

Labor



ALP NATIONAL PLATFORM

As adopted at the 2021
Special Platform Conference

Welcome to Labor's 2021 National Platform

In March 2021, delegates to the Australian Labor Party's Special Platform Conference gathered to debate and adopt our National Platform.

Our online Special Platform Conference was an event like nothing Labor – or any other Australian political party – had attempted before.

Over two days, delegates, branch members and observers joined from home, from work and from community spaces in every corner of the country.

The coronavirus pandemic may have prevented our movement from coming together as we traditionally have, but it did not prevent Labor from updating and renewing our National Platform.

As Anthony Albanese notes in the foreword to the National Platform, Labor's historic task is to advance an agenda of fairness that creates a better society, a better nation and a better world.

The 2021 National Platform sets out the contemporary policy agenda that an Albanese Labor Government will implement to progress that great task.

It is the product of countless hours of debate, discussion, and deliberation by Labor members in the 18 months leading up to the Special Platform Conference.

I want to particularly acknowledge the work of the National Policy Forum, particularly the Forum's office bearers led by our National President, Wayne Swan; Senators Jenny McAllister and Deborah O'Neill; and our NPF Secretary, Misha Zelinsky.

I commend the 2021 National Platform to the Party and the people of Australia.



Paul Erickson

ALP National Secretary



Conference resolution relating to the ALP National Platform

That the Conference reconfirm the longstanding resolution relating to the Platform as follows:

- Conference recognises that the Platform and Resolutions of the Party represents short and long-term aspirations of the ALP;
- The program for each of the three years of a Labor Government will continue to be drawn from the Platform; and
- Therefore, the Conference requests that the FPLP will, in preparing the program for the next three years:
 - (a) Continue to give priority to economic growth, a fair distribution of the benefits of economic growth and improvements in the welfare and standard of living of the Australian people; and
 - (b) Implement other platforms and policies according to a time scale to be determined having regard to the above overall priorities of the Party.

CARRIED

ALP Special Platform Conference

Revesby, March 2021.

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PLATFORM FOREWORD: RECOVERY, REBUILDING, RENEWAL

1. As we gather virtually for a historic Special National Conference, the Australian Labor Party celebrates 130 years as Australia's oldest and largest political party. Our party was founded in the struggle of working people who recognised that there was a need for a party, rooted in the trade union movement, to take their issues to Parliament. Our historic task has been to advance an agenda of fairness, and the creation of a better society, a better nation and a better world. We remain strong and determined, with our progressive instinct intact and our sense of moral quest undiminished. In 2021, our march forward continues. We are fighting for the things we believe in, and seeking government so we can add to our historic victories of which our movement is proud: rights at work, a strong social safety net, Medicare, accessible higher education, real equality for women, advancing reconciliation with our First Nations people, and environmental achievements including saving Kakadu, the Daintree, Antarctica and so much more.
2. But progress isn't easy. It never has been. Our forward march has been interrupted many times: by the Great Depression, the Second World War, the recession of the 1980s, and the Global Financial Crisis. Each time, Labor stepped up to lead the country out of crisis – making Australia stronger, wealthier, better. Curtin and Chifley summed up the Labor way: "Victory in war, victory in peace." Today, the Labor way means reform, recovery and renewal. It means undoing the complacency and decline presided over by our opponents. It means recognising that the world has changed, and knowing that Australia must also change to guarantee prosperity and a good life for all our citizens. In the current world of uncertainty, Australia is looking to Labor to lead.
3. Since the last election, large parts of the nation have been destroyed by bushfire, our regions and cities were choked by smoke, and our people needed rescue by sea. Bushfire disasters aren't new to Australia, but we know that climate change is making them more frequent, more intense, and more deadly. As the smoke cleared, the pandemic replaced it, taking the lives of our elderly, stealing the livelihoods of our people, and pushing our already weak economy into recession. Businesses closed, jobs were lost, and our way of life was upended. Once again, Labor is called upon to recover, rebuild and renew. Australia calls, and Labor answers.
4. A Labor government will be on your side. Our opponents are using this period of uncertainty to sneak through dangerous hidden agendas that will hurt you and your family. Instead, Labor offers steady, measured, intelligent leadership that is on your side.
5. Whilst Australians have responded magnificently in making sacrifices to help each other through this time of crisis, the pandemic has also exposed weaknesses in our economy. We will ensure our nation recovers stronger. We won't let Australia return to past mistakes, where the wilful ignorance of science, a weak economy, flat wages and falling confidence meant that we entered the pandemic from a position of weakness. We will continue to value the essential workers who have inspired us and kept us safe.
6. We have used the period to prepare the policy agenda of a future Labor government. Our goal is an economy that works for people, not the other way around. We know that trickle down economics only rains misery on working people. A better way forward – the Labor way forward – is to build an economy that creates opportunity for Australians, one that takes advantages of the opportunities before us. We are a great mining economy, with world-

leading service industries, but we should aspire to be even more. We must be a resilient country that makes things once again – a country that not only invents, but manufactures the technologies of the future.

7. Our central focus will be creating jobs – but not just any jobs. We want secure Australian jobs, with fair pay and fair conditions. Strong, smart industries create secure jobs. Weak, self-serving industries rely on labour hire, algorithms and the exploitation of vulnerable workers. Labor believes in flexibility, but a good society cannot thrive when the balance between employer and employee becomes completely one-sided. We need to protect and enhance the rights of working people and the security that comes with a reliable job – providing the capacity to start a family, get a home loan, and plan for the future. That's why Labor will fix Australia's employment laws to protect job security and give workers the rights and entitlements they deserve. Annual leave, sick leave and superannuation were hard fought – and hard won – by the labour movement. Labor will fight to defend and extend Australians' rights at work.
8. Our people will be the source of our national revival. We see education as the ticket to a lifetime of opportunity and we will modernise our education system to give every Australian an equal chance to succeed. We don't want and won't allow our young people to be dragged down by university debt. We will treat our universities as allies in a great project to create the ideas and products of the future. We will end the neglect of TAFE by backing the skills and training of our people, giving them good careers in secure industries. We will help our apprentices and trainees instead of cutting them, and unwind the damage done by our opponents. For Labor, TAFE is worth fighting for.
9. Labor knows that we are a society, not just an economy. Our social policies will keep faith with our proud Labor history, but they will be modernised to address the changing realities and new expectations of our citizens. We do not believe people's health or life opportunities should be determined by their postcode. We will narrow the gaps in health, wealth and income by creating opportunity and lifting up the whole nation. We will support our youngest Australians in their first years by forging the path to universal affordable child care while right through to ensuring older Australians are treated with the respect and dignity they deserve in their later years.
10. Labor will deliver genuine regional economic development. We want rural and regional Australians to receive a fair share of the prosperity they create. In return, they also deserve the same standard of education, health care and community services as their fellow Australians. Labor will create opportunity and security for all our citizens in all parts of our country.
11. There remains much to be done to achieve genuine equality for women. True workplace equity and safety from violence will be national priorities. We will support real structural change to address the power inequalities in our society that lead to unequal outcomes. Every Australian – no matter their identity, gender, religion, race or sexuality – should be able to live free from discrimination.
12. And we cannot look to the future without coming to terms with our past. That must start by listening to the generosity of the Uluru Statement from the Heart and acting – including through a Voice to Parliament enshrined in the Constitution. We will work with Australia's First Nations people to achieve recognition, justice and a strong voice in our national affairs – because it's well past time to complete the historic task of reconciliation.

13. All of Labor's plans for recovery, rebuilding and renewal will be made possible by sound economic policy that supports Australian businesses and entrepreneurship, but is prepared to intervene when the market fails. We will be strong economic managers with sound budget policies for these difficult times. We will have a strategy for jobs and economic growth, innovation and rising productivity. We will modernise Australia's infrastructure and skills. During the Global Financial Crisis, Labor saved jobs with smart investment and by keeping the economy growing. We need the same approach now.
14. Our policies will reward those who work hard to create a better life for themselves. Labor is the party for those who want to get ahead, as well as the party of compassion for those who are doing it tough.
15. During the pandemic, we have listened to the science to protect our health from COVID-19. We must also listen to the science on climate change to minimise its threat to jobs and our future. Action on climate change means more jobs, lower power prices and less pollution. We have the potential to be a renewable energy superpower. We will join with the world by adopting a target of net zero emissions by 2050. We will use our abundant natural resources to build the batteries and solar panels and wind turbines that will fuel a new manufacturing boom and create generations of jobs.
16. Labor's foreign policy will use our middle-power status to pursue Australia's interests and values in a rapidly changing region. We live in the most dynamic region of the world, experiencing the fastest growth of any region in human history – and we will turn this to our advantage. We believe strongly in the rule of international law and remain strong supporters of the United Nations. As we have always done, we will keep our defences strong, treat our defence personnel with respect, and maintain the alliances that have kept Australia safe.
17. This project of national recovery, rebuilding and renewal must include all Australians. It will require an honest and mature debate and a renewal of our democratic institutions. The lies and the rorts that characterise our opponents must end. The obsession with marketing will be replaced with a commitment to truth. This democratic maturity and national self-confidence will be reflected in a new spirit of openness and will culminate in a national movement to establish our nation as a fully democratic republic. A genuine national integrity commission will restore faith in our institutions.
18. This Conference will play a crucial role in determining the future of our country. By adopting this platform, a platform that holds no one back and leaves no one behind, we continue 130 years of progress and action led by Labor. For more than a century, Labor has been on your side and we always will be. Now let's write the next chapter of our movement – together.

Anthony Albanese
Leader of the Australian Labor Party

CHAPTER 1: BUILDING AUSTRALIA'S PROSPERITY

Security, resilience and opportunity

1. Australia faces one of its most profound economic challenges in a century. COVID-19 has exacerbated many of the economic problems Australia faced before the pandemic, and has created new ones. Australians' jobs, businesses and ambitions have suffered, with some of the greatest costs borne by those who can least afford it. Labor understands that good secure jobs give meaning to people's lives and are essential for them and their families to have the physical and emotional security necessary to underpin a fulfilling and productive life. We know that people want their government to have a plan to keep their jobs safe and create great jobs for their children and our future.
2. In this era of disruption and uncertainty, Australians want greater economic security and opportunity—for themselves and for the country. Labor will work with all Australians to deliver this. As the party that saw Australia through the Global Financial Crisis, Labor knows that big challenges cannot be met with small solutions. Labor knows the importance of Australians' individual economic lives to Australia's collective economic future. We will rebuild our nation's economic strength, help create jobs and put Australia back on the path to growth and prosperity.
3. Our task is not to restore Australia's past but to restore its promise. Although some of the economic challenges Australia faces are new, many are not. For years before COVID-19 emerged, too many Australians experienced stagnant living standards as wages, growth and opportunities faltered, and too many regions and cohorts faced high unemployment and underemployment.
4. Labor will pursue strong, inclusive and sustainable economic growth that is consistent with the achievement of full employment, well-paid and secure jobs, low and stable inflation, and rising living standards for all. As the economy recovers from the devastating and long-lasting impacts of COVID-19, Labor will prioritise the protection, support and creation of jobs.
5. Labor is proud of its record of strong economic management. Fiscal policy must match the economic circumstances that we face. Those circumstances include a weak economy with high unemployment, high underemployment, and high debt, which have all been exacerbated by COVID-19.
6. Our response to these circumstances cannot impose unfair burdens on vulnerable people. Labor will ensure that markets are functioning, fair, environmentally sustainable and work for the benefit of the Australian people, including through direct intervention where necessary. Labor supports an active role for government in addressing market failure and improving equality and social justice through the full range of government policy instruments.
7. Labor will boost productivity and build a more dynamic economy, including through greater partnership between workers, their unions, business, community and government on infrastructure investment, skill creation, smart industry policy and regulatory reform, because rising productivity is critical for higher living standards.
8. Labor will promote Australia's international competitiveness, maintain a commitment to an open economy and increase the volume of Australia's trade with other nations.

9. Labor will build a more economically resilient Australia that can interact with the world on its own terms. The benefits of international connectedness have been significant for Australia, but this connectedness can create vulnerability during periods of disruption or extreme events. Labor acknowledges that risk cannot be eliminated; national economic resilience is about managing this risk in the national interest.
10. Labor will promote private and public investment to create well paid, secure jobs and increase Australia's international competitiveness, and we will champion investment in scientific and technological research to keep Australia at the cutting edge of innovation. Labor will make Australia a smart nation once again.

Prudent fiscal and monetary policy

11. Labor will maintain an independent Reserve Bank and its current charter objectives of currency stability, full employment and general economic welfare. Labor supports the Reserve Bank's medium-term inflation target and its calls for increases in real wages. Labor will support the Reserve Bank making submissions to the Fair Work Commission's annual wage review advising the Bank's position on appropriate wage levels.
12. Labor will deliver sound public finances by adhering to a fiscal strategy that is responsive to the economic conditions of the time, keeps spending to a responsible level and ensures that public debt levels remain sustainable. As Australia emerges from recession, Labor believes that a responsible economic and fiscal strategy should support a strong, inclusive and sustainable recovery that gets Australia back on the path to full employment as soon as possible, in a way that starts to tackle insecure work and chronic underemployment. This recognises that the most responsible and effective way to manage the budget in the current circumstances is to support the economy and job creation.
13. Labor will deliver a progressive and sustainable tax system. This will provide incentives for all Australians to work and undertake productive enterprise, while guaranteeing adequate revenue to fund quality public services, bring about a more equal distribution of income and wealth, and achieve the nation's social, economic and environmental objectives.
14. Australia's taxation system should be efficient, simple, transparent and equitable. There is no place for tax evasion. Meeting Australia's economic and fiscal challenges requires everyone, including Australian and multinational corporations, to pay their fair share of tax.
15. Realising Australia's economic potential requires government to realise its capacity to initiate and support change through all the policy levers at its disposal including support for innovation, trade, migration, infrastructure and regional development.

Inclusive and sustainable growth

16. As a social-democratic party, Labor will pursue inclusive growth. We reject the false choice between growth that is strong and growth that is fair. Labor believes our economy is strengthened when more people can contribute to it and have a stake in its success. We note that around the world rising levels of inequality have left countries more vulnerable to sudden economic shocks. Labor's growth strategies will therefore maximise opportunities for full

employment, equality of opportunity, fair wages growth, increasing social mobility and economic redistribution.

17. Labor believes that full employment and well paid, secure jobs for all who want them are the basis of a good society. We will promote healthy wages growth because rising household income strengthens the economy and is the best way to ensure that the benefits of rising prosperity reach everyone. To achieve this, Labor supports a fair and balanced workplace relations system with strong unions to deliver better pay and conditions for workers.
18. Labor will work with unions and business to support greater industry and workplace collaboration. As a social- democratic party, Labor encourages companies and unions to replicate the success of other nations in making employees real and valued stakeholders through representation on company boards. In government, Labor will work towards the implementation of an 'Australian model' of company and relevant board representation for workers.
19. Labor will examine options for improving ordinary shareholder rights to enable greater worker and citizen shareholder participation in the governance of corporations.
20. Labor will make Australia a global energy superpower to tackle the challenge of dangerous climate change, reduce Australia's carbon emissions, modernise Australia's energy production, lower the cost of energy and create more well paid, secure jobs. Labor will work with industry to secure investment in reliable, low cost energy that will secure and create well paid, secure jobs in high energy use industries, and push Australian industry to more complex, high technology exports.
21. Australia's natural environment, with its soils, waterways, wildlife and coasts, is one of our most important economic assets. In addition to its intrinsic benefits, it supports our all-important agriculture, fisheries and tourism sectors. Labor's growth strategies will ensure these assets are protected and replenished as well as protected from the damage being caused by climate change.
22. Labor will ensure that young people are able to benefit from our economic growth strategies. Young people have borne a disproportionate share of the costs of the response to COVID-19, and must be given opportunities to maintain their connectivity to the labour market and retrain. Like their parents and grandparents, this generation should enjoy higher living standards, greater social mobility and higher levels of education and health.
23. Labor will ensure that First Nations people in every part of the country should benefit fully and equally from Australia's increasing prosperity. This includes access to well paid, secure jobs, culturally relevant employment programs, support for enterprise creation and opportunities to seek economic benefits from managing and leveraging Treaty, Native Title and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander land. Labor recognises that that looking after country and the protection of First Nations cultural values has significant economic value. First Nations people should be able to authorise and control and commercial opportunities arising from traditional knowledge, art and culture.
24. Labor will ensure that specific employment and other social welfare policies are designed to ensure that Australians who want jobs are not left out of the workforce and have the opportunities and support to find employment and grow older securely and with dignity.

25. Labor believes that rising growth and living standards must be matched by an improving quality of life. Labor will develop new standards that complement Gross Domestic Product by capturing broader measures of economic performance and social progress, covering:
- a. societal wellbeing;
 - b. inequality;
 - c. economic, social and environmental sustainability;
 - d. technological progress; and
 - e. economic activity generated online.

A smart, strong and diverse economy

26. Labor believes Australia must become more economically resilient, and build a more diverse economy.
27. Labor will use all the tools of government in driving an integrated approach to generating growth and prosperity.
28. Labor will transform the Australian economy through science and innovation. Our innovation agenda will re-tool Australia's industries, re-skill our people, build our advanced manufacturing capabilities and deploy and diffuse technology in a way that complements job creation. We will strongly support the research capacities of our universities and the technical capability of TAFE, and foster a culture of entrepreneurialism, innovation and commercialisation across the economy, from start-ups to established businesses and within the public sector.
29. Labor will work with business, industry, universities and research institutes to boost Australia's investment in research and development as a percentage of GDP, getting it closer to 3 per cent of GDP achieved in other countries. Labor will ensure that the Australian science and research community will be at the heart of this effort to improve Australia's performance.
30. The development and deployment of new technology draws on a complex ecosystem that includes basic and applied research, public and private investment, research and development and an economy that capitalises on new innovation and technology. Labor understands that the role of government is to foster this whole ecosystem, in collaboration with private business, researchers and the broader community. Labor will encourage governments, industry, TAFE, universities and other research institutions to work collaboratively in making the transition to a clean energy future, overcome barriers to innovation and commercialisation, and meet the challenges of global competition.
31. Technological advances such as the internet of things, smart logistical systems, advanced robotics, 3-D printing, quantum computing, artificial intelligence and other cutting edge technologies promise to revolutionise Australian businesses, communities, and government services. Labor believes building a more resilient and diverse economy will require Australia to develop, adopt and integrate these technologies to make the products and services Australia produces more valuable, our businesses more productive, and our jobs better paid. Labor understands the benefits of technology and innovation, and will ensure that policy will seek to maximise the benefits of new technologies while ensuring social and economic justice in their adoption.

32. Labor will ensure that Australia is at the forefront of technological change to lift national productivity and competitiveness and improve the living standards of all Australians. Labor will work with unions and industry to develop strategies to ensure that technological change delivers more high skill, well paid, secure jobs.
33. Labor will invest strongly in research, including basic research and science, and ensure Australia has the research workforce needed to reach our innovation goals. To achieve this, Labor will invest in the creation of a STEM-literate workforce, including by engaging more women and girls and First Nations people in STEM education, eliminating discrimination in the science workforce, and maintaining a migration system that allows Australia to attract the best and the brightest from around the world.
34. Labor will properly resource Australia's publicly-funded science and research agencies and ensure they are given the independence they need to support their critical contribution to society, productivity, industrial capacity and economic growth. Labor will put Australia's researchers in the front line of our industries and public interest research. The Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation, Defence Science and Technology and the Australian Institute of Marine Science are critical to this goal.

A better connected Australia

35. Labor believes that ensuring Australians can benefit from world-class broadband and mobile infrastructure is critical for our prosperity and resilience, especially in the post COVID-19 era.
36. Labor will ensure all Australians get fast, reliable and affordable broadband, no matter where they live or do business. We will leverage and improve the National Broadband Network to advance economic and social outcomes, and create experiences that improve quality of life.
37. Labor will develop policies to leverage next-generation mobile technologies to support the competitiveness of domestic industries.
38. Labor will improve mobile coverage in regional and vulnerable communities, including transport corridor black spots and areas with high natural disaster risk, ensuring these enhancements are guided by local needs.
39. Australia Post employs thousands of Australians. Labor will work to protect the jobs of these workers, encourage Australia Post towards direct full-time employment rather than contract work, and endeavour to ensure contractors will not be used to undermine the current conditions and entitlements of direct employees.
40. Labor will maintain Australia Post in full public ownership and ensure it provides a universal and equitable service to all Australians. We understand the essential role of Australia Post and post offices for local communities, small business and e-commerce. We will maintain and enhance the range of postal and other services offered by Australia Post across metropolitan and regional Australia.
41. Labor will work to utilise the full potential of Australia Post as a public asset by leveraging its unique national presence and capabilities to support communities during times of crises.

