalities in health care. Increased research into mental health, invisible disabilities and end of life care, among others. Fully integrate health and social care systems. Reinstate bursary for student nurses and midwives, and fair and equitable contract with junior doctors. Improved mental health care. Review of affordable housing policy and of bedroom tax.</p> <p><b>VERDICT: Aside from health and income, the manifesto only considers these topics very briefly. It does not consider radical proposals such as universal basic income (UBI), and aims at first reducing gender inequality rather than radically reforming the sectors specified. <i>The manifesto meets this principle in part.</i></b></p>
8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security	<p>Ensure Brexit negotiations do not damage the peace process in Ireland.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto does not give adequate time to this commitment. <i>The manifesto does not address the principle.</i></b></p>
9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development	<p>There are no specific policies in the manifesto on this principle.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – <i>The manifesto does not address the principle.</i></b></p>
10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life	<p>Gender parity in both houses of Parliament.</p> <p><b>VERDICT – The manifesto does not give adequate time to this commitment. <i>The manifesto does not address the principle.</i></b></p>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<p><b>While brief and concentrated on a narrow range of issues, <i>the manifesto for the most part embodies Ekklesia’s commitments in principle if not always in detail.</i> Policies suggested and the broader theories behind them would be welcomed in parties that have a greater chance of winning a substantial number of seats at this election.</b></p>

## Summary Table

*The measurements and verdicts we have given are summed up below:*

<b>Election Principle</b>	<b>Conservative</b>	<b>Green</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>Liberal Democrats</b>	<b>National Health Alliance Party</b>	<b>Plaid Cymru</b>	<b>SNP</b>	<b>UKIP</b>	<b>Women's Equality Party</b>
1. A commitment to favouring the poorest and most vulnerable	Not met	Part met	Part met	Met	Part met	Part met	Met	Not met	Part met
2. Actively redressing social and economic injustices and inequalities	Not met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Part met	Met	Not met	Met
3. Welcoming the stranger and valuing displaced and marginalized people	Not met	Met	Met	Part met	Not met	Part met	Met	Not met	Met
4. Seeing people, their dignity and their rights as the solution and not the problem	Not met	Met	Met	Met	Insufficient	Part met	Met	Not met	Met
5. Moving from punitive 'welfare' to a society where all can genuinely fare well	Not met	Part met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Part Met (in theory)	Not addressed
6. Promoting community and neighbourhood empowerment	Not Met	Met	Met	Met	Not addressed	Met	Met	Not met	Not addressed
7. Food, health, housing, work and sustainable income for all	Not met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Part met	Met	Part met	Part met
8. Investing in nonviolent alternatives to peace and security	Not met	Met	Part met	Part met	Not addressed	Part met	Part met (only mention of peace)	Not met	Not addressed
9. Care for planet and people as the basis for human development	Part met	Met	Part met	Met	Met	Met	Part met	Not met	Not addressed
10. Transparency, honesty and accountability in public life	Not met	Met	Met	Met	Met	Part met	Met	Not met	Not addressed
<b>OVERALL SUMMARY</b>	<b>Not met</b>	<b>Met</b>	<b>Met</b>	<b>Met</b>	<b>Met</b>	<b>Part met</b>	<b>Met</b>	<b>Not met</b>	<b>Insufficient</b>

## Concluding Comments: beyond the General Election

The exercise of assessing each of the seven party manifestos is, we recognise, a highly indicative one. For a start, manifestos are summaries of policy or principles based on winning electoral advantage and considering what might be advanced in an upcoming parliament. This means that underlying policy or philosophy may not be well reflected. For example, the SNP is not pressing one of its core objectives, independence for Scotland, in its 2017 Westminster manifesto, but is instead looking at how progressive policies can be pursued within the constraint of the current United Kingdom. Likewise, our reading of Plaid Cymru's overall stance is that it is more radical in addressing poverty and inequality than may come across in its 2017 manifesto taken alone. UKIP has appears to have shifted away from NHS privatization, at least rhetorically, in order to try to win Labour voters over, and proposes a strong package of social security benefits – though many looking in from the outside may be sceptical. The Greens have included a pledge towards a universal basic income, but stress that this will be by a process of small steps. We know that their policies in opposing benefits cuts and completely replacing the ESA/WCA (something also supported by Labour, the SNP and Plaid) are stronger in depth than what is set out in this manifesto.

It should also be noted that the Scottish Greens, who are only contesting three seats, have set out their own manifesto, which shares the principles and approach of the Green Party of England and Wales, adapted to the particular needs of Scotland. Likewise the unionist parties in Scotland (Labour, Conservatives and Liberal Democrats) set out their own stalls in Scotland – though their campaigns have been largely focused on opposing a second referendum on Scottish independence, while the SNP and the Greens wish to see that choice in the light of a Brexit deal, since Scotland voted 62:38 against Brexit, with every region coming out 'Remain'. This needs to be taken into account, alongside many other factors, in the negotiations within the UK, as well as with the EU, that follow. The Liberal Democrats and the Green Party in England and Wales are among those calling for a UK referendum on the final deal.