More trade to create jobs and prosperity

42. Labor is committed to maintaining an open economy, promoting Australia's international competitiveness and expanding Australia's exports to the world in order to lift national income and create well paid, secure jobs. Australia's economic diversity has decreased together with the complexity of our exports and this has put downward pressure on wages and the creation of well-paid jobs for Australians.
43. Labor recognises the importance of international education sector to broader economy which has been highly impacted during the COVID-19 crisis and have not received any support from the current Federal Government. Labor will support the International Education Sector and advocate for the safe return of international students, to ensure that Australia remains an attractive destination for international students from around the world.
44. Labor will set out an ambitious, fair trade agenda in government aimed squarely at increasing the complexity of our exports in order to create more well paid, secure jobs, strengthen economic resilience and ensure that every trade deal increases the living standards of the Australian people. Labor is committed to trade policies consistent with Australian values of justice and equality, community views, workers' rights and the interests of developing countries. Trade agreements must be consistent with Australia's social and economic values, be based on widespread consultation, provide for appropriate minimum and enforceable labour and environmental standards, take account of social and economic impacts and allow sovereign governments to make decisions and implement policies in the interests of their citizens.
45. Labor in Government will not enter into and will prohibit through legislation trade arrangements that undermine the Australian government's capacity to govern in the interest of all Australians, including any provisions that obviate Australia's protection of local jobs through the regulation of temporary work, waive labour market testing, further limit the capacity of governments to procure goods and services locally; require the privatisation or contestability of public services; undermine Medicare, the public health system and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, undermine State or Commonwealth workplace laws or occupational licencing arrangements, or undermine laws that relate to anti-dumping. Labor will not enter into agreements that include ISDS provisions or that do not include skills assessments to be undertaken in Australia and labour chapters with enforceable international labour standards.

Modern infrastructure, transport and regional development

Investing in infrastructure development

46. Labor believes that building a prosperous nation means investing in infrastructure. With so much needed to keep up with rising population and the changing climate, Australia cannot afford to let infrastructure be decided by politics and vested interests.
47. Labor will provide national leadership to establish a national infrastructure agenda and framework. Labor established Infrastructure Australia (IA) to take the politics out of infrastructure planning. Under Labor, IA will be charged with identifying a long-term strategic pipeline of projects and be at the centre of a Labor government's investment decision-making process.

48. Labor will not privilege one type of infrastructure or one mode of transport over another. All jurisdictions will receive a fair share of funding, based on community need and project merit, and there will be specific infrastructure programs for the regions.
49. Labor will support activity and jobs in the construction sector through our investments in infrastructure, including in housing.
50. Labor recognises that infrastructure investment can be used to deliver broader policy objectives. We will particularly invest in remote communities to assist First Nations economic development. Infrastructure developments will take into account climate change, including fire, extreme weather events and sea rises, the long-term health and survival of the Great Barrier Reef, and the need to cut pollution by moving towards a clean transport system. All infrastructure projects will prioritise the elimination of barriers to access by people with disability and promote social inclusion by improving access to jobs and services for all Australians, especially First Nations people.
51. Labor is committed to an infrastructure procurement policy that delivers on our long-term economic, environmental and social objectives, whilst being supported by the highest level of probity. Infrastructure procurement policy will be used to support Australian manufacturing, apprenticeships, regional development and jobs growth especially in secure employment. Labor's infrastructure procurement policies will ensure regional infrastructure projects directly support regional businesses and jobs and First Nations employment, including training and skills opportunities. Labor's infrastructure procurement policy will also ensure that entities that choose to tender for Commonwealth funded work will comply with their employee and industrial relations obligations in respect of their workers, contractors and subcontractors, particularly with regard to the fair treatment of workers and upholding their workplace rights including in relation to safety.
52. Labor supports innovative approaches to infrastructure financing and will work with the states and territories, and the private sector to finance priority projects. We support superannuation funds investing in infrastructure projects when this aligns with the best interests of superannuation fund members.
53. Labor will work with the superannuation sector, industry, unions, states and territories and communities to help reduce barriers to superannuation investment in priority areas, including but not limited to infrastructure, energy, manufacturing, housing and the care economy, so superannuation capital can play a greater role in financing and supporting Australia's industrial development in a manner consistent with the best interest of fund members.
54. Labor recognises the important role of local government in delivering infrastructure and will work with all levels of government to identify and deliver infrastructure solutions across Australia.

Modernising our transport networks

55. Labor recognises the critical role that transport plays in enabling people to access important services and activities, such as employment, education, health care and tourism. The quality of transport options available affects people's everyday ability to participate in social and economic activities and contributes to quality of life.

56. Recognising the significant contribution of the transport sector to Australia's greenhouse gas emissions, Labor will develop a national approach to transition to a low or zero emissions transport sector, including the development of support infrastructure.
57. Labor will build on the proud record of past Labor Governments which led a national effort to make our cities more productive, liveable and sustainable. We will ensure modern urban and transport planning practices, urban sustainability, and technology underpin all government investment decisions.
58. Labor will plan for future high-speed rail links as a means of transforming interstate travel and regional development along Australia's east coast corridor. Labor will also continue to invest in faster and improved rail across the nation. Labor also recognises that interstate and regional rail networks have suffered from decades of under-investment. Urgent action is required to ensure our major rail corridors can operate efficiently, reliably and safely. Labor will work with state governments to address rail infrastructure needs and provide a level playing field for transport operators. In Government, Labor will ensure more trains are built in Australia by local workers and ensure every dollar of federal funding spent on rail projects boosts local jobs and industry.
59. Labor understands the importance of a strong and healthy rail freight sector to regional economies. A Labor Government will conduct a comprehensive review of the rail freight sector to ensure rail continues to play an important role in the movement of freight across Australia.
60. Labor recognises that strong prescriptive safety regulations are the foundation stone of a safe and reliable rail industry and is committed to harmonisation of rail safety regulations to ensure best-practice standards and practices are applied consistently across all jurisdictions.
61. Labor understands the health and environmental benefits of active transport options, including cycling and walking, and will build these into all infrastructure project planning.
62. Labor recognises that modern Australian intra-city and inter-city public transport networks are made up of trips using buses, trains, ferries, on demand transport, and active travel. Labor will work with state governments to increase use of all public transport and active travel modes.
63. Recognising the significant contribution of the transport sector to Australia's greenhouse gas emissions, Labor will develop a national approach to transition to a low or zero emissions transport sector, including the development of support infrastructure.
64. Labor will develop a long-term road safety strategy dedicated to reducing deaths and serious injuries on our roads. This will include measures to lower the accident rates in passenger and road freight industries by tackling dangerous contracting practices in transport supply chains.
65. Labor developed Australia's only Aviation White Paper. Labor recognises the impacts of COVID-19 on the Australian aviation industry and its workers. Labor recognises the importance of an aviation industry made up of national carriers supported by a network of small regional airlines with sufficient competition to ensure services and affordable airfares for all Australians. In Government, we will support the aviation industry as it rebuilds post-COVID including measures to assist aviation workers.

66. Labor is committed to ensuring that a fair share of the transportation services for the carriage of minerals, resources and energy products to export markets are delivered in ships operated by Australian entities that employ Australian seafarers.
67. Labor is committed to workforce development across the transport and infrastructure sectors, including ensuring women, older workers, young people and First Nations workers are able to gain the skills and experience necessary to work in this critical sector.
68. Aviation safety is paramount for Labor. A Labor government will ensure that the aviation sector is supported by publicly owned safety and regulatory agencies to ensure the safety of workers and the travelling public.
69. Labor will ensure that aviation industry policy and employment laws protect Australian jobs in the aviation industry and address the issue of unsafe, low paid and insecure jobs in the aviation sector. Supply chains need to be accountable, transparent and have enforceable policies to address the issue of unsafe, insecure, low paid and unfairly paid jobs.
70. Labor recognises the importance of airports as regional economic hubs and their role in generating employment. We also recognise the concerns of residents near our airports. Labor will ensure that airport regulation balances the economic activity and job creation on our airport sites with the needs of nearby residents, including minimising environmental impacts and enforcing regulatory controls that protect local communities.
71. Labor recognises that Australia needs a revitalised, strong Australian flagged shipping industry with a secure workforce. The nation needs a strong Australian flagged fleet to ensure secure supply of goods essential to our economy, such as fuel, as well as to ensure the safety of our community in times of crisis. Labor will amend maritime laws to revitalise the Australian shipping industry and will establish a national strategic fleet.

Developing our regions

72. Labor wants all Australians, no matter where they live, to enjoy the benefits of rising national prosperity. We believe our regions hold enormous potential for future economic growth and prosperity and that activating the regions requires sustained effort and investment. We will therefore continue our proud history of supporting regional development and economic decentralisation.
73. Labor is committed to tackling high unemployment and chronic underemployment experienced in regional areas.
74. Labor will take a strategic approach to decentralization to draw population and economic activity to regional centres. It will be supported by investment in transport and services and the sensible relocation of Australian Government functions and jobs.
75. Labor will work with local governments, regional businesses and community leaders to identify and deliver meaningful regional development programs that stimulate economic activity and support regional communities and sustainable regional jobs.
76. Labor will properly fund infrastructure investment in our regions. Under Labor, regions will receive the major infrastructure project funding they need to grow regional industries, support farmers and improve opportunities for rural and regional Australians. Labor's procurement

policies will ensure regional infrastructure projects directly support regional businesses and jobs and improve First Nations employment outcomes.

Northern Australia

77. Northern Australia makes a vital contribution to the national economy. To meet its significant needs, Labor will encourage sustainable development in Northern Australia that protects the region's natural environment, its water resources and its many social and cultural assets, while harnessing its potential, including the development of natural resources and greater use of renewable energy sources.
78. Labor will invest in the infrastructure, skills and jobs that are critical to the future development of Northern Australia and work with state and territory Governments, local governments and the community to further develop its traditional industry strengths, like agriculture, mining and tourism, and expand emerging opportunities in renewable energy, advanced manufacturing, tropical science and service industries.
79. Labor acknowledges First Nations people are the traditional custodians of the land. Today they are major landowners in Northern Australia making them key partners for Northern development. Labor will work with them to address systemic disadvantage, ensure quality education, housing and basic services, and provide training and skills so that First Nations workers so they can gain employment as skilled workers and to develop Indigenous cultural enterprises.

Building a stronger nation through migration

80. Labor believes that migration plays an integral role in building prosperity for all Australians. Labor's post-war migration program brought millions of people together to build a stronger country. It is one of Labor's proudest achievements. A strong but fair migration policy offers education, jobs, prosperity and citizenship, combined with opportunity, safety, security, rights and responsibilities. It provides the perfect recipe for a better Australia.
81. Australia is one of the most successful multicultural nations on earth. Labor will ensure Australia's migration favours permanent over temporary migration, to create a nation of people with equal rights and a shared interest in our national success.
82. The size and composition of Australia's migration intake will take into account net overseas migration, its effects on employment and training opportunities for Australian residents, demographic trends and other factors, while responding to current and longer-term economic needs.
83. Labor's priority is to ensure that job opportunities are offered to local workers first and that temporary migration will never be used as a means to undercut local wages, conditions and training opportunities. Skilled temporary migrants can help Australian businesses to thrive but will only be used where a verifiable skill shortage exists.
84. Labor will restore public confidence in Australia's temporary migration program and ensure that temporary migration does not adversely affect the employment and training opportunities for Australians, particularly young people who suffer from higher rates of unemployment and underemployment.

85. Labor will reform the regional migration program and encourage skilled migrants to take up jobs in rural and regional locations only where skill gaps exist. Migration programs such as Australia's Pacific labour mobility arrangements can also play an important part in Australia's international relationships and development assistance policies. As part of our commitment to the Pacific, we will review the Pacific labour mobility scheme to ensure Pacific islanders are given fair wages and are protected from exploitation.
86. Too often, temporary migrants end up exploited or underpaid with some employers abusing the system for cheap and disposable labour. Labor will always ensure that measures are implemented to protect all migrants from exploitation, including:
 - a. requiring temporary migrants to be paid in accordance with Australian awards or enterprise agreements and to have their wages paid into an Australian bank account;
 - b. ensuring temporary migrants are protected by Australian workplace law and are not exploited through sham contracting or unethical labour hire practices give them; and
 - c. offering them 'whistle-blower' status if they are providing evidence of exploitation.
87. Labor will combat all forms of people smuggling, trafficking and exploitation—by boat, plane or other means—to ensure visa and work scams are not being used to gain access to Australia's labour market.
88. Labor will ensure that no migrant is 'permanently temporary'. We will align the permanent and temporary migration programs and ensure that, where appropriate, migrants have pathways to permanent visas and citizenship. We will encourage temporary visa holders to consider permanent residency where the visa holders are working under successful arrangements and have priority skills which are in shortage in Australia.

A strong, fair and well-regulated financial sector

89. Labor recognises banking as an essential service. A strong and well-regulated financial sector contributes to Australia's economic growth, creates high-quality jobs and works in the best interests of its customers and Australians generally. Labor will aim to make Australia a strong financial services centre for our region of the world.
90. To provide the right environment for a strong and competitive financial sector, Labor will support the four pillars banking policy to ensure adequate competition and protect the interests of consumers.
91. Labor will adequately resource Australia's financial regulation bodies to ensure that they are properly regulated and fully transparent in their operations. We will not tolerate conflicted remuneration practices in the banking and finance sector.
92. Labor recognises the increasing importance of fintech to the financial sector. Labor supports strong consumer protection for financial products including insurance, non-bank lending and new tech-based financial products.
93. Australians facing severe financial hardship are often locked out of mainstream financial products and unable to access affordable credit in times of crisis. Labor will ensure that Australians in financial hardship have affordable and safe financial options when life throws up unexpected difficulties.

94. Labor recognises the structural changes in the finance sector arising from digitisation, artificial intelligence and automation. Labor notes the speed and scale of these changes, and their impact on employees. Labor supports the establishment of a tripartite (Government, employer, employee) Finance Skills Consultative Committee to establish and oversee training and accreditation in the finance sector, in order to position workers for the finance jobs of the future.

This Committee and its Terms of Reference will emphasise:

- skills accreditation;
- the portability of skills and qualifications;
- a scalable, pathways-based approach to training; and
- the importance of ethics training for all levels of staff to nurture public confidence in the sector.

Dignity and security in retirement

95. Labor believes that older Australians have made their contribution to Australia's prosperity during their working lives, continue to make a contribution and deserve to share in Australia's rising community living standards and to live with dignity and financial security in retirement, financed through a combination of adequate superannuation savings, private savings, the age pension and home ownership.
96. Labor believes Australian workers should have access to affordable financial advice to assist with their planning for a secure retirement. Labor will work to ensure that workers can obtain regulatory compliant financial advice at a cost which is commensurate with their retirement planning needs.
97. Labor believes a pension that keeps up with community living standards is something Australians should be able to rely on in retirement. Older Australians have worked hard and contributed all their lives, and deserve the security of the Age Pension.
98. Labor acknowledges the key role of trade unions in setting up Australia's super funds. Along with unions, Labor created Australia's universal superannuation system to give every Australian a comfortable retirement, Labor accepts a special responsibility for ensuring the system remains strong and secure into the future. We will fight attacks by those who believe a comfortable retirement should be a luxury only enjoyed by a few. Labor's vision for superannuation is for the vast majority of the workforce to be able to maintain their working life standard of living in retirement.
99. Superannuation funds are also a source of economic stability in the Australian economy, creating a pool of capital that supports investment in Australian businesses and social and physical infrastructure. Labor will resist attempts to undermine superannuation, and will fight to reinforce its sustainability.
100. Labor will ensure a progressive and fair tax treatment of superannuation. We acknowledge the importance Australians place in the certainty of arrangements when it comes to their superannuation savings.
101. Labor affirms our commitment to the legislated Superannuation Guarantee of 12 per cent, and once that has been achieved we will set out a pathway to increasing it to 15 per cent.

102. Labor will protect Australians from missing out on superannuation entitlements by ensuring the Superannuation Guarantee is legislated to become part of the national minimum employment standard (NES) so it is enforceable as an industrial entitlement. We will reduce the extent of unpaid superannuation and improve people's ability to recover unpaid superannuation as an industrial right.
103. Labor will ensure that all workers, regardless of how they are engaged, can accumulate superannuation on every dollar earned. We will not allow contracting arrangements to be used to evade paying superannuation.
104. Labor acknowledges that women's superannuation has been disproportionately impacted by COVID-19 and the Government's policy response, and may take longer to recover than men's superannuation, due to women's experience in the labour market and existing superannuation inequities. Further, older women are the fastest growing cohort of people experiencing and at risk of homelessness and the intersection of superannuation and this risk need to be addressed and acknowledged.
105. Labor will ensure superannuation works more effectively for low income earners, women, young people and First Nations people. We will pursue policies to close the significant gender gap in superannuation savings, including the shortfalls of those many women who spend significant periods of their careers as primary carers. Labor will encourage funds to deliver fee relief for employees on unpaid carer's leave. Preservation arrangements should reflect people's ongoing capacity for work and life expectancy, including in First Nations communities.
106. Labor will always place superannuation fund members' interests first and will not tolerate misconduct or conflict of interest in the sector. Misconduct in the retail superannuation sector of the kind identified by the Banking Royal Commission is completely unacceptable.
107. Shareholders are entitled to better rights, disclosure and transparency of their assets. Australia's largest companies should be able to be held to account by their shareholders for actions, decisions and behaviour which may negatively impact their investment, and required to inform shareholders of risks which shareholders deem relevant.
108. Superannuation is one the most important sectors in Australia's economy, and must be regulated and legislated in the best interest of members. Labor will create a Council of Superannuation Custodians, independent of Government, to provide advice on superannuation policy. The Council will be formed based on best-practice industry fund model comprised of eminent Australians with deep experience in the superannuation sector, including trade union representatives.
109. Labor believes that superannuation funds have a special obligation to their members to ensure they are true to their objective and invest in companies and projects which generate good returns but also operate in the best interests of members. Funds should have policies to ensure they are invested in assets which are in accordance with internationally recognised environmental, social and governance standards.
110. Labor will continue to require superannuation trustees to act in the best interests of their members. Labor will work to reduce administration fees in superannuation, and support funds that return profits to members first.

111. Labor believes Australia's superannuation funds should be invested to the benefit of fund members and in projects that create well paid, secure jobs and conform to internationally recognised environmental, social and governance frameworks.
112. Labor will work with the superannuation industry and business to improve company sustainability reporting on their environmental, social and governance performance in conformance with emerging global standards.
113. Labor supports equal representation governance of superannuation boards and opposes the mandating of independent directors.

Building a dynamic and vibrant business sector

114. Australia is best served by a diverse and dynamic business sector that is able to identify and capitalise on opportunities to create well paid, secure jobs and make the Australian economy more productive and internationally competitive. Labor will be an effective and collaborative partner with the business community to help achieve this.
115. Labor recognises the major contribution of the micro and small businesses sector. This sector has many different entity types and business structures, including sole traders, partnerships, family businesses, and franchisees, each with their own distinct opportunities and challenges. Labor will partner with this diverse business community to ensure economic growth and job creation. To help small and micro businesses grow further, Labor will:
 - a. pursue tax assistance and simplification;
 - b. lower regulatory burdens (including national harmonisation);
 - c. strengthen competition laws with tougher penalties;
 - d. provide better access to justice and finance; and
 - e. encourage the development of digital technology solutions that support higher productivity, strong growth and well paid, secure jobs.
116. Labor will help small and micro businesses compete by:
 - a. reducing red tape;
 - b. countering market concentration;
 - c. making it easier for small businesses to take anti-competitive practices to court;
 - d. regulating to keep power and information technology prices as low as possible; and
 - e. helping small businesses compete for government and private contracts.
117. Labor will put cooperatives and social enterprises on a level playing field with other small businesses, including greater access to capital and government grants.
118. Labor recognises that foreign investment is important for jobs and the Australian economy but believes these investments must be in the national interest. Labor will ensure investments are properly scrutinised in the national interest and any conditions are properly enforced.

A collaborative partner for industries

119. Under the Coalition, Australia's productive capability and capacity has weakened, become less diverse and as a consequence there are fewer opportunities for well paid, secure jobs and investment.
120. Labor will collaborate with and enable industry, working at the sectoral level with business, investors, unions, researchers and other institutions and searching for opportunities to extend and deepen Australian industrial capacity, improve skills and training and exports of high value goods and services.
121. Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments have a crucial role in the application, monitoring, setting and enforcement of effective building standards that keep the public safe. In recent years, an over-emphasis on privatisation and deregulation has seen a marked deterioration in these standards and the widespread use of dangerous materials. Labor will improve the fire safety of Australian buildings and prevent the use of dangerous non-conforming and non-compliant building products, with priority focus on the importation of flammable cladding, national licensing, national regulation of all building industry practitioners, and a tougher penalties regime to deter fraudulent, false or misleading claims.
122. Labor recognises the significant risk to consumer protections, public safety and workplace health and safety that arises from poorly established occupational mobility schemes such as Automatic Mutual Recognition. Acknowledging that significant variation in legislation across jurisdictions exists and that existing mutual recognition arrangements are already in place to manage these risks while maximising labour mobility, Labor will ensure electrical occupations and building occupations that require licencing and/or registration are exempted from automatic mutual recognition schemes until such time as agreement is reached between relevant industry stakeholders that adequate protections are in place.
123. Labor will prioritise working with sectors that are in the national interest and have existing capabilities that can be expanded. Labor will build on the comparative advantage of our resources, agriculture and other critical export industries to drive production and exports up the global value chain to build Australia's economic resilience.

A real future for manufacturing and industry

124. Labor will rebuild Australian manufacturing. The deindustrialisation of Australia's regions and suburbs has had devastating social and economic consequences, squandered new growth and investment opportunities and hollowed out Australia's economic capability.
125. Labor will work to rebuild, modernise and diversify Australian manufacturing with an active approach to government programs, collaboration with industry, unions and institutions at the sectoral level and supporting industrial development, particularly in regional Australia. Labor will work to create a future for Australia's industrial capacity in strategically important areas.
126. Labor will employ a variety of means to provide a stronger future for Australian manufacturing. These measures will include:
 - a. supporting the transition to modern clean forms of energy to deliver affordable, reliable and increasingly clean energy to Australian industry, while recognising the special requirements of energy-intensive forms of heavy manufacturing;

- b. delivering high-quality skills and training for manufacturing workers through enhanced and secure funding for TAFE and universities through Jobs and Skills Australia;
 - c. the continuing use of taxation measures to foster research and development and investment in new plant and equipment;
 - d. procurement policies;
 - e. supporting specific policy interventions to grow our domestic supply chain and assist small businesses to become medium and large businesses;
 - f. fostering collaboration between industry, unions and research institutions through industry innovation councils; and
 - g. supporting Buy Australia programs.
127. Labor believes that in its role as a major purchaser of goods and services, government plays an important role in fostering Australian industries, particularly emerging industries or companies. Labor will promote a procurement strategy to safeguard and grow skills, investment and jobs within existing international obligations. This procurement strategy will have processes free of corruption and discrimination, lead on sustainability and ethical procurement practices, and ensure that robust and objective public interest tests occur in all cases. Our procurement strategies will support the growth of a strong First Nations business sector.

A strong services sector

128. Labor recognises the value provided to the economy by the entire services sector which makes up a large part of the Australian economy, representing over 70 per cent of Australia's gross domestic product and employing four out of every five Australians.
129. Labor believes that growing the services sector will be critical to the future living standards of Australians and acknowledges the particular impact that COVID-19 has had on certain parts of the services sector such as education and tourism. Australians are getting older, and have growing expectations for the types and standard of care that we will receive throughout our lives. Labor recognises that more Australians will receive and be involved in delivering human services – in particular care services – and this represents a boost to our economy and our way of life.
130. Government has an important role to play as the designer of many service delivery programs, the ultimate funder of many services that are delivered, and the setter of quality expectations. Labor believes that a properly resourced and enabled public service is necessary in order to ensure that care services are delivered in a way which is productive and benefits all Australians.
131. In recognition of the wealth and jobs created by the services sector, Labor will promote services sector innovation and identify the capabilities needed to establish Australia as a leading global trade in services economy.

A better future for farmers, fishers and foresters

132. Labor will help Australian agriculture, fisheries and forestry industries to capitalise on their economic and employment potential in a world of climate change, rising population and growing demand for high quality healthy food and sustainable fibre, timber and wood products. To help grow the sector, Labor will work in close cooperation with the states, territories, industries and unions to:

- a. support new export opportunities in both bulk commodity and premium markets, including gaining access to markets that have faced the greatest resistance from our trading partners;
- b. work to attract domestic and foreign capital;
- c. increase levels and quality of agricultural research and development;
- d. ensure Australia maintains its status as having the world's best biosecurity system;
- e. develop the skilled workforce the sector needs;
- f. work with the sector to improve climate adaption programs, harness opportunities for carbon farming, and promote the embrace of renewable energy opportunities;
- g. ensure our school and post-school education and training systems meet the needs of the modern agricultural, fisheries and forestry sectors by addressing challenges of training delivery in thin markets including in rural, regional and remote areas;
- h. maintain an independent, scientific regulatory system for genetically modified crops to ensure farmers' access to biotechnology innovations whilst respecting the genetically modified organism moratorium of any state or territory;
- i. improve digital connectivity; and
- j. invest in infrastructure to support the development of the sector;
- k. support farmers to prepare for and manage drought conditions;
- l. develop a comprehensive forest plantation strategy; and
- m. encourage downstream processing of agriculture, fisheries and forestry products, and public and private investment in the necessary infrastructure.

Resources for the nation

133. Labor recognises and values the economic and employment contribution of Australia's mining and extractive resources industries including iron ore, coal, uranium, nickel, rare earths, gold, copper, zinc, silver, gas, bauxite and others. Labor notes the critical importance these industries play in Australia's economic prosperity, particularly in Australia's terms of trade, as well in supporting regional Australian communities. Labor recognises the important role that existing and emerging resources can play in the expansion of existing industries as well as in the development of new Australian renewable energy manufacturing industries.
134. In recognition of the vast contribution resources make to Australia's prosperity, Labor will develop Australia's natural resources through competitive minerals, resources and energy industries, backed by quality infrastructure links, which grow export-oriented jobs for our modern economy. Labor will:
 - a. promote the ecologically sustainable development of Australia's energy resources, taking into account domestic industrial, home and community needs and the need to ensure security of domestic electricity and gas supplies which encourage investment and support properly functioning gas and electricity markets;
 - b. promote opportunities for Australian companies and workers to enter the global supply chains of multinational resource companies;

- c. encourage the development of low emission technologies, re-use and storage technologies;
 - d. encourage downstream processing of minerals, resources and energy products, and public and private investment in the necessary infrastructure;
 - e. assist the commercialisation and export of minerals-related services and technology;
 - f. ensure an efficient national energy market enhances Australia's natural advantages in downstream minerals processing for domestic and export markets; and
 - g. support modern maritime engineering excellence in export gas production, including the involvement of Australian engineering and industry within the supply chain.
135. Labor will ensure resource development on First Nations people's land proceeds in partnership with First Nations people consistent with Labor's land rights and native title policy and Treaty, improves employment, business, education and training opportunities, and lifts community development and self-determination opportunities.

Growing tourism

136. In recognition of its importance to economic growth and employment, Labor will:
- a. maintain tourism as a national investment priority;
 - b. support tax and visa arrangements conducive to the industry's growth;
 - c. support robust data collection to inform investment;
 - d. provide for a well-trained workforce, including through skilled migration; and
 - e. support the domestic and international marketing efforts of Tourism Australia.
137. Labor will grow regional tourism, including through investment in infrastructure and domestic and international marketing to encourage regional dispersal and longer stays.
138. Recognising the worldwide interest in First Nations people's culture, and the importance of tourism to First Nations people's employment, Labor will support efforts by First Nations people to develop tourism employment and businesses.

Sport for all

139. Sport and recreation bring millions of Australians together to build stronger communities and healthier citizens. They are of particular importance to regional communities, young people and children. In acknowledgement of this, Labor will provide strong support to local sporting clubs right across Australia to help them reach more Australians and improve their sporting infrastructure.
140. Labor believes that nobody in Australia should be denied the chance to participate in sport. Labor supports measures designed to ensure that everybody can access sporting opportunities and feel safe to do so. This includes supporting measures to eradicate derogatory behaviour and sexual violence.
141. Labor will support our elite athletes and improve elite pathways, to keep Australia at the forefront of Olympic, Paralympic and other international sport and deliver success on the international stage.

142. Labor will ensure Australia is at the forefront of efforts against doping and match fixing in sport and, in partnership with sports, will provide leadership in the international effort to protect the integrity of sport.

A creative culture: arts and entertainment

143. Labor recognises that arts and culture contribute to innovation, prosperity and Australia's diplomatic efforts around the world. Unlike the Coalition, Labor will articulate policies and plans that ensure the vibrancy and sustainability of creative sectors, markets and institutions and integrate these within our broader social and economic goals. Recognising the importance of access to arts and culture, Labor will ensure that Australians, regardless of their background or where they live, can access high quality arts and cultural experiences.
144. Labor in government will work with federal and state governments to eliminate the many obstacles faced by the live music industry, to provide a stronger foundation for Australian music.
145. Recognising that art and culture contribute to innovation and prosperity, Labor will integrate art and culture policy within our broader social and economic goals, including recognising the important role that the arts can play in Australia's diplomatic efforts around the world.
146. Labor will provide strong support to protect and promote First Nations people's culture.
147. Labor will support legal frameworks and safeguards to protect artists. This includes the legal framework of copyright to ensure fair distribution of income, and ensuring the authenticity and originality of First Nations people's artworks and cultural goods are protected from inauthentic imports and practices.

CHAPTER 2: DEVELOPING OUR PEOPLE

An economy that works for everyone

1. Labor is proud of its roots as a party founded by the union movement to give a better life to Australians. For some 130 years we have worked with unions to lift wages and salaries, improve conditions, pursue workplace equality for all and build a strong social wage through ground-breaking advances in health, education, welfare and retirement policies. Together we have helped lift living standards, life expectancy and the quality of life for every Australian.
2. Today Australians confront new issues related to their working lives. Even before COVID-19 Australians faced stagnating wages. Contracting, franchising, outsourcing and other legal devices have disrupted long established employment relationships, contributing to rising levels of insecurity and inequality. The digital divide is also well documented and impacts on people's capacity to participate in both employment and education. Manufacturing and other industries that traditionally supplied secure and well-paid employment are under pressure from changing patterns of global economic trade.
3. COVID-19 has exacerbated these existing issues and created new challenges, particularly for many service industries such as those providing personal care, hospitality and retail. Too many Australians now find themselves without work, or with less work than they would like. Labor will get Australians back to work by creating more and better jobs. We will support economic growth to get Australia back on the path to full employment. Australians returning to the workforce should not face the prospect of insecure jobs without the protections and certainty that previous generations have relied on to buy a house, raise a family, or build their lives. Labor believes that in the workplace there is a need for new rights, new forms of equality that recognise the full range of human diversity, new types of safety and a better balance between work and life.
4. Labor believes that Australia is and should be a fair wage country. Competitive external pressures on our economy cause some to argue for a cut to Australian wages and conditions. This would be bad for confidence and demand, damage economic growth, and put Australia on a race to the bottom on wages and conditions. Australia's fair wage system and higher minimum wage lessens inequality in Australia. When workers receive a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, they can invest in the future for themselves and their families. Australia can only ultimately succeed by being better, not cheaper, than our competitors in the world.

Building full employment and higher workforce participation

5. Labor is committed to achieving full employment and work towards reducing involuntary, unemployment, which will see hundreds of thousands more people in work, increase opportunities for disadvantaged jobseekers, and put upward pressure on wages. Recent decades have seen a rise in underemployment: workers who would like more hours. Underemployment especially affects women and low-skilled workers. Not only does full employment mean more jobs, it also means more hours for those that want them.

5. Labor will create an effective employment services system, including through utilising the public service to assist in research, planning, coordination and delivery, to help people achieve sustainable and meaningful employment and to help employers meet their labour and skill needs. We will ensure mutual obligations in the Commonwealth employment services network are fair. Employment service network incentives for employment service providers and jobseekers will be aligned to best match employers with appropriately skilled employees, and the improve jobseeker skill sets to better match employment outcomes. Additional efforts will be targeted to disadvantaged job seekers and to communities disrupted by economic change, including co-designed programs to meet the specific needs of First Nations people.
6. Labor believes that any person who wants to work should be provided the opportunity to work. State level job programs have shown success in matching jobseekers with jobs. Labor will explore the efficacy of implementing a federal jobs program matching unemployed workers with jobs that meet their skill sets, to reduce involuntary unemployment.
7. Labor is committed to working in partnership with First Nations people, their communities and organisations to design and implement programs which create paid secure jobs and support people into long term employment opportunities. Labor will replace the discriminatory Community Development Program with a program that gives communities more control and delivers real wages and real jobs.
8. Labor believes that one of the great successes of the labour market over recent decades has been the entry of more women into the labour force. Labor will continue to support policies which remove remaining barriers, including those based on gender, age, race, religion, ethnicity, sexuality or disability status. Diversity contributes to growth and equity.
9. Labor will work with business and unions to grow employment opportunities for people with disability and create a disability employment system that is capable of ensuring more people with disability get good quality jobs.
10. Labor will support achieving full gender equality in the workforce by helping people balance their work and family responsibilities. Labor will:
 - a. provide via the National Employment Standards rights to unpaid parental leave of up to two years;
 - b. give people the enforceable right to request a change of hours or other flexible work arrangements for parenting and caring;
 - c. give people the right to work reasonable but not excessive hours;
 - d. expand access to paid parental leave to increase support for parents and promote equal parenting. Labor's goal is for 26 weeks of paid parental leave at full pay and with superannuation funded through a combination of government and employer contributions and increased eligibility to enable paid parental leave to be shared. Over time, Labor will seek further expansion of leave in a way that enables more equal parenting;
 - e. deliver affordable, quality childcare and before and after school care, and will consider changes to tax, superannuation, work and industry arrangements to support this; and
 - f. ensure flexible working arrangements accommodate unpaid caring work, including the care of family members with disability, without discrimination.

Better working conditions

11. Labor supports a modern award system that is relevant to the workplaces of today and is responsive to changes in industry and market standards. Modern awards need to provide an effective and up-to-date safety net and must allow for improved test case standards, both within and across awards.
12. Labor will work with state and territory governments to achieve a national minimum standard for long service leave to form part of the National Employment Standards. Labor will work with state and territory governments to ensure consistent treatment of public holidays, including the issue of Easter Sunday and the treatment of Christmas Day, Boxing Day and New Year's Day where they fall on weekends. Labor also commits to ensuring that other significant days of religious and cultural significance are acknowledged.
13. Labor will review the operation of the National Employment Standards and clarify any questions relating to the application of those standards which have arisen since their introduction.
14. Labor will introduce ten days paid Domestic Violence Leave as a universal workplace right in the National Employment Standards.
15. Labor supports a minimum wage that provides a living wage and will maintain or improve the relative living standards of low paid workers. Superannuation is part of a worker's pay and conditions. Labor will legislate to include a right to superannuation within the National Employment Standards, which will give all employees the power to pursue their unpaid superannuation.
16. Labor will work to eliminate the gender pay gap and ensure that the equal remuneration provisions in the Fair Work Act deliver for low paid women. We will seek to remove the systemic and structural barriers to the full and equal participation and fair compensation of women in the workforce.
17. Labor will enact a strategy for achieving equal pay for equal or comparable work, underpinned by legal and reporting obligations. Labor recognises the need for law reform to promote pay equity and will make gender pay equity an object of the Fair Work Act. Labor will establish a new Pay Equity Panel within the Commission and fund the Commission to establish a Pay Equity Unit. Labor will ensure the frameworks and principles applying to tribunals and agencies reflect up-to-date research and knowledge about what works to reduce the gender pay gap.
18. Labor recognises the need to ensure working women do not retire into poverty and will remove obstacles to superannuation savings which disproportionately affect women.
19. Labor believes in safe and socially inclusive workplaces. There is no place for any form of discrimination. No worker should be subject to bullying, discrimination or harassment in the workplace. Labor is committed to ensuring that workers experiencing workplace discrimination, or sexual violence and harassment in the workplace are able to address this through a fair, expedient process in the workplace relations system.
20. Labor will work with state and territory governments, employers and unions to facilitate and establish the portability of entitlements including through industry-wide schemes.

21. Labor believes a practical industry-based system for selecting default funds in modern awards should be overseen by the Fair Work Commission with input from workers, unions, employers and experts.
22. Labor will support employers and unions to develop working time arrangements that are consistent with workers' preferences and needs and that will reduce excessive working hours and maximise employment creation.
23. Labor supports penalty rates as a means to compensate workers for working excessive or unsociable hours. Labor will prevent awards being varied to cut workers' take home pay.
24. Labor will ensure the workplace relations system reduces the incidence of underemployment and insecure work. Labor will strengthen the laws that prohibit sham contracting. Labor will set an objective test in legislation for determining when a worker is a casual.
25. Labor will protect labour hire workers by establishing a national labour hire licensing scheme to regulate the labour hire industry and ensure that minimum legal standards are met. Labor will also legislate to guarantee that labour hire workers receive the same pay and conditions as directly employed workers doing the same work. Labor will not accept the abuse of fixed term contracts of employment.
26. Labor will ensure that collective agreements are negotiated in good faith and genuinely agreed to by a representative cohort of the workers to which they apply. Labor will prevent the unilateral terminations of collective agreements that reduce workers' entitlements. Labor will also provide an effective mechanism for the termination of any remaining "WorkChoices" agreements.
27. Labor will work with trade unions and employers to ensure workers have access to adequate information about: their workplace rights; the right to join a union; the relevant industrial agreements; occupational health and safety; and other important information at the commencement of their employment and on an ongoing basis. Labor will protect the right of unions to communicate freely with workers about their industrial rights, including their right to join a union, and other relevant concerns.
28. Labor will ensure that the Fair Work Act provides appropriate coverage and protection for all forms of work and that gig economy platforms and other working arrangements are not used to circumvent industrial standards or to undermine workers' rights to collectively organise and access their union.
29. Noting that poor quality and insecure employment poses physical and mental health and safety risks, Labor will make job quality and secure employment central social policy objectives.
30. Labor will work with local councils and unions to minimise the spread of casualised and insecure work. We will also work to ensure the contracting out of local government services does not erode or diminish local government services and is not used to cut wages, conditions and the job security of local government workers. This includes through transfer of business arrangements by local councils who are non-national system employers to national system employers.
31. In recognition of the potential stress caused to employees and their families by fly-in-fly-out (FIFO) and drive-in drive-out (DIDO) employment practices, Labor will support industry best

practice in work patterns, accommodation standards, communication technology and mental health support for FIFO and DIDO workers.

32. Preservation arrangements should reflect peoples' ongoing capacity for work and life expectancy, including for those people employed in physically rigorous and other demanding occupations.
33. Labor will work with employers, unions and community organisations to remove obstacles to the employment of people with disability and to ensure people with a disability receive a fair wage and secure work.
34. Labor will prevent employers avoiding their legal obligations to their workers through evasive practices like:
 - a. transfer of business;
 - b. corporate restructuring;
 - c. phoenixing;
 - d. labour hire;
 - e. sham insourcing or outsourcing arrangements;
 - f. misuse of partnership agreements;
 - g. termination of agreements;
 - h. unrepresentative agreements; and
 - i. sham independent contracting.
35. Labor will, where appropriate, extend responsibility for compliance with workplace laws to corporations that are the economic decision makers throughout the supply chain, including to franchisors and franchisees.
36. Labor will increase penalties for employers and related entities that systematically underpay and exploit workers and pursue the prosecution of serious contraventions of the Fair Work Act by employers.
37. Labor will ensure the effective regulation of internships to protect interns from exploitation, including bans on unpaid internships that are not part of an accredited program of study.
38. Labor will be a model employer in government and will not seek to reduce industrial obligations or terms and conditions through Government outsourcing.
39. Labor will protect the integrity of the Fair Entitlements Guarantee scheme and ensure that it is not abused by businesses.
40. Labor will legislatively protect notice of termination and redundancy pay as a basic employment right. Labor will introduce a Fair Entitlements Guarantee that includes:
 - a. redundancy pay of up to four weeks per year of service;
 - b. annual leave;
 - c. long service leave;

- d. notice;
- e. superannuation; and
- f. unpaid wages.

Employers will be obliged to make proper provision for employee entitlements. Labor will develop further mechanisms to protect workers' superannuation in the event of corporate collapse.

- 41. Labor will introduce an improved ranking of employee entitlements relative to other creditors, ensuring employers and directors meet their responsibilities, and ensuring any burden placed on taxpayers is reasonable. Labor will amend the Corporations Law to strengthen the recovery of employee entitlements. Labor will reform safe harbour provisions which allow companies to continue to trade while potentially or actually insolvent. In doing so, Labor will remove the opportunity for workers entitlements to be targeted as part of a corporate restructure.
- 42. Labor will support the work of the International Labour Organisation, particularly within our region, to improve international labour standards and champion respect for internationally recognised workplace rights.
- 43. Labor supports Australian jobs. Labor will ensure genuine testing of the Australian labour market before temporary overseas labour is engaged. Labour market testing requirements will not be waived in any future trade agreements. Temporary overseas workers are vulnerable to exploitation and this exploitation affects those workers and all Australian workers by undermining their wages and conditions. Labor will ensure that migrant workers including temporary visa workers have access to adequate information on their workplace rights and how to join their union.