The three historically largest UK-wide parties, the Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats, offer diverse paths, unlike in 2015 when it was difficult to split the three on some issues. The self-identifying 'progressive parties' (Plaid Cymru, the Greens and the SNP) share a lot of common ground, and have a similar boldness of policy direction. The two nationalist parties do not lag behind the Greens in terms of ambition in policy for the whole UK. The two issues-based parties, the Women's Equality Party and the National Health Action Party, each propose policies that fit well with our principles, and have a breadth of concern that goes beyond their particular issues.

At the end of the day, it is up to you, the reader, to decide whether and how to vote, given the choices on offer (which may be greater than those reflected in this paper in your own constituency). We seek to be non-partisan as a think tank, though with strong principles, messages and policy stances on major issues derived from the engagement of Christian thought and action with that of others of goodwill. We have pointed to merits in policies and commitments from seven of the nine parties whose manifestos we have analysed. They are offering positive steps forward; ones which in many cases can be described as helpful but not sufficient in terms of the change needed to reshape society towards economic and social justice, peaceful security and environmental sustainability. This perhaps illustrates why, tactical considerations apart, the notion of realignment in politics and a 'progressive alliance' (<http://www.progressivealliance.org.uk>) has appeal in and beyond GE2017. Two of the parties, the Conservatives and UKIP, largely failed to meet or address the concerns outlined in our principles, we have to note. But at the end of the day it is up to you as a voter to decide.

Finally, we would wish to stress that Ekklesia's broader focus is not just on this particular 'democratic moment' (a General Election across the UK), but on the opportunities opened up by elections (the Scottish Parliament, the Welsh Assembly, local government) beyond. The negotiations for Brexit also loom large, and whoever takes responsibility for the UK in the negotiations will need to be held accountable by the electorate.

Moreover, our conception of politics as a moral concern with the use and abuse of power in society is not restricted to representative and electoral systems, but is concerned with political action as the mobilisation of people of goodwill (including Christians, people of different faith, and people of non-religious belief) towards the transformation of society in the direction of greater equality, social justice, peace and economic and environmental sustainability.

We believe that smaller communities, including churches, can and should be beacons of alternative values and practices that form a zone of experimentation to resource better thinking about how to organise and change society at the regional and macro levels. The aftermath of the 2017 General Election will change the balance of power at Westminster and elsewhere. This is significant. It will create conditions for fresh thinking about policy. Political parties operate within different but competing regimes of constraint. A major issue for Ekklesia beyond #GE2017 is to look at 'change agency' that links grassroots action and the witness of small 'moral communities' with NGO, national parliamentary and international political processes. That will include bringing together policy allies to enlarge the circle of people concerned to change the agenda on many issues in a positive, humanising way. It will also include theological and philosophical reflection on how our attempts at creative action and innovation tie in with our sense of ourselves in relation to others, to the planet, and the non-possessive, loving and giving approach to life which for many of us lies at the heart of our faith and our hope. This stretches far beyond what any factional manifesto can hope to offer.

## THE AUTHORS

The substantial research for this paper, including summaries of key points from all nine manifestos, was completed by Jake Cunliffe. Simon Barrow added preliminary and supplementary material, and refined some of the assessments of the extent to which the policy trajectories address, partly address or fail to address Ekklesia's ten core principles for steps to a better world. We would stress that these are indicative rather than prescriptive.

**Jake Cunliffe**, the principal author, is a researcher and Ekklesia associate. Originally from London, he has studied in Newcastle and Edinburgh, and he is currently based in Columbus, OH, USA.

**Simon Barrow**, who also contributed to this paper, is director of Ekklesia and a widely published writer on politics, religion, society and social ethics. He is based in Edinburgh, Scotland.

---

## ABOUT EKKLESIA

Founded in 2002, Ekklesia is a public policy think-tank that explores the changing nature of the relationship between politics and beliefs in a plural world. Committed to social justice, peacemaking, environmental sustainability and new economy, it seeks to combine transformative Christian thinking about public life with ideas and insights from a range of allies beyond the Christian tradition.

© This publication is the copyright of Ekklesia and the named contributors. It may be reproduced for strictly non-profit purposes under our Creative Commons policy, which requires full acknowledgement, no change to the original, and a link to our website. Commercial agencies wishing to reproduce material from this paper in part or in full should seek prior written permission and will be asked to make a suitable contribution towards our costs.

---

Published by Ekklesia (London and Edinburgh): 235 Shaftesbury Ave, London, WC2H 8EP. We can be contacted on 020 7836 3930. Website: [www.ekklesia.co.uk](http://www.ekklesia.co.uk)