Safer workplaces

- 44. Labor believes that all workers have an equal right to healthy and safe work. Every worker deserves to know that their working life will be safe, healthy and respectful.
- 45. Labor recognises that every year hundreds of workers are killed at work, thousands more die from diseases caused by their work and over 100,000 people are seriously injured at work. This hurts businesses who suffer from lost time and reduced productivity as a consequence of workers being killed, injured and made ill at work, but it has a more devastating impact on workers, their families and communities who bear the brunt of the financial costs as well as all of the physical, psychological and emotional suffering. Labor believes that we owe a duty to injured workers to support them in rehabilitating and returning to meaningful work.
- 46. Labor will work to address the increasing prevalence of psychological injuries in the workplace. Workers exposed to psychosocial hazards, including unsafe and unhealthy work practices and cultures, are at risk of suffering harm, including physical and psychological injury. Certain groups of workers, including women, First Nations workers along with those in insecure work are disproportionately impacted.
- 47. Labor recognises that unions make work safer and healthier. Effective consultation, participation and representation of workers through their unions is crucial for healthy and safe work. Labor will continue to build the capacity of workers and their representatives to ensure healthy, safe and respectful work for all, including those in insecure work.

48. Labor will work closely with the jurisdictions, unions and employers to advance a national work health and safety (WHS) agenda through a refinanced, enhanced and properly tripartite Safe Work Australia, including by implementing the following key reforms:
- a. Effective and nationally consistent enforcement strategies to ensure compliance with WHS requirements, including for failing to genuinely consult with workers. These reforms shall also enable affected workers, families and unions to again be able to prosecute for breaches of WHS laws and require those who conduct businesses and their officers to bear the onus of proving that they have taken reasonably practicable measures to prevent a WHS offence occurring. Additionally, Labor will support the states and territories to implement industrial manslaughter laws and the development of harmonised industrial manslaughter legislation.
 - b. The full implementation of all the recommendations from the Boland Review of Australia's Model Work Health and Safety Laws and the Sex Discrimination Commissioner's Respect@Work Report. Labor will work closely with the states and territories to ensure that workers mental health is protected through the introduction of specific regulation dealing with psychosocial hazards.
 - c. The development of a national strategy on industrial disease focusing on reform to the regulatory environment for prevention, monitoring and response to industrial diseases, including deadly industrial and infectious diseases that have recently re-emerged, such as black lung and cancers as well as COVID-19.
 - d. A specific national response to address silicosis and other occupational lung diseases, which will include development and implementation of a nationally consistent:
 - i. regulation outlining minimum safety benchmarks for application across all industries where workers are exposed to respirable crystalline silica dust,
 - ii. comprehensive health monitoring program during and after employment to assist in identifying the onset of any dust-related disease,
 - iii. dust register for all diagnosed cases of occupational lung disease
 - iv. support (financial and psychological) for workers (and their families) diagnosed with occupational lung disease and who are struggling to return to work and adjusting to life with the devastating impact of their lung disease.
49. Labor acknowledges the danger to workers of exposure to hazardous chemicals, including perfluorooctane sulfonate and perfluorooctanoic acid, and will ensure the highest level of protection and support to the community, workers and the environment from hazardous chemicals by:
- a. ensuring the efficient and timely assessment of all chemicals (including nano forms of bulk chemicals)
 - b. adoption of a coordinated toxic use reduction policy, across multiple agencies, to decrease the toxic load on people and the environment
 - c. supporting industry initiatives that encourage development of sustainable and environmentally responsible chemical usage
 - d. identifying those individuals and groups at risk due to use of, and potential exposure to, hazardous chemicals and substances. In addition, Labor will establish a database using

existing incident reporting and health monitoring protocols to record, track and support treatment.

50. Labor will improve and harmonise the WHS regulatory frameworks covering workers in dangerous industries, including shipping, offshore oil and gas, stevedoring and offshore clean energy and will retain Seacare as an independent Commonwealth statutory authority. Labor will also reintroduce a strongly enforced national safe rates scheme for all parties in the transport supply chain.
51. Labor supports a thorough review of workers compensation schemes, including Comcare. This review should be aimed at improving the outcomes for injured workers in all jurisdictions. Labor will suspend any new entrants into the Comcare scheme until the review has been concluded and its recommendations implemented.
52. Labor will protect the community from exposure to asbestos-related disease, in cooperation with states and territories and lead by the Asbestos, Safety and Eradication Agency, by improving asbestos awareness and management and the prioritised removal of asbestos from the built environment. Labor will work towards a full world-wide ban on the mining, manufacture, trade and use of asbestos, including through existing international conventions and via a new stand-alone treaty modelled on the Minamata Convention. This work will be done in consultation with unions and asbestos victims groups, and ensure that the Australian Border Force has the powers and resources it needs to keep Australia safe from dangerous products.
53. Labor recognises the unpredictable, volatile and dangerous workplace of firefighters, and believes this high risk should be recognised in occupational health and safety legislation. This recognition should include appropriate safe work features including safe crewing on the fireground and the principle of two-in two out.

Defending the right to organise

54. Labor recognises the right of all workers to be a member of a trade union to organize and act collectively and will protect the right of all workers to access union representation at work. Labor will ensure that our workplace laws provide the clear right for workers to communicate and meet with their union without interference and to be represented and participate in any workplace matter which affects them. Labor will ensure delegates are able to organise and effectively represent workers, including through paid training leave. Labor will work with trade unions and employers to ensure a positive right for all workers to join a union without hindrance or discrimination.
55. Labor recognises that the right to organise, the right to trade union representation and the right to take industrial action if necessary are protected under international law and Labor will adopt and comply with all relevant international labour treaties and conventions.
56. Labor will promote and ensure good faith bargaining in workplaces, including by developing guidelines on good faith conduct in negotiations to allow access to and assistance from the independent umpire to resolve disputes including giving parties access to arbitration.
57. The Fair Work Act has not adequately facilitated multi-employer collective bargaining. This is a particular issue for those industries where employees are low paid and where they lack industrial power. Labor will improve access to collective bargaining, including where appropriate through multi-employer collective bargaining.

58. Labor will facilitate bargaining for multi-employer and multi-agency public sector agreements.
59. Labor will retain the Fair Work Commission (FWC) and the Fair Work Ombudsman (FWO), ensuring understanding of and compliance with workplace laws. Labor will deliver effective, low-cost, informal and prompt resolution of disputes through the FWC, the FWO and small claims procedures in the courts.
60. Labor will provide a balanced and effective compliance regime, which will provide procedural and substantive fairness to all parties in the construction industry. Labor will abolish the Australian Building and Construction Commission and repeal the Building and Construction Industry (Improving Productivity) Act, including the Code for the Tendering and Performance of Building Work 2016. The appropriate body to regulate registered organisations is the FWC. Labor will abolish the Registered Organisations Commission and will refer serious contraventions of regulatory laws by registered organisations to the Australian Securities and Investments Commission for investigation and prosecution.
61. Labor, in Government, will repeal all changes made under the *Fair Work (Registered Organisations) Amendment (Withdrawal from Amalgamations) Bill 2020*.
62. Labor will work with the public service and unions to build an effective public sector with fair and equitable conditions of employment and job security.

Education and training—a ticket to opportunity

63. Labor believes that a great education system, which includes early childhood education, schools, universities and TAFEs, is crucial for a strong economy with well paid, secure jobs. We see a great education as the ticket to a lifetime of opportunity. We want every Australian to get a world class education, no matter where they live or their circumstances, so they can get ahead, and stay ahead.
64. Labor believes that an excellent education system is a national public good. Great early childhood education, schools, TAFEs and universities are crucial for a strong economy and democracy. Societies with better, fairer education systems have better health outcomes, more productive workplaces, more social and economic mobility and more democratically engaged citizens. Our education system should also provide every Australian with the opportunity to learn throughout their life.
65. Under the Coalition we have seen Australia’s education and training system fail our people, teachers and our businesses. School results are going backwards while teachers are being ignored and overworked; the marks needed to get into teaching are falling when they should be rising; public schools are being starved of the support they need; TAFE courses and campuses have closed and enrolments have plummeted; access to vocational education in regional, rural and remote Australia and for disadvantaged groups is shrinking; and thousands of people have been locked out of university, especially in the suburbs and regions. Labor believes that this failure has to end.

An excellent start: early childhood education

66. Labor believes that investing in the early years is good for children, families and the economy. It delivers significant social and economic returns to the country. We will therefore improve Australia’s affordable, accessible, high quality, integrated early learning and care programs.

Early education and care programs should meet the learning and development needs of individual children, including children with disability. We believe early intervention programs for children at risk and children with specific educational or developmental needs are particularly important.

67. Labor will maintain the current universal access to preschool and kindergarten programs and will explore improvements in line with world's best practice, including expanding it to two years before school. We will work with the states and territories to increase enrolment and attendance in preschool and kindergarten programs and ensure that parents are equipped with the skills they need to be part of their child's educational journey.
68. Labor believes that early childhood education and care is one of the most valuable careers for our nation's future and that it should only be provided by a highly skilled, professional and well-paid workforce. Labor will support high quality training for early childhood educators as well as improvements in their wages and conditions.

Quality schooling for everyone

69. Labor supports educational excellence and high achievement for all. It is unacceptable for anyone to miss out on developing their potential because of class, geography, disability or poor quality schooling. For this reason, we believe every Australian child in every community should have access to high-quality, universal, free, secular government schooling. We see our public schools as among our nation's most important institutions and accept the responsibility of resourcing them to deliver an excellent quality education that meets the needs of every child.
70. Labor believes parents have a right to choose non-government schooling – this is consistent with a diverse and inclusive society. Non-government schools should be supported by public funding that reflects need.
71. Labor will implement a properly funded national needs-based and sector-blind school funding model. This funding model will, in partnership with the states and territories, ensure that:
 - a. all schools are fairly resourced to meet the needs of all students and have sufficient teachers and resources to undertake their educational role;
 - b. disadvantaged schools get the biggest funding increases in the shortest time;
 - c. schools and teachers have the resources necessary to give students with disability the same education and vocational opportunities as other students;
 - d. the gaps between First Nations students and non-Indigenous students are closed in all areas of schooling, including early childhood education, school attendance, reading, writing, numeracy and year-12 completion, including through a high expectation, strength-based approach; and
 - e. the gap between the achievements of students in metropolitan schools and regional and remote schools is reduced.
72. Labor supports targeted needs-based investments to overcome disadvantage, including a commitment to support students with mental health issues and those in juvenile justice settings.
73. Labor will ensure schools are socially inclusive and support a diverse society.

74. Labor is committed to implementing strategies to address recent increases in the frequency of religious and racial vilification and bullying, developed in consultation with ethnic and religious communities and education professionals.
75. Labor will ensure school funding is linked to evidence-based reforms and practices that lead to higher academic achievement and better teaching and learning. All schools in all sectors will be required to meet national standards in curriculum, teaching and learning.
76. Labor will oversee a national curriculum and national student assessment and reporting framework that is free from political or commercial influence and developed in collaboration with teachers and school communities. Among other aims, the curriculum must:
 - a. ensure Australian children master the basics early in their schooling, such as reading, writing, and maths;
 - b. lift student results across the board, including for students who are struggling, and students who are gifted and talented;
 - c. support quality vocational education and training in schools;
 - d. include civics and citizenship education to develop in students a deep knowledge of their rights, freedoms and responsibilities and equip them with the ability to play an active role in our democracy; and
 - e. include the teaching of the history and culture of First Nations people and their contribution to the Australian story.
77. Labor will investigate models of universal civics and citizenship education for Australian students, including a dedicated curriculum and assessment, and how to best equip teachers to deliver civics education.
78. Labor will work to lift the status of the teaching profession and support improved practice and continued professional development and recognise the knowledge and insights of classroom teachers by providing for elected teacher representatives on the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership board.

Quality vocational education and skill development

79. Labor supports a high quality and trusted vocational education system that addresses the needs of students, industries and communities. We will work in partnership with employers, unions, professional representative bodies and educators to help Australians acquire the skills and knowledge they need now and in the future to obtain well paid, secure jobs and build their careers. Labor supports the development of a vocational education professional body which will ensure quality teaching and training in the vocational education sector through professional development programs and accreditation.
80. The competitive vocational education and training market has led to significant market failure. Public funding to private providers has led, in too many cases, to exploitation of students and profiteering at the expense of the taxpayer. Labor will ensure at least 70% of all public funding for vocational education goes to TAFE. The balance of funding will go to other high quality, trusted vocational education providers which have the support of employers and unions, including in the adult and community education sector. Unscrupulous practices and operators will not be tolerated.

81. Labor will work with states and territory governments to ensure TAFEs are resourced to be sustainable institutions that embody a commitment to quality and connection to students, communities, schools, universities and industries in their regions by:
 - a. re-building and sustaining a workforce of professional vocational teachers and support staff capable of delivering TAFEs multiple roles;
 - b. collaborating with industries, unions and social partners to develop and provide high quality qualifications and training products relevant to the labour market, applicable licensing requirements, student aspiration, career pathways and the development of decent work;
 - c. supporting students, no matter their individual location, needs and aspirations, to gain education and skills for life and work to the best of their ability; and
 - d. responding to specific policy imperatives set by government, such as climate change, digitisation, and specific industry and occupation demands.

82. Labor will strengthen apprenticeships and traineeships by:
 - a. Expanding participation into new industries, cohorts and locations, while safeguarding quality;
 - b. Establishing and implementing minimum national standards and ensuring contracts of employment and contracts for training protect apprentices and trainees;
 - c. Supporting quality programs and higher skill levels so public funding and incentives are directly linked to a business training effort, quality outcomes and development of skills;
 - d. Ensuring all apprenticeships and traineeships deliver full qualifications consistent with the national qualifications framework, including fit-for-purpose assessment and applicable licensing requirements, developed through supported tripartite arrangements;
 - e. Ensuring qualifications promote a combination of work and structured on-the-job training and an appropriate balance of on and off-the-job training;
 - f. Supporting quality, not-for-profit group training companies and enhancing their opportunities in sectors such as resources, major projects and for small and medium businesses;
 - g. Reviewing and providing appropriate incentives, especially for small businesses in regional settings, payments and support programs to build employer and apprentice investment in quality apprenticeships and traineeships; and
 - h. Pursuing a nationally consistent system of trade papers and harmonisation of associated rules.

83. Employers of all sizes should be encouraged and supported to invest in apprentices and trainees. Labor will investigate avenues and mechanisms to increase employer investment in training. Labor will encourage the growth of apprenticeships and trainees by ensuring at least 1 in 10 workers on major government projects are apprentices or trainees. Labor will also pursue a similar approach in other government funded workplaces like disability care, aged care, and early childhood education and care.

84. Labor will develop and prioritise traineeships and apprenticeships in Local Government.

85. Apprentices and trainees are a vulnerable group in the workforce. Employer non-compliance with apprentice and trainee employment entitlements is unexpectedly high. This undermines the value and quality of the apprenticeship system. Labor will work with business and unions to eradicate exploitation of apprentices and trainees.
86. Labor believes wage rates for apprentices and trainees should fairly balance a living wage with the investments employers make to hire and train them. Apprentices and trainees should not be exploited as cheap labour, and instead must be provided with meaningful work and training and paid appropriately.
87. Labor will expand trades and traineeship opportunities for Indigenous Australians.
88. Labor is supportive of all industries and sectors having access to industry specific training and skills development that reflect the tasks being undertaken by its workforce, irrespective of industry size.
89. Labor will work to challenge gender stereotypes in trades and occupations. Women should be encouraged to enter male-dominated trades, including but not limited to construction and manufacturing and engineering, and men should be encouraged to enter into female-dominated occupations such as early childhood education and nursing.
90. Recognising the importance to young people of making a good transition from school to the world of work, Labor will strengthen vocational education and training in schools, as well as supports in TAFE for re-engagement with education and assistance into the labour market. We recognise the need to create multiple learning pathways suited to the interests and aptitude of each young person.
91. Labor will ensure the vocational education and training system does not shift costs onto individual students.
92. Labor will support effective life-long learning to help all Australians to renew their skills and knowledge as our society and economy continues to change.

Stronger universities

93. Universities are the leading centres for learning and research. They serve the nation and are members of a global intellectual community. They are critically important institutions for the pursuit of knowledge and the enrichment of individuals and society, and they drive long-run economic growth and productivity.
94. Labor recognises the impact of COVID-19 on the ability of universities to teach domestic students, provide education to international students, and undertake essential research. Labor will continue to build a strong, autonomous, sustainable, affordable and accessible public higher education system to prepare graduates for an economy driven by knowledge, skills and innovation, and to strengthen our country into the future. Labor will ensure our universities provide excellence in teaching. We will ensure regional universities are well-funded to reduce the inequality in attainment between city and country. We will provide strong oversight of international education activities to ensure they maintain their quality and sustainability.

95. All Australians, regardless of their background or where they live, should have the opportunity of higher education. Everyone who has the ability to go to university should have a place. Labor therefore:
- a. opposes the deregulation of fees and the introduction of full fee degrees for undergraduate award courses in Australian universities;
 - b. supports a fair and equitable student contribution and income-contingent loan system that does not create financial disincentives to study and gives students who take out loans adequate consumer protection;
 - c. will maintain a targeted system of student income support;
 - d. opposes the Liberals' changes to university fees which delivered huge fees and huge debts for many Australian students and are deliberately designed to discourage students from studying courses such as the arts and humanities, despite evidence of strong employment outcomes for graduates in these fields; and
 - e. will work with the university sector to improve the breadth and quality of courses available to students in the regions, addressing training and workforce needs where they exist.
96. Labor recognises the crucial importance of university research to society and the economy through advances in science and technology, medicine, the humanities and social sciences, and the arts. Labor will therefore ensure that research activity is linked to its benefit to humanity, to economic prosperity, and to university engagement with community and industry.
97. Labor will ensure a minimum guarantee of funding is made available for important student-run services like early childhood education and care, health services, counselling, advocacy, entertainment and sporting facilities. Labor will support students in the creation of democratic, student-run representative bodies and safeguard the right for students to organise themselves on campus. We support student involvement in the management of their university communities and in university decision-making processes, and will support elected staff and student representation on university councils
98. Labor acknowledges the disproportionate impact of recent university funding changes on female students, as well as those from low socio-economic backgrounds and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. Labor will properly support Australian universities.

CHAPTER 3: CLIMATE CHANGE, ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

1. Labor will ensure that Australia becomes a renewable energy superpower, harnessing our natural advantages in clean energy to become energy independent from the world and a major clean energy exporter, whilst lowering power prices, reaching zero net emissions by 2050 and strengthening the future growth of Australian industry and jobs.
2. Labor believes in a strong national environmental protection framework that strengthens our natural environment, reduces and manages waste, helps to prevent dangerous bushfires, secures cleaner air, protects our native species and habitat and builds our nation's water security and biodiversity, in the face of increasingly frequent and severe drought.
3. Labor supports the sustainable and responsible use of our natural resources. Our nation must secure existing jobs and support the creation of new high paying jobs to prepare for our growing environmental and economic challenges.
4. Labor understands that Australia's wellbeing depends on a sustainable global environment and that as a substantial power we can make a significant contribution to international efforts on climate change, biodiversity and waste management.
5. As the first and enduring custodians of the land, oceans and rivers, First Nations peoples' authority, knowledge and experience is crucial to conserving nature and acting on climate change. Working with First Nations peoples, modern science and traditional knowledge will together be instrumental in solving today's environmental challenges.
6. Science is always central to Labor's decision-making in relation to climate change, energy and the environment.
7. Labor recognises the strength and sustainability of our economy depends on the health of the environments in which we work, live and play, in which clean water, air and healthy ecosystems are protected. We recognise a strong economy is underpinned by a healthy environment. We recognise the intrinsic value of nature and believe that each generation has a responsibility to engage in stewardship of the natural environment.

Creating a low-emissions economy

8. Labor believes Australia's future prosperity lies as an energy superpower, built on our world class renewable energy resources and technical skills. We will develop and implement practical, collaborative policies informed by the best science and consistent with the goals of the Paris Accord to realise Australia's huge renewable energy opportunities and ensure all Australians benefit not only through stronger economic growth but also access to more affordable energy.
9. Labor accepts the science of climate change. We accept that human-induced climate change represents a massive risk to the world and that allowing global temperatures to increase by 2 degrees or more above pre-industrial levels will have devastating effects, especially on Australia.
10. As a continent that encompasses hot, dry and tropical zones, and is home to unique ecosystems, Australia is particularly exposed to the damaging effects of climate change which makes the case for meaningful action even more urgent. The longer we delay action, the greater the

consequences of climate change. Labor understands delaying action on climate change places a larger burden on future generations.

11. Labor believes First Nations people's knowledge and experience of the land must be respected and should be employed to help Australia address climate change. We will ensure that First Nations people also benefit from the economic opportunities that result from adapting and advancing the economy around climate change.
12. Labor will take strong action to reduce the impact of climate change on Australia's environment and take advantage of the economic opportunities of becoming a low pollution economy. Labor's approach will be technologically agnostic and guided by the best science, engineering and economics.
13. Labor will implement a climate change and energy policy to reduce carbon pollution in line with the Paris Accord goal of limiting global warming to less than 2 degrees above pre-industrial levels and taking efforts to limit warming to 1.5 degrees above pre-industrial levels. Labor acknowledges this will require Australia's economy to reach net zero domestic greenhouse gas pollution by 2050 and deliver medium term targets consistent with that goal and the best available scientific and economic advice.
14. Labor believes the most effective and economically beneficial way to address climate change and deliver least cost abatement is to partner with industry, workers and communities to develop and implement plans and policies that cut pollution, modernise the economy, reduce energy prices, deliver social and economic justice, and grow the jobs and industries of the future. This means incentivising and supporting abatement of pollution in the industrial, mining and agricultural sectors, utilising the land sector to sequester carbon, supporting the adoption of new transport technologies and delivering a clean, affordable and modern energy system, including providing a supportive regulatory framework for the development of offshore renewable energy.
15. Labor will maximise the jobs and industry growth from this modernisation of our economy and will ensure jobs in the clean economy provide security, good wages and conditions.
16. Labor recognises a changing climate requires investment in natural and built infrastructure to protect our communities and help them adapt to new realities. Labor will provide national leadership to identify long term investments to improve the capacity of our urban and natural environments, our water supplies and food production to protect people and their health, adapt to change and create resilience.
17. Labor recognises households and communities already facing existing stress or hardship, including those living on low or fixed incomes, people with chronic health issues, people with a disability, and those facing financial stress, can be particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change such as increased heatwaves, extreme weather events and more intense and frequent bushfires. Furthermore, Labor recognises the importance of assisting these vulnerable communities (noting that women are more likely than men to live in poverty and do so for longer) to adapt to the unavoidable impacts of climate change. In doing so, we can reduce their vulnerability and create other benefits including reducing financial stress, improving housing quality, creating employment opportunities and building community resilience.
18. Labor believes that the Commonwealth public sector should demonstrate active leadership on emissions reduction and sustainability. Therefore a Labor government will set a goal of

achieving net zero emissions across the public service. Labor will work with public sector unions, public servants and other stakeholders to develop emissions reduction and sustainability initiatives such as measuring and reporting on emissions across government, upgrading to cleaner sources of energy, cutting emissions from transport, changing work practices, improving the efficiency of buildings and land use, purchasing environmentally friendly products, and reducing and recycling its waste.

19. Labor will develop a national and cooperative approach to cutting transport sector emissions, including from passenger motor vehicles, freight, shipping and air. Labor will work with industry and other stakeholders around adoption of mandatory emissions standards for light passenger vehicles, and policy to support the take up of low or zero emissions vehicles, including infrastructure investment.
20. Labor will pursue policies which will transform Australia's established energy-intensive industrial sectors - such as aluminium and steel, as well as the industries of the future such as hydrogen production - so they become global leaders delivering significant jobs, investment and economic diversification and environmental sustainability. We will build on leading strategies from around the world and work with industry and research agencies to adapt our existing LPG pipeline infrastructure to help this industry grow.
21. Supported by the advice of experts including the Chief Scientist and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Labor recognises the role that Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) will play in abating carbon pollution and ensuring industries like heavy manufacturing and gas production are able to play their role in meeting carbon pollution reduction goals consistent with achieving the goals of the Paris Agreement. Labor's support, to date, for the development of CCS technologies stands in sharp contrast to the record of the Coalition government which has abolished CCS support programs and cut \$460 million in CCS financial support.
22. Labor will work with unions and industry to ensure that the workers and communities affected by economic changes will prosper in a modern energy economy.
23. Labor recognises the Paris Agreement is more than just a commitment to emissions reductions and therefore commits to implementing all of the components of the Agreement including its requirement for just transition planning involving local communities, unions, and industry to be a key part of Australia's Nationally Determined Contribution under the Paris Agreement. A federal Labor Government will join Australia with the dozens of countries around the world developing plans consistent with the Paris Agreement which requires a just transition of the workforce and the creation of decent work and quality jobs in accordance with nationally defined development priorities.
24. Labor recognises that the transformation underway in Australia's energy industry is causing substantial industry restructuring that is impacting many energy industry workers and their communities. Labor also recognises the need to implement a new model of industry restructuring that is people-focused and ensures that the costs of change are not borne solely by workers and host communities.
25. Labor will establish a statutory authority charged with mitigating the adverse impacts of coal power station closures on regional workforces and communities as a priority. The authority will, as a minimum, have the power to implement job transfer schemes for workers in coal power stations and associated mines allowing for voluntary redundancy and redeployment

opportunities to be shared across sites and the capacity to develop and implement economic development programs for impacted regions.

26. The authority's governance structure shall include major stakeholders including unions and industry and will work cooperatively and on a complementary basis with federal, state and local government bodies, charged with energy, climate and structural adjustment responsibilities. Over time, Labor will consider the case for the ambit of the authority to be extended to other industries undergoing major restructuring as they arise.
27. Labor will ensure we stand ready as a nation to adapt to the unavoidable impacts of climate change. Based on science, we will work with communities, industry, state, territory and local governments, to prepare for climate change impacts and ensure the costs of adaptation do not fall disproportionately on the most vulnerable and disadvantaged Australians.
28. Labor will restore integrity and independence to the environment and climate change portfolios and relevant science agencies. This will include improving the effectiveness of the Climate Change Authority, Clean Energy Finance Corporation and the Australian Renewable Energy Agency.
29. Labor will take a whole of government approach to climate risk disclosure in the public sector, as well as working with regulatory agencies, businesses, unions and investor groups to ensure climate risk disclosure and management are at the centre of the modernisation of the economy. Climate change related financial and other risk in the public and private sector should be prudently managed and disclosed, consistent with meeting the goals of the Paris Accord.

A national energy policy

30. Labor will modernise Australia's energy system and develop a framework that will ensure reliable, affordable and clean energy for families and businesses. Labor will ensure sufficient investment in new generation to replace retiring assets, support the electrification of our transport infrastructure, and grow new industries such as green steel and green aluminium, as well as ensure affordability, reliability and pollution reduction goals.
31. We recognise renewable energy as being central to our economic future and will ensure all Australians have equal access to the benefits of energy efficiency and clean energy.
32. Labor will end the Coalition's national energy policy vacuum that has undermined our energy affordability and security and obstructed the expansion of clean energy. We will implement policies to modernise our energy markets and institutions, rejuvenate our energy infrastructure and secure reliable energy.
33. Community and publicly-owned energy systems will play a critical role in the modernisation of Australia's energy system, including in regional and remote communities. Labor will support the ongoing development and deployment of community and publicly-owned energy systems, ensuring all Australians can access the economic and environmental benefits of renewable energy.
34. Labor recognises and supports the critical role that gas plays in the Australian economy. Labor recognises that gas has an important role to play in achieving Labor's target of net zero emissions by 2050. Labor's policies will support Australian workers in the gas extraction industry, building on Labor's legacy of supporting sufficient and affordable gas supply for

Australian industry and consumers. This includes support for new gas projects and associated infrastructure, subject to independent approval processes to ensure legitimate community concerns are heard and addressed. Labor will ensure the industry assesses and manages environmental and other impacts, including on water reserves and co-existence with other agricultural activities, and engages constructively with landholders. The Federal government must also institute policies like more rigorous use-it or lose-it conditions for offshore gas resources, a price related export control trigger, and domestic reservation policies to ensure environmentally approved gas projects are developed for the benefit of Australians, including as a feedstock to crucial strategic manufacturing industries including chemical and fertiliser production. Labor recognises the critical role gas-power generation plays in firming the National Electricity Market (NEM) and will have regard to the advice of the Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) in continuing to ensure reliability and price affordability as the NEM transitions to net zero emissions and as other technologies emerge.

35. Working with industry, workers and states, Labor will ensure access to affordable gas to support Australian households, power generation and industry, including through measures designed to ensure Australia's energy security.
36. Labor will work with state and territory governments, industry and unions on a strategic national approach to the future development of our energy system, including transmission and distribution planning and investment and supporting the development of Renewable Energy Zones.
37. Labor will ensure Australian consumers are the focus of energy sector reform, including through strong consumer protections to encourage retailers to keep energy costs down. Electricity is an essential service and high electricity prices are a first order cost of living issue for millions of households and businesses across the nation. An overemphasis on privatisation and deregulation in the energy sector ahead of the interests of consumers has contributed to high electricity prices, especially for the most vulnerable members of the community.
38. Labor will ensure energy sector reform incorporates strong worker protections to avoid reductions in maintenance standards, safety, quality and reliability of energy systems.
39. Labor will support the development of new low pollution forms of energy, including traditional and new renewable energy, clean hydrogen, bioenergy, as well as supporting industrial and research capacity.
40. Australia's national and economic security rests on its ability to supply critical products and services to the nation, particularly during global disruptions to supply chains and markets. Whilst the COVID-19 pandemic has served as a stark reminder of this fact, the International Energy Agency (IEA) has warned for many years that Australia's grossly inadequate liquid fuel reserves undermine its national security and economic resilience. Australia is one of the only developed countries in the world that does not consistently meet the 90-day requirement for domestic fuel storage. Labor will secure Australia's fuel security and ensure Australia meets its IEA obligations, including by ensuring a robust domestic fuel refining and storage capability.

Stronger environmental protections

41. Labor recognises the strength and sustainability of our economy depends on the health of the environments in which we work, live and play, in which clean water, air and healthy ecosystems are protected. We recognise a strong economy is underpinned by a healthy environment. We

recognise the intrinsic value of nature and believe that each generation has a responsibility to engage in stewardship of the natural environment.

42. Australia's natural environment and iconic places are in an overall state of decline and are under increasing threat. The current environmental trajectory is unsustainable. The globe is facing an extinction crisis, and Australia has one of the worst records of extinctions on earth. Recent experiences of drought and catastrophic fire reveal the human cost of environmental decline and its impacts on the economy. Labor is committed to addressing the environmental crisis, while also building sustainable jobs and an economy that builds prosperous regions.
43. Australia's Indigenous cultures are the oldest continuous cultures on earth. Labor is committed to effective protection of First Nations cultural heritage.
44. Labor believes in the importance of protecting our nation's built heritage, for its own intrinsic value and because of the longer-term conservation benefits that arise from re-purposing and reuse.

Environmental governance, management and international obligations

45. Labor will ensure the Commonwealth has the institutional capacity to provide effective and transparent environmental management systems, which are essential for sound decision-making, monitoring, assessment and reporting of environmental performance and outcomes. That will include an Environment Protection Agency: a strong cop on the beat that is genuinely independent of the government, will report to the Parliament, and will play a central role in restoring Australians trust in the Commonwealth's capacity and willingness to protect our precious natural environment.
46. Labor is committed to making sure that Australia meets its responsibilities under international environmental treaties including the World Heritage Convention, the Convention on Biodiversity and the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands. Labor believes that the Commonwealth must always retain the right to be the final decision-maker on projects that affect matters of national environmental significance.
47. Labor will act to arrest species loss, protect habitats, control invasive species, support sustainable development, protect biodiversity, protect heritage, restore landscapes, control plastic pollution, improve air quality and water quality, and restore natural capital.
48. Labor will reform Australia's environmental protection laws to ensure they are fit-for-purpose to arrest environmental decline and restore environmental health, which means they must provide for:
 - a. a central voice for First Nations people in the design of environment protection laws, programs and policies;
 - b. efficient, streamlined and effective environmental assessment processes;
 - c. the fair, efficient and effective management of Australia's environment and biodiversity as a foundation for ecologically, socially and economically sustainable jobs;
 - d. biodiversity conservation, resilience in the natural environment, restoration and recovery, and ecological sustainability; and

- e. the creation of strong, legally enforceable National Environmental Standards, supported by robust data, that act to maintain or improve the environment.
49. Noting the scientific evidence of the link between biodiversity mismanagement and pandemics, Labor will play an active role internationally on biodiversity conservation including through multilateral and regional organisations and bilateral support for countries in our region.

First Nations and heritage

50. Labor recognises the deep trauma caused to First Nations peoples from the destruction of their spiritual, cultural, and physical heritage.
51. Labor will assert the strong national interest in valuing and protecting First Nations spiritual, cultural, and physical heritage as the embodiment of the oldest continuous culture on earth, and as an essential part of our national identity.
52. Labor will work with First Nations people and states and territories to create an effective national framework for protecting First Nations heritage, including the adoption of minimum national standards, improved Commonwealth mechanisms for heritage listing and emergency protection, and proper keeper protocols consistent with Australia's international obligations, and built on the foundation of free, prior, and informed consent.
53. Labor will:
- a. work with Traditional Owners as well as the states and territories to create better governance structures and management programs for Commonwealth properties of heritage significance;
 - b. support the investigation and nomination of areas suitable for future listing led by Traditional Owners in cooperation with state and territory governments and other stakeholders, and support Traditional Owners to pursue World Heritage listing for the Kimberley;
 - c. support Traditional Owners to pursue resolution of outstanding Cape York tenure issues and, if consent is granted, subsequently pursue World Heritage listing for appropriate areas of Cape York, recognising the importance of federal leadership and the consent of Traditional Owners
 - d. work with Traditional Owners as well as the states and territories to create better governance structures and management programs for Commonwealth properties of heritage significance;
 - e. ensure cultural values are included in all National and World Heritage listings;
 - f. oppose resource extraction in national parks or World Heritage areas; and
 - g. ensure environmental laws are fully applied to protect World Heritage sites from the construction of dams or the raising of dam walls that would inundate those sites.

The Great Barrier Reef

54. Labor recognises the significance of sites like the Great Barrier Reef. It is part of Australia's national identity. We believe a healthy Reef is not just a key part of our culture and

environment, but its health also is critical to our economy—supporting thousands of jobs in the tourism industry. Labor will protect the Great Barrier Reef by:

- a. addressing climate change;
- b. increasing ocean protection in the Coral Sea;
- c. improving water quality including through assisting communities to adapt and apply scientific advice;
- d. strengthening our environmental laws and institutional capacity; and
- e. safeguarding the biodiversity of species and ecological habitats in its catchments.

Parks and reserves, and caring for landscapes and waterways

55. Acknowledging that protected areas are fundamental to biodiversity protection, Australia needs an extensive, effectively-managed national system of parks and reserves, as well as policies aimed at achieving ecologically sustainable use of other land and waterways.
56. Labor will ensure national environment funding programs and other volunteer and community programs, like Landcare funding, support local sustainable agriculture, soil management, conservation and environmental priorities and contribute to national priorities to improve biodiversity and resilience.
57. Labor shares the passion of local environment conservation and health groups. Grassroots volunteers are members of their local communities, who live and work alongside those working in the natural resource industries. Their efforts should never be used to displace paid and productive employment, or to substitute for what are rightly governmental responsibilities. Local volunteers can play an important role in mobilising government and community action on local environmental issues, and their contribution to protecting and preserving Australia's environment, and the wellbeing of Australians, is invaluable.
58. Labor will address environmental and climate change impacts of land clearing in the nations environmental laws in order to address biodiversity loss and climate change. As part of a comprehensive plan to build a carbon sink of scale and size, Labor will cooperate with the states, territories, local government and landholders to achieve a net increase in Australia's vegetation cover to improve its management and to end broad-scale clearing, including through conditional funding. Labor will implement a best practice national vegetation mapping and monitoring program to support these aims. In doing so Labor will consult broadly with stakeholders.
59. Labor will act to protect Australians, our landscapes and animals from the impacts of increasing severe weather events, including fire and floods. Labor will respond to the scale of this threat with national coordination and cutting- edge science and management responses.
60. Labor is committed to building Australia's land- and ocean-based carbon offsets industry. It is a powerful way to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and create economic opportunity, especially in rural and regional Australia. It can also help protect and restore Australia's natural landscapes and seascapes.
61. Labor supports Landcare and promotes sustainable farming practices and improved natural resource management.

62. Labor will:
- a. support programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to work on and manage country that support jobs, particularly through considering expanding long-term funding of and recognition for the highly successful Indigenous Ranger and Indigenous Protected Area programs;
 - b. support new opportunities for First Nations people, particularly in remote and regional communities, to participate in a low carbon economy through initiatives such as carbon farming;
 - c. support Australians who live in remote communities reliant on diesel fuel for electricity, including First Nations people, to access renewable alternatives such as solar; and
 - d. encourage First Nations people -co-management of land and sea scapes, including through national parks, tourism and state forests.
63. Labor will harness the social, economic and environmental benefits that flow from the sustainable management of Australia's forests.
64. Labor will continue to work with industry, unions, communities and environmentalists in relation to Tasmanian forests and the forestry industry.
65. Labor will support internationally recognised forest certification with robust governance arrangements which set best practice, transparent, consistent and objective standards in sustainable forest management, chain of custody and labelling. Labor will require employers in the industry to uphold, acknowledge, respect, sustain and support the principles and rights at work as defined by the ILO.
66. International forest certification schemes operating in Australia will be required to have workers' representatives on their global and Australian governing boards nominated by the International Trade Union Confederation and the Australian Council of Trade Unions respectively.

Wildlife trade

67. In line with international obligations, Labor will support the survival of iconic species by working with the states to ban Australia's domestic trade in endangered animals such as the trade of ivory and rhinoceros horn, noting the need for carefully targeted exemptions for items which do not contribute to poaching. Labor will act against unacceptable risks of animal cruelty, such as illegal import or export of shark fins or shark finning or lion trophies. We will improve the regulation of wildlife trade to ensure it causes no detriment to species, and where possible delivers conservation benefits.

Reducing waste, building a circular economy and reducing pollution

68. Labor will lead a shift towards a circular economy that reduces waste and pollution while creating new productive opportunities and jobs.
69. Labor will work to ensure that our nation and its people reduce the use of resources, reuse and recycle material wherever possible, and responsibly dispose of any residue.

70. Labor will work with states and territories, local governments, the resource management sector, industry, and the broader community to ensure National Waste Policy objectives are monitored, reviewed, and achieved through focused measures in the key areas of producer responsibility, product stewardship, material standards and innovative design, labelling, recycling infrastructure, government procurement, the elimination of unnecessary and harmful products, and consumer awareness.
71. Labor will promote international cooperation to reduce waste and pollution, particularly with respect to ocean plastic, and particularly in our region. We support efforts to negotiate a treaty on marine litter and microplastics.
72. Labor will develop a national framework for a circular economy, aiming to close the loop by minimising waste- generation and increasing the use of and extending the life of recyclable resources.
73. Labor will enforce tough controls on pollutants and toxins in the environment, minimise the production, import and use of harmful substances, develop alternative technologies and, where possible, eliminate harmful substances.
74. Labor will fulfil Australia’s obligations to control the safe movement of hazardous waste.
75. Labor will promote national air quality standards and monitoring, reporting and control of air pollution.

Water, rivers, oceans and coasts

76. Australia’s long-term water issues require national leadership. Labor will lead responsible management of water assets by acting on climate change, promoting wise water usage, securing adequate water supplies, and supporting healthy rivers. Labor will consider expanding the protections provided by the current water trigger in Federal environment law.
77. Labor wants the Murray-Darling Basin to have healthy, working rivers, supporting agriculture including food production, sustaining local communities, allowing for First Nations cultural practices, and providing a haven for the abundant plants and wildlife that depend on the system.
78. Labor believes in maintaining a strong leadership role for the Commonwealth in relation to the Murray-Darling Basin, to ensure trust and confidence in the governance and management of water. We recognise that matters such as the Menindee fish kill, concerns about water scarcity, and the Liberals and Nationals failures of leadership have undermined confidence in water governance and management. Labor believes that trust and confidence must be restored.
79. Labor will address the long-term problems of over-allocation of the water resources of the Murray-Darling Basin and the neglect of the health of its iconic rivers and wetlands. We will ensure science is at the heart of decision- making, informed by First Nations people alongside other local knowledge and experience.
80. Labor will take a rigorous approach to compliance and hold the states to account in relation to their management of water. We will seek arrangements in which decisions are made transparently, and breaches of the law are acted on. Labor will continuously seek to update and increase the body of knowledge underpinning the Murray-Darling Basin Plan, noting that

climate change is exacerbating the problems facing the Murray-Darling Basin and other river systems.

81. Labor will protect the ecological health of the rivers, floodplains, wetlands, lakes and channels of the Lake Eyre Basin and will cooperate with the governments of the Northern Territory, South Australia, Queensland and New South Wales to protect the ecological sustainability of the Basin.
82. Labor will support initiatives to improve water security for Australia's cities and towns including by ensuring that residential, agricultural and industrial water use is sustainable, supporting efficient water infrastructure, and by supporting investment in alternative water supply options such as wastewater recycling, desalination, and stormwater harvesting. Labor will ensure economic developments are stringently assessed for their effect on water quality and supply, having regard to the impacts on species and the effects of climate change.
83. Labor will continue its proud record of protecting Australia's oceans, including the Whitlam Government's establishment of the nation's first marine reserve to protect the Great Barrier Reef, and the Rudd and Gillard Governments' establishment of Australia's Marine Reserve Network, which was, at the time, the largest network of marine protected areas anywhere in the world.
84. Labor will:
 - a. work to ensure Australia's bioregional plans and marine parks network are science-based, reviewed in a timely manner, meet standards for protected areas, and bring social, cultural and economic benefits to local communities;
 - b. protect Australia's unique marine environments, tourism industry, valued fishing industry and recreational fishing lifestyle from the risks of overfishing and from the use of super trawlers, unless a thorough assessment against the science can verify operations will not undermine small pelagic fisheries and recreational fishing spots;
 - c. ensure protection, based on scientific advice, for iconic marine species like whales, dugongs, turtles and sharks, and promote the conservation and research of key bioregional health indicator species;
 - d. support protections against and responses to coastal erosion, and support coastal communities.

CHAPTER 4: A STRONG AND HEALTHY SOCIETY

1. Labor seeks to achieve opportunity for all. Our nation's prosperity should be shared fairly and every Australian should have the chance to realise their talents and succeed in the world.
2. Inclusion and prosperity are interdependent. When any one of us is left behind, we are all the poorer for it. Our future prosperity is dependent on a strong safety net that ensures every Australian has the opportunity to contribute to our economy and community.
3. Labor will not abandon people when they fall on hard times. We seek to build on more than a century of Labor reforms, which help people and families rebound from misfortune. Unemployment payments, Medicare, workers' compensation, transport accident insurance and the NDIS all insulate Australians from circumstances that are beyond their control.
4. By ensuring people receive the support they need when they need it, Australians are better placed to pursue their longer-term interests and in doing so, bring greater benefit to themselves and our community.

Health: equity, access and reform

5. Labor believes all Australians have a right to the best possible health, including affordable and accessible care when and where they need it. It is why we created Medicare and have remained its unwavering champion for nearly half a century in the face of repeated Coalition attempts to dismantle or undermine it. The Australian people know that only Labor can be trusted to keep our health system strong and universal.
6. Recent times have seen the emergence of major challenges for our health system. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, Australians faced stubborn health inequalities, record costs, record waits for care, and stalled reform – all exacerbated by the Coalitions' cuts and neglect. Labor believes that now is the moment to strengthen our health system to meet the demands of the future—because a healthier country means a stronger economy and a better society. Labor's three priorities for Australia's health system are therefore equity, access and reform.

Equity: Giving every Australian a fair shot at a healthy life

7. As the party of equality, Labor does not accept that your health outcomes and life expectancy should be determined by your wealth, class or background. We know that the more equal a society is, the better its overall standard of health is likely to be. Unfortunately, in some countries, the life expectancy of working people is going backwards—we will never accept this in Australia and will do everything we can to ensure health outcomes improve for all Australians. Labor understands that health outcomes are only partly determined by access to health care and are also driven by social determinants such as education, employment and housing. This understanding of the social determinants of health will be at the centre of all our policies.
8. We know that lifestyle is a powerful determinant of people's health. Labor will therefore support policies that promote wellness and prevent disease – for every Australian, including the poorest Australians. Australians deserve the best possible environments and support to improve their lifestyles, including through exercise, better diets, preventing and giving up smoking and reducing harmful use of alcohol and drugs.

9. Living healthier lives will reduce the incidence of chronic disease, which is one of the greatest threats to Australia's health and health system. We will support and encourage evidence-based health promotion and education, including through helping people better prevent and manage chronic conditions. We will also invest in programs and research that furthers our ability to prevent and manage chronic disease.
10. Labor recognises addiction as a chronic health condition. Labor believes that affordable treatment services for addiction, including of alcohol and other drugs and gambling, are important to achieving a healthy and inclusive society. Labor is committed to harm minimisation principles in the management of addiction. Labor understands the importance of prevention, public awareness, and community-based services as part of a suite of policies critical to ensuring that people can seek help quickly and in the most appropriate setting. Labor will support addiction workforces, recognising this will divert pressure from the mental health workforces, emergency departments, first responders, and other health and social care services.
11. Families have a major role to play in encouraging good health, especially in children. We will work with families to help give children the best possible start in life, including by improving access to pre-pregnancy care, encouraging healthy habits, reducing obesity and promoting physical activity.
12. The World Health Organisation says that climate change is the defining health issue of the 21st Century. It poses a major danger to public health, with bushfires, floods and the steady southern creep of tropical diseases. Already these are all affecting the physical and mental health of many Australians, particularly those in regional areas. Labor will treat climate and health as a major National Health Priority.
13. Labor is committed to Closing the Gap in health for First Nations people. Our policies will recognise the successes achieved by First Nations people-led health and related services. Labor will work in partnership with First Nations people and community-controlled health organisations to reduce the gross inequalities in health outcomes between First Nations people and other Australians. We will work to address institutional and interpersonal racism and ensure the entire health system is equipped to provide effective and culturally safe health care to First Nations people. This includes increasing the numbers of First Nations people in all parts of the health workforce.
14. Labor knows that Australians who live outside our capital cities do not get the same access to health and mental health care and that this contributes to vast health inequalities. We will improve access to health services throughout regional, rural and remote Australia, including by improving incentives for health providers to practice in the bush, and supporting new models such as rural generalist pathways. Where in-person services are not available, we will work to better connect people in regional, rural and remote Australia to world-class care, including through telehealth, which should be extended beyond the pandemic.
15. Labor celebrates multiculturalism and a diverse society. Labor acknowledges that CALD communities often have language and cultural barriers in seeking or accessing health services. Labor commits to providing equitable access to health services to our CALD communities that are culturally and linguistically accessible.

Access: helping Australians access affordable care when and where they need it

16. Labor governments have upheld the promise of universal access to health care, including by establishing Medicare and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, and by striking landmark public hospital agreements when last in Government. After three terms of Coalition cuts and neglect, Australians face record costs and waits for care, forcing millions to skip vital services. Labor will work to restore universal access to health care in Australia.
17. General practice is the first port of call for sick Australians. GPs work alongside a range of other vital primary and community health providers, including nurses, pharmacists, allied health practitioners, Aboriginal health providers and others. Labor will work to ensure the affordability of primary care, including maintaining GP bulk-billing and Medicare access for other providers. Labor will also support efforts to improve the quality and coordination of primary care, and will particularly encourage new models of care that better prevent and manage chronic disease.
18. Labor sees oral health as the missing element of Medicare. Our goal is to provide universal access to affordable dental services for all Australians, and an elected Labor Government will engage a consultative process with all relevant stakeholders to begin this work.
19. Labor will make the mental health of all Australians a national priority. Labor will work with the states and territories and will invest in an integrated, cross-sector and whole of government mental health care system that is based on evidence and centred on early intervention. Labor will work to break down the stigma around mental ill health, encourage people to seek help and make sure mental health services are better coordinated, affordable, culturally and linguistically relevant, and reach the most disadvantaged and at-risk groups. These include older people, young people, people from non-English speaking backgrounds, LGBTIQ+ and Indigenous Australians, as well as people with experiences of poverty, trauma, marginalisation and discrimination. Labor will also invest in research and evidence-based services to help reduce Australia's unacceptably high suicide rate and make doing so a national priority.
20. Labor is also concerned by the Coalition's record of delayed and denied PBS listings, and by the number of Australians who are unable to afford medicines even when they are listed on the PBS. Labor will protect and strengthen the PBS to ensure all Australians get affordable and timely access to essential medicines. We will ensure that any proposed international treaties do not undermine equitable access to medicines.
21. From time to time, all Australians require specialist services, either in the community (such as pathology and diagnostic imaging) or a hospital (such as outpatient services and surgery). Long waits for public services and high costs for private services have become major barriers to accessing care under the Coalition. Labor will work to improve the affordability and timeliness of specialist care, including by empowering consumers to make informed choices between providers, and by working with the states and territories to reduce waiting times for outpatient services and emergency department care. Labor will also work to improve coordination across other health and aged care services to improve care and reduce unwarranted hospital admissions and readmissions.
22. Labor recognises that both public and private sectors play critical roles in Australia's world-class health system. We are concerned that Australians are abandoning private health insurance due to increasing costs and declining value. While governments have sole responsibility for managing the public health system, they also support a strong and sustainable private health care system.

23. Labor will work to improve sexual and reproductive health for all Australians. Labor will ensure that whether people choose to continue with pregnancy or not, they are supported by access to relevant medical, support and advice services. Labor undertakes to address the underlying factors which act to limit genuine choice and commits to expanding access to sexual and reproductive health care including contraception and termination as well as pregnancy and postnatal care, general health care, affordable housing, child care, education, secure work and financial support, along with medical advice and other support services, to that end.
24. Every Australian deserves the highest quality palliative care. Palliative care reflects the long-held belief that when every reasonable effort to restore health has been exhausted, pain should be relieved, and quality of life should be prioritised. Labor commits to working with the states and territories to ensure excellent palliative care options for all Australians.
25. Every Australian also deserves the highest quality end-of-life care in their final days. This requires a health policy discussion at the State and Territory level to determine whether current end-of-life care practice reflects the community's preferences not only about where they wish to die, but when to die. Labor recognises that some states have legislated in this regard. We also recognise that current Commonwealth legislation acts as an impediment for the territories to legislate in respect to these issues.

Reform: Improving Australia's healthcare system for the future

26. Australia's health system is complex and requires constant improvement to meet new challenges. It must be resourced and ready to cope with the challenges of the future—some of which are predictable, such as the rise in chronic disease and mental ill health, and some of which are unexpected, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. This will require not just investment, but a smarter and more holistic approach to health care provision. Labor will look for opportunities to break down the silos across all levels of the health, aged care and disability systems to improve physical, mental and social health and wellbeing.
27. Labor will work with patients and the health workforce to place the patient at the centre of care. We will create more opportunities for consumers, health care professionals and other key participants to help improve our health care system.
28. Labor will better harness technology to improve the delivery and coordination of care, reduce duplication and ensure better health outcomes for Australians. We believe technology should play a more central role in allowing patients to interact with their health care providers, and Medicare requires reform to properly remunerate best practice. We will also continue to build and integrate the digital health record system while protecting the data and privacy of Australian consumers.
29. Labor will invest in health and medical research and its translation into practice to ensure Australia's entire health system is prepared for current and future challenges. We will support the National Health and Medical Research Council and the Medical Research Future Fund, with a stronger focus on quality, independence and integrity. Labor will enhance Australia's reputation as a world leader in high quality, innovative medical and health research and development. Labor will support research led by First Nations people to improve healthcare outcomes.
30. Labor will enforce the ban on the cloning of human beings.

31. Labor will ensure there is an appropriate supply and distribution of health professionals in all parts of our country, so all Australians get the health care they need where they need it. We will restore a national approach to health workforce planning. Labor will also support the physical and mental health of our health workforce and ensure their personal safety at work is a priority across the entire health system.
32. Labor believes Australians value transparency and accountability in health. We will work to ensure data is reported in a transparent and nationally consistent manner and Australians get the information they need to make informed choices about their health care.
33. Labor has a proud record on HIV. In the 1980s the Hawke Labor Government led the world with its response to the HIV epidemic. That response was underpinned by the enduring principles of partnership, harm reduction and non-partisanship. Disinvestment and policy neglect by the Coalition Government has seen Australia miss its target to eliminate HIV transmission by 2020. Labor commits to the UN Political Declaration on HIV & AIDS and will renew the effort to make HIV history.

Nurturing our children

34. Children are our nation's future and Labor believes families deserve strong backing to nurture and educate the next generation. We will provide targeted financial support and programs that help them raise their children and achieve a good balance between work and family life, including Paid Parental Leave and Dad and Partner Pay.
35. Labor understands that in order to have the best start in life, children need resilient, happy, loving families and communities. We will work to protect children at risk from disadvantage, neglect and abuse. We will seek to reduce the number of Australian children living in poverty.
36. Labor will work in partnership with First Nations people and their organisations to address the unacceptable overrepresentation of First Nations children in Australia's child protection system and ensure children in care maintain contact with their culture, language and community.
37. Labor understands that the first thousand days of a child's life forms the building blocks of their future. Labor will support families at this critical time through place based integrated health, education and family support services. For families that need extra assistance, we will invest in high quality early intervention and family support services.
38. Labor will continue to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse to ensure institutional abuse of children cannot happen on this scale again. This includes implementing the National Redress Scheme in a way that puts the interest of survivors of institutional child sexual abuse first.
39. Australia must respect and understand the experiences of past adoption practices. Labor will work with the states and territories to develop a uniform national system for adoption. These will prioritise the best interests of the child and ensure adequate safeguards against child trafficking.
40. Labor will work to protect children from exposure to inappropriate material over the internet, at home, school and at other public access points.

41. Labor acknowledges the advocacy of survivors of child sexual abuse and will continue to work with survivors and advocates to build community knowledge and support primary prevention. This includes strengthening community awareness of grooming, and how to identify and report it.
42. Organisations that work with children and vulnerable Australians must be held to consistent, harmonized safeguarding standards. For organisations that are registered with any state, territory or Commonwealth regulator, it should be a condition of ongoing registration that they meet these standards.
43. Labor believes all people should be able to access assisted reproductive technology, to adopt, and to enter into lawful surrogacy arrangements in Australia, regardless of relationship status, sex, gender, identity or sexual orientation.

Valuing older Australians

44. Labor believes older Australians should be valued and respected; they also deserve dignity, security and choice as they age. Australia's ageing population is a social and economic asset that should be celebrated, and Labor will develop a positive ageing strategy to benefit our community.
45. Labor values the contribution of grandparents raising grandchildren and the work they do to protect and support vulnerable children. Labor will work with states and territories to make it easier for grandparents to access social security, financial and the other supports to help with the care of their grandchildren.
46. Labor believes that after long lives of working and providing for their families and contributing to their nation, older Australians deserve a fulfilling and secure retirement.
47. Labor created the pension and we have protected it for 100 years. Labor built universal superannuation. We will always ensure Australia's post-retirement income system is strong and sustainable, giving older Australians the financial support and security they deserve.
48. Older Australians in physically demanding jobs, those working in industries in transition, and those experiencing unemployment and underemployment before they are eligible for the Age Pension age are likely to have depleted financial resources going into retirement. Labor will protect their right to a dignified retirement.
49. Labor believes that regardless of age, all Australians make important contributions to our community and our economy. We will remove barriers to those older Australians who choose to continue working and will provide better and more flexible work environments for older Australians, including addressing the growing problem of age discrimination.
50. All Australians deserve to be safe, particularly in their older years. Labor will address the growing prevalence of elder abuse and neglect to keep older Australians free of the fear of physical, psychological, emotional, sexual or financial abuse.

High quality aged care services

51. Labor believes that nobody should be denied access to high quality aged care services. Older Australians must be provided access to safe, person-centred and holistic care that is appropriate to individual needs, whether it is being provided in the community, home or a residential facility.
52. Labor recognises that the Australian aged care system is currently in crisis. Labor acknowledges the work of the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. Labor will work to ensure that the sector is reformed in a coordinated and comprehensive manner, with the principles of quality, safety, dignity and fairness embedded at every level. As such, a Labor government will begin implementation of the recommendations in the Royal Commissions final report within the first term of office.
53. As Australians get older, they should be able to easily navigate and choose the support and care arrangements they want. Labor will work to further ensure older Australians are able to align services with their needs and choices. To make informed choices, older Australians need access to information about the quality, accreditation and regulation of service providers. Labor will ensure that information and data on safety and quality standards of care is made readily available to older Australians and the community. Labor will improve the aged care regulation and accreditation system by ensuring older Australians - whether at home or in residential facilities their families, loved ones and the workforce can safely provide feedback, including in a strong and robust complaintssystem.
54. Aged care funding needs to be sustainable and based on the needs of an ageing population. Labor will work with unions and key stakeholders to implement a model of funding that better addresses the needs of the people it supports, with a focus on improved care quality, mandated minimum staffing, sustainability and transparency. Every dollar spent in aged care should go towards ensuring the provision of high quality and safe care. Labor will ensure financial transparency and accountability across the aged care sector, particularly for taxpayer funds invested in aged careservices.
55. Labor recognises that many older Australians want to live independently in their homes for as long as possible. Labor recognises that the home care system is not currently meeting the needs of older Australians and people are left waiting for care, too often with tragic outcomes. Labor supports the delivery of high-quality home and community care services as and when they are needed by older Australians.
56. Labor will support high-quality aged care services being available in local communities, particularly in rural, regional and remote areas. Labor will make sure that the supply of high-quality aged care services meets current and future demand. Labor will work with local governments providing high-quality home and community care to ensure that these arrangements continue and there are no disruptions to care currently being provided.
57. Labor recognises the invaluable work of the aged care workforce in providing high quality care and support to older Australians. The aged care workforce has been undervalued and under-resourced for too long. Aged care workers deserve to have their skills recognised through appropriate wages and secure employment. Workers deserve to be supported through ongoing, meaningful training and career development. In recognition of our ageing population and the importance of this industry to the nation's future, Labor will invest in aged care as an attractive, stable and well-paid career.

58. Older Australians deserve care that accommodates their clinical, social and emotional needs. Aged care workers, across all occupation groups, must be provided with training and qualifications that equip them to manage specialist and complex care profiles, including dementia, mental health, wound management, and infection control. Labor will ensure providers support their workers to attain qualifications, receive comprehensive training and engage in Continued Professional Development.
59. Labor recognises the direct link between high-quality, safe care and workforce planning practices. Safe staffing levels ensure workers have enough time to provide holistic care, and this improves health and social outcomes for everyone. Labor supports the implementation of recommended staffing models that increase minutes of care across occupation groups, to the best practice standards possible. We will ensure the regulation and accreditation of providers is linked to safe workforce planning practices. Labor will work with industry stakeholders, including unions, to review staffing models and ensure they are regularly revised and adapted as and when care needs increase or change.
60. Labor recognises the role that information and communication technology can play in supporting older Australians to stay connected with loved ones and community, particularly during times where traditional access is not possible.
61. Labor will ensure the provision of culturally appropriate aged care, including strategies that address the particular needs of diverse groups of Australians and First Nations people. Labor will ensure representatives from diverse communities are engaged at every level of reform to the aged care sector, to ensure services provided are appropriate and their needs are met.
62. Labor will help the growing number of Australians living with dementia. We believe dementia should not be considered a normal part of ageing, but rather a terminal condition with major implications for our whole society. We believe that Australians living with dementia should have access to quality care, services and support so they can stay connected to their communities and remain independent for as long as possible. This includes those who experience younger onset dementia. Labor will ensure better understanding and awareness of dementia by the general public so people living with dementia and their families feel less isolated and alone.

Supporting Australians with disability

63. Labor will ensure mainstream community services and facilities will be inclusive and accessible to people with disability and their families. Accessibility improvements to the transport system, such as fully accessible toilet and change facilities along key road and rail routes will further enhance the mobility and social participation of people with disabilities.
64. Labor believes Australians with disability should be assured quality care and support, free of abuse and violence. Labor will stand up for victims of abuse in care.
65. Labor believes that collaboration between people with disability, their families, advocacy groups, the workforce, unions and service providers is essential to the provision of high quality support services that enable people with disability to achieve their goals to participate fully in our society.
66. Labor created the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) – the largest ever reform to Australia’s disability support system – because the old disability system was completely broken. For too long Australia’s disability support systems failed to provide people with disability, their

families and carers with the support they need. We see the NDIS as an important economic as well as social reform that will create jobs and unlock the productive potential of thousands of people with disability and their carers and provide many with a path to independence.

67. In consultation with people with disability, their advocates, and the disability sector, Labor will ensure that assessment processes required to access the NDIS and calculate allocated funds are fair, transparent, and genuinely accessible to people with disability.
68. Labor will ensure the NDIS delivers on its promise to people with disability and will roll out the NDIS in full. As a core business of government, we will ensure the National Disability Insurance Agency (NDIA) is appropriately resourced and supported to deliver choice and controls for participants. We know that the effectiveness of the NDIS also requires ensuring strong links between the NDIS and the full range of government and community services. We will therefore work with the states and territories to ensure the NDIS works effectively with other systems, like health, mental health, education and carer support.
69. Labor will create new types of user-led services to ensure people with disability have choice and control over the services they receive.
70. Labor will work to ensure the NDIS delivers fair remuneration, job security and career development opportunities for the disability sector workforce. Retaining and attracting a qualified and experienced disability sector workforce ensures genuine choice and control for people with disability. Labor believes that decent pay and conditions and access to accredited training and continuing professional development are critical to growing and maintaining the NDIS workforce. Labor believes that NDIS pricing should support fair wages, conditions and job security. Labor will ensure that any worker delivering NDIS funded supports is deemed to be at a minimum covered by their relevant Award. Labor will therefore work with disability services workers and their unions, service providers and people with disability to develop and implement a disability sector workforce strategy to improve sector capacity and maintain and enhance quality standards.
71. Labor will invest in research, evidence, and information to support service innovation, planning and quality, as well as informed choice by NDIS participants. We will ensure that specific services accessible through the NDIS will be decided according to the needs of NDIS participants, as fairly determined by people with disability, their advocates, and the disability sector.
72. The only factor that should determine the level of care someone receives is the level of support they require, not the cause of their injury. Labor will therefore ensure the National Injury Insurance Scheme (NIIS) complements the NDIS. A person-centred NIIS for catastrophic injuries will revolutionise support for people with disability by reducing the large inequities in lifetime care and support that currently exists across Australia. This is critical for a sustainable NDIS.
73. Those who care for sick and older relatives and people with disability and mental illness deserve acknowledgement and support for the job they do and their selfless contribution to Australia. Labor believes that carers should have rights, choices, opportunities and capabilities to participate in economic, social and community life.
74. Labor recognises that carers take on enormous responsibilities often at both a personal and a financial cost. Many carers experience substantial financial hardship, reduced education and employment prospects, lower levels of health and greater levels of anxiety and depression.

75. Carers need effective employment conditions including transition to work when caring responsibilities change. Labor will consult with carers, their representative peak bodies and service providers to identify and overcome impediments, including inflexible working arrangements, to providing financial and practical support for carers in our community.
76. The Disability Support Pension and Carer Payment should remain an essential part of our social safety net for people who need it. Labor will ensure these payments are properly indexed so they keep pace with the cost and standard of living.

A fair social security system

77. Labor believes in a strong, adequate and fair social safety net and that there should not be poverty in a country like Australia. Labor is committed to a social security system that keeps people out of poverty, whether they are unemployed, working age or in retirement.
78. Labor believes that social security is an insurance for us all; a guarantee that as we face difficulty, disability or age, our needs can be met.
79. Labor has a history of structural reforms to protect the living standards of all Australians. Labor introduced the Age Pension in 1908 and unemployment benefits in 1945. Labor understands the randomness of misfortune and will protect our social security system, to make sure it is there for those who need it.
80. The Age Pension is critical to the dignity of senior Australians and Labor will protect it. We will ensure it is there for those who need it, and that it is indexed to keep up with the cost and standard of living – along with the Disability Support Pension, Carer Payment and other pensions. Labor understands that most pensioners live on a fixed income for many years. Labor will work to decrease the cost of living, support access to concessions, and deliver quality affordable healthcare.
81. Labor believes that our social security system should work to keep children and families out of poverty, so they can learn and reach their potential. Furthermore, the system should be reviewed so that its equipped to meet future challenges that will affect work such as technological change.
82. Labor will make sure people who are looking for work get the financial support they need to live a life of dignity through a strong social security system as well as the support they need to find and keep a job. Payments, housing, health, education and employment opportunities should help keep people out of poverty and ensure all Australians have a decent standard of living.
83. Labor in government will not pursue any expansion of the Cashless Debit card or community wide income management without clear evidence of community benefit and informed community consent.
84. Labor will enable people's participation in the economy and community by helping them gain the capacities needed through employment, volunteering, community service and education. Our policies will aim to break the cycle of entrenched and multiple disadvantage in particular areas, reflecting the reality that poverty is often concentrated in certain suburbs and towns – and that it can be overcome through policy choices and partnership with the community and business.

85. Labor recognises that loneliness is a crisis that is affecting too many Australians, and commits to developing and implementing a comprehensive national strategy to address loneliness and social isolation.

Access to affordable housing

86. Labor acknowledges that access to safe and secure housing is a basic human right and believes that housing affordability is one of the biggest issues facing Australians. Home ownership, for many, is out of reach. Many more Australians are also struggling to pay their rent and rates of homelessness are higher than ever before.
87. Home ownership rates are at their lowest level in over 60 years, with first home buyers struggling to save the required deposit to purchase a home. Labor will work with state, territory and local governments and industry and sector stakeholders to assist first homebuyers to purchase their first home and improve housing affordability.
88. There are more Australians renting, and renting for longer, than ever before. This includes students, young people and older Australians living on their own. Labor recognises the significance of Commonwealth Rent Assistance to help support people on low incomes renting in the private rental market. Labor will work with the states, territory and local governments and industry stakeholders to help Australians who rent to have access to more secure, affordable, quality, long term housing.
89. In Australia there are more people experiencing homelessness than ever before, particularly among women and children experiencing domestic violence, young people, LGBTIQ+ people, older women, veterans and Indigenous Australians. Labor will work with the state, territory and local governments, local organisations and the private sector to reduce homelessness and support people experiencing or at risk of homelessness.
90. Labor recognises that the responsibility of funding the construction and repair of social housing, including both public and community housing, is the shared responsibility of the Commonwealth and State and Territory Governments. Labor also recognises the profound economic and social benefit of investing in social housing. Labor will work with state, territory and local governments to improve access to public, community, and affordable housing. Acknowledging that improved housing is needed to close the gap, Labor will also address the issue of inadequate housing and overcrowding among communities of First Nations people.

Support for the community sector

91. Strong communities are fundamental to Labor's egalitarian project. We believe in the value of mass membership organisations – from trade unions, to communities of faith and local sporting clubs – in promoting community cohesion and building bridges across diverse groups. Labor recognises the social benefits of volunteering, philanthropy and civic activism.
92. Labor will protect the right of charities and non-profits to advocate on public policy issues, recognising that their voices enrich the democratic conversation. To ensure charities and non-profits operate as effectively as possible, we will work with the sector to modernise regulations and remove duplicate reporting requirements.
93. Labor recognises that a fair and equal society depends on rich connections within and between community units. Just as loneliness stops individuals realising their potential and living fulfilling

lives, communities with weak social bonds are less healthy and less productive than they could be.

94. Community sector organisations play a vital role in supporting the vulnerable. Labor believes in a respectful partnership between the government and the non-profit sector. Labor will work with the community sector to establish a model of funding which better addresses the needs and interests of people they support and the local communities in which they work. This should include a focus on accessibility, sustainability, collaboration and the importance of early intervention.
95. Labor recognises that community led organisations have been an essential part of delivering services and building community capacity. Labor will prioritise funding for specialist services, including specialist services delivered by women's, LGBTIQ, First Nations, disability and CALD groups.
96. Labor recognises the role of communities of faith in supporting the community both formally in service delivery and informally through pastoral care. Ours is a pluralist democracy and we believe that the care in the community offered, often through volunteers, formally and informally, is an expression of people's faith. We commit to working with faith communities and others who give so much social and spiritual support to Australians.
97. Labor recognises that non-profit organisations are always better positioned than for-profit corporations to provide these crucial frontline support services. In the procurement of human services, Labor will remove the practice of competing on labour costs by ensuring tenders and grant programs are sufficient and appropriately funded to provide for adequate and safe staffing levels, and fair and reasonable wages and conditions.

Humane animal welfare

98. All animals should be treated humanely. Labor will work to achieve better animal welfare and consistent application and enforcement of animal protection statutes by harmonising relevant federal, state and territory laws and codes.

Fair and equal government services

99. Labor believes that human service delivery should be defined by fair and equal government services for all citizens. The design of government services should place people at the centre. We will embrace new technologies to provide convenient, more efficient and more effective delivery of services and support these with access to face to face services and in person support where people need and want this. Technology in service delivery will always be used with appropriate levels of checking and meaningful human oversight. We will never use technology to override the rights of individuals.

CHAPTER 5: AN EQUAL AND INCLUSIVE NATION

1. Labor believes that all people are entitled to respect, equality, dignity and the opportunity to participate in the social, cultural and economic life of our nation free of hatred or harassment.
2. Labor was instrumental in the creation and adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948, which recognises that human rights are to be enjoyed by all people, no matter who they are or where they live. These include civil and political rights, like the right to life, liberty, free speech and privacy as well as economic, social, religious and cultural rights, including the right to social security, health and education.
3. Labor's commitment to defending and advancing the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration – both at home and abroad – is undiminished. That commitment is central to what Labor stands for and what Labor has always stood for.
4. By protecting and promoting human rights, Labor will ensure that all Australians are able to participate fully in our democracy, our economy and our society. This will make us a stronger nation, a richer nation and a fairer nation.
5. Labor will review the Human Rights Framework established by previous Labor governments and consider whether it could be enhanced through a statutory charter of human rights or other similar instrument.
6. Labor will promote public awareness and understanding of human rights and strongly supports the work of the Australian Human Rights Commission. Labor recognises the equal status in international law of all human rights. Labor will adhere to Australia's international human rights obligations and seek to incorporate them into Australia's laws and administrative decision-making.

Equality for First Nations People

7. Labor acknowledges Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the Nations First Peoples and will uphold their inalienable right to self-determination and inherent right to maintain language, cultural lore and practices and connection to, and custodianship of their traditional lands, seas and water ways.
8. Labor is committed to reconciliation, truth-telling, the empowerment of First Nations people and to self-determination. These principles will guide and underpin Labor policies and programs. Labor supports all elements of the Uluru Statement from the Heart, including a constitutionally enshrined Voice to Parliament, a Makarrata Commission for agreement making and a national process of truth telling.
9. Labor acknowledges the profound impact colonisation and racism has on First Nations people. We recognise that First Nations people experience particular unacceptable disadvantage as a consequence of injustice both historical and continuing, compared to other Australians. Labor will work in partnership with First Nations people to achieve the change they aspire to, including Closing the Gap on First Nations people's disadvantage. This commitment is underpinned by Labor's support for the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which includes the right to self-determination.

10. Labor believes Treaty is needed to reconcile the truth of Australia's past with our future. A Labor Government will start the process of Treaty or treaties, recognising the importance of all parties being treaty-ready and treaty processes being pursued by states and territories.
11. Labor acknowledges the historic injustices of the past committed against First Nations people and the need for the truthful telling of Australia's history and a Makarrata Commission as part of the journey towards reconciliation. This includes the teaching of the history and culture of First Nations people and their contribution to the Australian story, as well as acknowledging events of national significance. Labor will advocate for returning to their traditional owners, remains, artefacts and other items of cultural significance to First Nations people, which are currently held by foreign countries.
12. Labor recognises that acknowledgement of First Nations people as traditional owners and continuing custodians of country is an important mark of respect and reconciliation at appropriate events, including at the opening of the Federal Parliament. Labor believes that reconciliation is an important vehicle for healing and justice in Australian society and Labor will continue to work with First Nations people to implement Labor's Reconciliation Action Plan, and to further treaty processes.
13. A Labor Government's policies will not be discriminatory and will ensure policies and service delivery focus strongly on meeting the needs and supporting the aspirations of First Nations people.
14. In recognition of the centrality of land and water to First Nations people's spirituality, law, culture, economy and wellbeing, Labor supports land rights and Native Title as property rights under Australian law and will work to accelerate the resolution of outstanding land and Native Title claims in partnership with other stakeholders. Labor will work with First Nations people and organisations on reforms to address unfairness in Native Title agreement making.
15. Labor supports the statutory recognition of inalienable freehold title under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976.
16. Labor believes that First Nations people have a right to live on their traditional lands. We will provide essential services to remote communities that are relevant to local circumstances. Labor will focus on achieving the direct participation of First Nations people's communities through consultations, negotiations, partnerships, and the facilitation of the devolution of decision making at regional and local levels.
17. Labor believes that the cultures and languages of First Nations people enrich the nation and are integral to our national identity. Strong cultural identity is essential to the health, social and emotional wellbeing of First Nations people. Labor supports initiatives to strengthen the rich and diverse cultural practices, knowledge systems and cultural expressions of First Nations people.
18. Labor recognises the importance of community control and direct involvement of First Nations people in the planning and delivery of programs and services. Labor will invest in community controlled First Nations people organisations to deliver the services First Nations people want and need.

19. Labor is committed to closing the Gap and to the investments and programs that are required to deliver that change. Labor regards closing the gap in life expectancy, employment, justice, health and education outcomes between First Nations people and other Australians as a national priority. We believe self-determination is fundamental to being able to achieve this. In recognition of higher rates of social disadvantage and additional needs, Labor will work in partnership with First Nations people to:
- a. improve culturally safe supports for families with a focus on the early years;
 - b. reduce violence against women and children, and in communities generally;
 - c. improve child safety by supporting programs that will help reduce the unacceptable number of First Nations children in the child protection system, ensuring children in care maintain contact with their culture, language and community including providing cultural support for all carers;
 - d. support policies like justice reinvestment to reduce high rates of incarceration for First Nations people and provide federal leadership to prevent and ensure accountability for deaths in custody;
 - e. address the inadequacy of health services for First Nations people through a comprehensive approach that goes beyond health services to include cultural wellbeing and connection to the land, education, environmental health and employment and training opportunities;
 - f. lift school engagement rates and educational results;
 - g. improve job readiness, along with economic, employment and business opportunities for First Nations people including by actively using government procurement policies;
 - h. replace the Community Development Program and ensure that people receive real wages, and that communities have more control;
 - i. ensure the Commonwealth invests adequately in housing, including remote housing;
 - j. enable and empower First Nations people to realise the economic potential of Native Title and First Nations people land; and
 - k. support First Nations people's participation in sport.
20. Labor delivered the Apology to Australia's First Nations people, in particular the Stolen Generations. Labor will work in partnership with the Stolen Generations and family members who continue to be affected by that legacy to comprehensively respond to their needs as a distinct group. We support the Healing Foundation and its work to aid healing in the communities of First Nations people.
21. Labor was the first Australian political party to develop a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP). Labor will continue to implement its RAP as endorsed at the 2018 National Conference and work towards developing future RAPs.

Gender equality and women's rights

22. Labor has a proud legacy of advancing women's rights and a long-held commitment to gender equality. We know that much remains to be done to eliminate discrimination, harassment and abuse including bonded labour and trafficking, and to achieve equality.

23. Labor recognises that achieving gender equality will require enduring commitment from government, working in partnership with business and the community to close the gender pay gap, reduce violence against women, reach equal representation in public, private and community sector leadership, and improve health and wellbeing. We believe that achieving gender equality will make a major contribution to our nation's social wellbeing and economic prosperity.
24. Enabling workforce participation is key to gender equality through creating good flexible jobs for women, better valuing feminised occupations, facilitating more women entering traditional male occupations and improving childcare access and affordability.
25. Labor will promote and support women's leadership in Australia's parliaments, governments, senior levels in the public and private sectors and in communities throughout Australia to ensure the equal participation of men and women in decision-making processes.
26. Labor will introduce a national Gender Equality Strategy to guide whole of government efforts to achieve gender equality. The Strategy will:
 - a. recognise that achieving gender equality is central a central objective of any Labor government;
 - b. recognise that achieving gender equality is necessary to preventing violence against women;
 - c. guide how we consider the impacts that policy and budget decisions have on Australian women; and
 - d. reflect the different experiences and needs of First Nations women, women from culturally diverse backgrounds, women with disabilities, rural women, older women, young women and girls, and LGBTIQ people.
27. Labor believes that addressing violence against women and their children must be a national priority that requires a partnership between all Australians.
28. The prevalence of family violence in Australia is a national shame. Labor believes government has a responsibility to properly resource evidence-based programs that prevent family and gendered violence, support women and children to be safe, and change behaviour. Systems of justice, social security, housing and industrial relations must work better to support women experiencing family violence. The next Labor government will invest in preventing and responding to family violence in partnership with LGBTIQ people, First Nations people, people from CALD communities, people with disability, and people living in remote, regional and rural areas, as well as faith and community groups.
29. Labor believes that forced marriage is a human rights abuse which disproportionately affects young women and children. We will act to prevent this practice from occurring.

Equality for LGBTIQ+ Australians

30. Labor believes lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender; intersex and queer (LGBTIQ) Australians deserve the same human rights, equality, respect and safety as every other Australian.

31. Labor will work closely with LGBTIQ Australians and advocates to develop policy that will:
 - a. ensure they enjoy equality before the law and have access to public services without discrimination;
 - b. strengthen laws and expand initiatives against discrimination, vilification and harassment on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or sex characteristics;
 - c. support inclusive aged care options for older LGBTIQ people;
 - d. expand integrated advice, health and support services available to LGBTIQ Australians, including to those with particular needs, those who are young, those who are First Nations people, those from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, and those living in rural, regional and remote Australia;
 - e. support intersex-led organisations to provide support to intersex persons and their families, and advocate on intersex issues; and
 - f. review documentation requirements, including the use of passports and birth certificates, as they affect transgender and intersex people, to ensure that male, female and non-binary identity can be affirmed without discrimination.
32. Labor will ensure schools are welcoming and supportive environments for all. We will support initiatives, as selected by schools, that promote understanding, inclusion and respect for every student.
33. Labor opposes "reparative" or "gay conversion" therapies. Labor will work with advocates, survivors and professional bodies to ensure that these discredited and damaging practices are prohibited and to promote justice for those harmed by such practices.
34. Labor will promote resolutions to support human rights protections for LGBTIQ people at the Human Rights Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations as well as other international bodies.

Equity for Disabled People

35. People with disability have the same rights as all Australians and Labor believes that governments should help remove barriers to the full exercise of those rights to enable people with disability to participate fully in society and exercise full choice and control over their lives.
36. Labor recognises the National Disability Strategy is the key avenue for Australia to implement its obligations under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. We will act on the National Disability Strategy's priority areas to improve the lives of people with disability, their families and carers.
37. Labor recognises the right of people with disability to work in an accessible workplace, on equal footing with their peers. Labor understands the benefits of a diverse workforce including people with disability, and will work to improve job opportunities, job readiness, and support in employment.

A multicultural nation

38. Modern Australia has been built through our multiculturalism - its greatest achievement. Labor is the party for, and of, multiculturalism. Labor is determined to ensure that the benefits of our

diversity are fully realised, so that no individual is held back and that our society and economy fulfil their potential. This requires consistent political leadership in support of multiculturalism, greater engagement with the full diversity of culturally, religiously and linguistically diverse Australians, and a commitment to secure inclusive institutions to ensure no-one is left behind.

39. Labor is committed to standing up for multiculturalism and culturally and linguistically diverse Australians, through policies which:
 - a. work with communities to ensure that the diversity of Australians is both measured and reflected in social, economic and political participation. In particular, to ensure that our institutions reflect the society they serve and shape, and to support and encourage the participation and candidacy of culturally and linguistically diverse Australians across all levels of government;
 - b. ensure our democratic institutions are truly representative by reflecting Australia's cultural diversity;
 - c. remove barriers to recent migrants' participation in our economy and society, and ensure government services redirect the needs of all Australians;
 - d. keep our migration policies non-discriminatory;
 - e. respect the heritage and traditional customs of migrants and their children;
 - f. continue the family reunion program;
 - g. encourage broad engagement with and respect for the principles underlying Australia's citizenship – Australia's democratic beliefs and laws, and the rights and responsibilities of Australian citizenship, to foster active citizenship for all Australians, in particular recent migrants;
 - h. ensure migrants, including refugees, are not economically exploited and have full access to the relevant workplace rights and protections; and
 - i. recognise the ongoing benefits of cultural diversity to all Australians, and the role of government, working with community, in building an inclusive society.
40. Labor is very concerned by the rise of racism and of the forces of division and will continue to oppose those who foster extremism, hatred, ethnic division or incitement to violence. Labor will combat racism with a zero-tolerance approach.
41. Australian citizenship is a crucial part of recognising and encouraging participation in the Australian community. Labor will continue to encourage all permanent residents to become Australian citizens. Labor will remove unnecessary and unintended barriers to citizenship, providing a clear and efficient pathway to citizenship, particularly for vulnerable groups of migrants and permanent protection visa holders, and prioritise the processing of applications by families, partners and children to ensure families are kept together.

A better future for young people

42. Labor will support young Australians to reach their full potential. By investing in their education, training, health and employment, Labor will equip young Australians to successfully negotiate the many challenges, opportunities and transitions that life in our nation offers.
43. Labor will develop a national approach to children and the law, which will:

- a. recognise the best interests and wellbeing of the child as a primary consideration;
 - b. set standards for court procedures where children are involved as witnesses, victims or offenders;
 - c. set standards for support, counselling and rehabilitation services for child victims and offenders within the criminal justice system;
 - d. support research into the causes of juvenile crime;
 - e. continue to support the work of the National Children’s Commissioner; and
 - f. work to harmonise and improve the child protection laws and systems of the federal, state and territory jurisdictions.
44. Labor recognises that young people are concerned about the future of our country and the world. Labor believes that Australia needs better representation of the voices of young people in our national debates and policy development. Labor will promote the involvement of young Australians in decision-making processes and encourage the candidacy of young people across all levels of government.

Freedom of thought, conscience and religion

45. Labor will protect and promote the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion in accordance with Australia’s international obligations, including our obligations under Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
46. Labor recognises that the freedom to have or adopt a religion or belief, to change a religion or belief, or not to have or adopt a religion or belief, is absolute. Moreover, Labor believes in and supports the right of all Australians to have and to manifest their religion or beliefs, and the right of religious organisations to act in accordance with the doctrines, tenets, beliefs or teachings of their faith. Such rights should be protected by law and, in accordance with Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, subject only to such limitations as are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.
47. Labor believes that people of faith deserve the same human rights, equality, respect and safety as every other Australian. No Australian should ever be vilified, discriminated against or subjected to violence or threats of violence because of that person’s religion or religious belief. Labor will therefore ensure that Australia’s anti-vilification laws are fit for purpose.

Labor’s opposition to discrimination

48. All Australians should be able to go about their lives free from discrimination. Labor is the primary architect of the anti-discrimination law framework in Australia. We will continue to defend and enhance that framework to ensure that it is fit for purpose, accessible and promotes equality.

49. Labor will simplify and harmonise federal anti-discrimination laws by consolidating them into a single piece of legislation. This will include a review of existing exemptions to ensure that they do not place Australians in a position where they cannot access essential social services.
50. Labor believes it should continue to be unlawful to discriminate against any person on the basis of age, disability, race, religion, sex, gender identity, sex characteristics and sexual orientation.
51. Labor recognises that discrimination is often multi-layered, with people experiencing discrimination on the basis of a number of intersecting attributes, and will work to ensure that federal anti-discrimination laws and programs properly address this.
52. Labor believes that, regardless of age, all Australians should have the opportunity to contribute to our community and our economy. We will support the work of the Age Discrimination Commissioner to address the growing problem of age discrimination by removing barriers to older Australians participating in the workforce and providing better and more flexible work environments.
53. Labor will continue to support a strong, independent Disability Discrimination Commissioner to advocate for people with disability affected by discrimination, and to proactively engage the community in understanding and contributing to improving the human rights of people with disability.

CHAPTER 6: STRENGTHENING AUSTRALIAN DEMOCRACY

Strong democratic and public institutions

1. Labor believes that the health of Australia's democratic and public institutions underpins the strength of our nation, because these institutions enable us to take effective and united action in the pursuit of our shared values and national aspirations.
2. Labor is therefore committed to protecting and strengthening these institutions, which empower our nation to:
 - a. effectively debate and resolve issues of national importance;
 - b. make and uphold laws to improve the lives of Australians;
 - c. address exclusion and disadvantage, particularly among First Nations people;
 - d. hold free and fair elections;
 - e. resolve disputes in our community peacefully; and
 - f. deliver essential services to all Australians.
3. Labor will work towards increasing the engagement of young people in Australian democracy, through strengthening civics education in schools by:
 - a. making the teaching of history and active citizenship compulsory in years 9 and 10, and ensuring that it is conducted by appropriately trained teachers;
 - b. investigating the appropriate amount of time to be dedicated to civics and citizenship education to at least 30 hours per year;
 - c. reviewing the way in which civics and citizenship module of education are taught in Australian National Curriculum, with the aim of redesigning it to make it more engaging for students; and
 - d. ensuring the module includes content about First Nations history, and issues of civics and citizenship for Indigenous Australians.
4. Labor will work towards increasing the engagement of citizens with the Australian Federal Parliament, especially through strengthening the parliamentary committee system. Committee inquiries shine a light on the performance of government, draw on ideas and creativity from across our society, and bring the public into the work of the Parliament.
5. Labor will establish a Parliamentary Office of Science, modelled on the United Kingdom's Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, to provide independent, impartial scientific advice, evidence and data to the Parliament, and all Members and Senators.
6. The corruption, deceit and ever-growing culture of secrecy that are degrading our democracy must end. A Labor government will listen to the Australian people, respect the truth and show strong moral and ethical leadership.
7. Labor will make government open and accountable, and will have no tolerance for corruption. Labor will:

- a. establish a powerful, independent and transparent National Integrity Commission as part of a broad national anti-corruption plan;
 - b. improve whistle-blower protections for the public sector and extend them to the private sector;
 - c. strengthen freedom of information laws and foster compliance throughout the government;
 - d. ensure that the Australian National Audit Office is appropriately resourced to carry out its important role providing performance audits and other independent oversight of Australian Government expenditure;
 - e. enforce the Code of Conduct for ministers and their staff to ensure they uphold clear standards relating to their behaviour; and
 - f. at all times, uphold and defend the rule of law.
8. Labor will always protect Australia's democratic processes and institutions from foreign interference.

Modernising the Australian Constitution

9. Labor believes that the Constitution is a living document which should be amended to reflect contemporary Australia and to embody enduring Australian values. Labor will put important and long-sought-after constitutional reforms on the national agenda.
10. Labor supports the Recognition of First Nations peoples in the Australian Constitution, including an enshrined voice to the Parliament, as outlined in the Uluru Statement from the Heart. In partnership with First Nations people, Labor will develop a concrete proposal for constitutional recognition which has the broad support of the First Nations people and fosters public support for change.
11. Labor supports and will work toward establishing an Australian republic with an Australian head of state.
12. Labor supports recognising local government in the Australian Constitution.
13. Labor believes that other constitutional reforms, such as fixed, four-year terms for the House of Representatives and the Senate and the recognition of local government in the Australian Constitution, should be progressed through a new and independent Australian Constitutional Commission.
14. An Australian Constitutional Commission would work with the Australian people and government to ensure that our Constitution remains relevant to the lives, values and aspirations of our nation and our people.

A modern Federation

15. Labor will work with state, territory and local governments to modernise our federation to improve the delivery of vital services, including health, education, transport, water and emergency services.

16. Many issues facing Australia can only be addressed through cooperation at a national, state and local level. For that reason, Labor believes that a modern Australian federation is one in which all three tiers of government work together to serve the interests of the Australian community.
17. Labor sees local government as a vital tier of Australian democracy. We will work in partnership with local government to create services and build infrastructure that will deliver benefits and opportunities to local communities. Local government needs a secure economic base. Labor will:
 - a. provide long-term funding certainty;
 - b. provide funding through the ongoing Financial Assistance Grants and index these appropriately;
 - c. support funding for local government maintained roads and participate in a range of programs to provide direct funding to local government;
 - d. establish a mechanism to consult directly with local government to ensure it has strong and direct relationship with federal government;
 - e. ensure local government has a voice within Infrastructure Australia and in Regional Development;
 - f. work with local government to improve their efficiency and financial sustainability; and
 - g. work with local, state and territory governments through National Cabinet to improve the financial sustainability of local government.

A public sector working for Australians

18. Labor believes a strong Australian Public Service (APS) is necessary to protect the national interest and create a better society. Labor recognises the essential role of the APS in designing and delivering services for the public good and in developing policy solutions to the challenges the nation faces both now and into the future. We will ensure the APS is properly resourced to deliver services to the Australian people in an efficient and responsive way.
19. After years of cuts and outsourcing from the Liberal National government, Labor will rebuild the capability and capacity of the public service to deliver better outcomes for the community.
20. As a model employer the APS will provide secure and fairly remunerated jobs, trade union engagement, flexible working conditions and opportunities for advancement for its employees, including through continuous education.
21. A strong APS relies on the diversity of its employees. We will provide employment and promotion opportunities in the APS for people with diverse backgrounds, including in relation to First Australians and people with a disability.
22. The APS will be subject to rigorous and democratic oversight by the Parliament, the Auditor-General, the Commonwealth Ombudsman, the Australian Public Service Commission and other relevant bodies including independent and apolitical administrative review of its actions.

An electoral system we can all trust

23. Labor will strengthen and enhance the integrity of Australia’s electoral system through overdue campaign financing reform and by removing barriers to participation in democratic processes for all Australians.
24. We will minimise the disproportionate influence of vested interests in the democratic process by supporting an effective and practical public funding system of elections and limiting the level of federal campaign expenditure, through the introduction of spending caps.
25. Labor will introduce truth in political advertising laws which will further enhance the transparency of our electoral processes and improve the integrity of the electoral system.
26. Labor respects the independence of the Australian Electoral Commission and will give it the powers and resources it needs to ensure the integrity of the electoral system—including the creation of a single national electoral roll capable of serving the needs of states and territories.
27. Labor will protect the Australian electoral process from foreign and domestic interference and ensure that all claims of electoral malpractice are investigated.
28. A strong democracy depends on all citizens being able to participate equally. It is not enough that Australia has compulsory voting, we must also endeavour to ensure voting is accessible to all through easy access to enrolment and to voting in person, pre-poll and by post.
29. Labor believes in the democratic value of one vote one value and will continue to advance steps to ensure all citizens are fairly represented regardless of where they live.
30. Labor will review the current rule about the voting rights of Australians living abroad, recognising that they may retain strong links with Australia, including with family whose rights to income, education, environment protection and so on will continue to be of importance to parents wherever they are. Further, Australians overseas are still affected by policy at home to do with pensions, superannuation, tax, and other issues.

Healthy public debate

31. In an era when media diversity, media freedom and quality public interest journalism and local news are under threat around the world, Labor will ensure Australians have access to a strong, healthy, diverse and independent media operating in the public interest. We will:
 - a. properly fund and support the independence of Australia’s national broadcasters, the ABC and SBS by –
 - i. maintaining the ABC and SBS as separate individual broadcasters;
 - ii. maintaining the ban on ABC advertising and sponsorship;
 - iii. opposing the privatisation of the ABC and SBS;
 - iv. ensuring board members of the ABC and SBS are chosen through a rigorous and independent process; and
 - v. maintaining a staff-elected member on the ABC Board;
 - b. support and fund community broadcasting;

- c. apply appropriate mechanisms to support Australian content;
 - d. ensure advertising is properly regulated and reflects community standards;
 - e. ensure Australians will continue to enjoy free coverage of events of national and cultural significance, including sporting events; and
 - f. ensure the Australian Communications and Media Authority has sufficient resources and regulatory powers to do its job.
32. Labor will ensure Australian charities and not-for-profit organisations are able to participate in public debate, in accordance with charities law, and remove politically motivated ‘gag clauses’ or restrictions that inhibit their ability to collaborate with Australian or international partners.
33. Labor believes all Australians have the right to exercise their freedom of speech in a manner that respects the individual and collective rights enjoyed by other Australians and allows others to live in dignity, and free from violence or the threat of violence. To this end, Labor will oppose any attempt to weaken the longstanding protections against hate speech in the Racial Discrimination Act.
34. Labor will provide a strong regulatory framework to protect people’s right to privacy and ensure the security of their personal information, whether held in the public sector, not-for-profit sector or the private sector, on paper or in digital form.

Justice for all

35. Access to justice is essential to the rule of law and integral to the enjoyment of basic human rights to which all Australians, and all people in Australia’s care, are entitled. Labor will ensure our justice system is fair, simple, affordable and accessible. To this end, Labor will work with states and territories to ensure legal assistance services, including legal aid commissions, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services, Family Violence Prevention Legal Services, and Community Legal Centres are properly resourced.
36. Labor embraces the rule of law and endorses the basic principles of justice. These principles include that:
- a. people accused of a criminal offence are not compelled to incriminate themselves;
 - b. people are not subject to prolonged detention without charge;
 - c. persons charged with a criminal offence are presumed innocent until proved guilty before an independent court;
 - d. charged persons are tried without undue delay;
 - e. accused persons are given a fair trial;
 - f. people charged with serious criminal offences are provided with legal representation if they are unable to afford legal representation of their own;
 - g. people shall not be found guilty of any crime, the elements of which did not constitute a crime at the time of its commission;
 - h. people convicted of a criminal offence shall have the right to appeal against conviction;
 - i. evidence obtained illegally, by torture, coercive techniques or by improper investigative practice is inadmissible; and

- j. civil and criminal trials should take place before independent courts open to the public, with suppression and non-publication orders only to be made in exceptional circumstances.
37. Labor believes that these principles apply to all Australians equally, and we will work to ensure that this is the case for those who have been marginalised by the justice system, including First Australians, women and young offenders. Labor will be a leader in tackling recidivism and to help deliver nationally consistent approaches to fair and equitable justice for our most vulnerable Australians. Our system of justice should:
 - a. provide security for all Australians;
 - b. protect property;
 - c. deter, punish and prevent crime;
 - d. compensate victims; and
 - e. rehabilitate offenders.
 38. Labor is committed to protecting and upholding the right of the legal assistance sector to advocate policy and law reform to remedy systemic issues and to improve the justice system.
 39. Labor believes that access to justice is strengthened by ensuring that class actions are available to members of a group who have an essentially common cause of action.
 40. A Labor Government will work closely with State and Territory governments to review the age of criminal responsibility, paying regard to current international standards, and what is best for children, for families, and for the communities in which they live.
 41. Labor will support effective early intervention programs which assist disadvantaged communities.
 42. Labor will ensure the Commonwealth's investigation, prosecution, defence and judicial processes are separate, independent, properly resourced and accountable.
 43. Labor will always respect the independence of the judiciary, which is fundamental to the rule of law and our democratic society.
 44. Labor will ensure judicial and tribunal appointments are made through a transparent and merit-based process in which all those eligible for appointment to judicial office have the opportunity to be fairly and properly considered.
 45. Sentencing should achieve deterrence, punishment, and rehabilitation. Labor supports the just and humane treatment of accused people in custody and offenders in prison. To this end, we will comply with Australia's international human rights obligations in relation to the treatment of prisoners.
 46. Labor will provide federal leadership to end high rates of incarceration and deaths in custody of First Nations people, including facilitating collaboration between relevant federal and state agencies, supporting policies of justice reinvestment, and ensuring sustainable funding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services.

47. Labor supports the appropriate use of noncustodial sentencing options for all offenders. This principle is particularly important for young people, people with mental illness, people with cognitive impairment, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, women, and people convicted of minor offences and every effort should be made to divert children from long-term involvement in the criminal justice system. Labor will take all reasonable steps to ensure minors are not incarcerated in adult prisons. A Labor Government will work closely with State and Territory governments to review the age of criminal responsibility, paying regard to current international standards, and what is best for children, for families, and for the communities in which they live.
48. Labor opposes mandatory sentencing. In substituting the decisions of politicians for those of judges, mandatory sentencing undermines the independence of the judiciary. It leads to unjust outcomes and is often discriminatory in practice. Mandatory sentencing does not reduce crime, and leads to perverse consequences that undermine community safety, such as by making it more difficult to successfully prosecute criminals.
49. Law reform is an ongoing process in a healthy society, and we will continue to reform laws and our legal system to reflect the traditions, values and aspirations of all Australians, and meet the needs of our modern democratic society.
50. Labor will:
 - a. recognise that health care is a human right, everyone is entitled to fair and equal health care, including those in the criminal justice system so ensure that every individual in the corrections system is granted access to Medicare;
 - b. improve the screening and treatment capacity of forensic services through better linkages and support from Medicare; and
 - c. require the NDIA to work with state and territory corrections systems to develop a basic functional assessment for every prisoner on admission to ensure that those with a disability are able to access the NDIS in order to get the additional supports they need whilst in prison and to transition successfully back into the community once their sentence is complete.

Family law that is fair

51. Labor will restore Australia's long-neglected family law system so that it is once again properly resourced, simpler to use and delivers justice and fairness for Australian families. When Labor enacted the *Family Law Act* in 1975, we established a family law system that was admired around the world. Under a Labor government, we will again have a system which is effective, accessible and fair. Australian families need a specialised and superior federal court to deal with family law matters, and in government Labor will ensure that need is met.
52. Labor will ensure that the best interests of children will always be the paramount consideration in resolving family law disputes.
53. Labor will ensure that family courts and family law services protect those at risk of family violence, and that they are able to address the particular needs, customs and practices of Australia's diverse cultures.

54. Labor will ensure that community-based services such as counselling and family dispute resolution services are accessible, affordable and equipped to resolve entrenched disputes fairly and efficiently so that litigation is always a last resort.
55. Labor will promote and defend the continued existence of the Family Court of Australia, operating as a specialised and superior federal court for Australian families.

CHAPTER 7: AUSTRALIA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

Renewing Australia's foreign policy traditions

1. We live in a time of considerable global strategic change, including in our region. Labor has successfully led Australia in such times in the past. Labor's approach will be grounded in our belief in our country and our determination to safeguard its people, its values and its sovereignty. Labor will protect and promote Australia's national interests and values in a time of change. We will build on the foreign policy and defence traditions that have underpinned Australia's relations with our region and the world. Under Labor, Australia will be an enduring ally, a constructive regional partner and a responsible international citizen. Our approach to international affairs will be guided by our interests: national security, economic prosperity, regional stability and co-operation, and adherence to the rules based international order. It will be informed by our values: our belief in democracy, liberty, the rule of law and human rights. It will reflect our identity: an independent, inclusive and diverse nation confident of our place in the world, drawing strength and pride from the waves of immigrants and from our First Nations people.
2. Labor's foreign policy and national security policy recognises the rapidly changing realities of the global order, including in the Indo-Pacific region. Newly competitive power relationships are challenging traditional security settings and the rules-based global order. Unresolved territorial disputes and pre-emptive claims to oceanic features are giving rise to potential flashpoints in our region. Growing military capability in Asia is increasing the potential for regional conflicts. The rise of extremists in the Middle East and Africa, and the export to our region of their perverse ideology, is threatening Australia's and the region's security and potential prosperity.
3. Labor will give particular attention to renewing those areas of foreign policy that contribute most effectively to strengthening national security. This approach recognises that today's global problems require political solutions and the cost effectiveness of peaceful conflict resolution, wherever it is possible. Labor will reverse the Coalition's policies of eroding Australia's diplomatic capacity, which have left Australia with weaker overseas representation than any other G20 country. Labor will steadily improve the financing, staffing and expertise of Australia's diplomats, enabling stronger approaches to conflict prevention, peacebuilding and multilateral participation.

Defenders of Australia's sovereignty

4. Labor will ensure our defence forces, security agencies, police and emergency services are always appropriately resourced and given the necessary powers to respond to defend Australia's sovereignty. Labor will work closely with our neighbours, international allies and international institutions to meet the security challenges posed by terrorism including right-wing extremism and the rising risks of cyber-attack, economic coercion, and foreign political and social interference.
5. Labor will always work responsibly and constructively to improve our national security laws and to ensure our security agencies and police can employ the powers they already have, and can acquire such additional powers they may need to meet the changing national security threats we face as a nation. Labor will ensure those powers are consistent with the long-standing values and hard-won liberties that help to define Australia as a democratic nation that always upholds the freedom and privacy of its citizens. Labor will enhance existing mechanisms to ensure parliamentary and statutory oversight of intelligence agencies is commensurate with their

increasing responsibilities and powers. Powers exercised by security agencies which impinge on the fundamental rights of citizens should wherever possible be authorised by warrant and reviewable by a court.

6. Labor's protection of the Australian people will begin with an uncompromising attitude towards border security. Labor will fund and maintain robust border security measures that support the orderly processing of migration to our country and protect our national interest and our national borders.
7. Labor will ensure Australia's capabilities to combat cyber security threats are up to date and that our laws are suitably flexible and able to respond to evolving threats.

An enduring friend and ally

8. Labor will strengthen Australia's external relations and diplomatic efforts, taking advantage of the cultural and inter-personal relationships made possible by our large immigrant population.
9. Under Labor, the United States will remain our closest security ally, formalised through the ANZUS Treaty. Labor will strengthen Australia's close relationship with the US, reflecting our two nations' common democratic values, respect for the rule of law and mutual commitment to international peace and security. We acknowledge the US Alliance for its vital importance to Australia's national security requirements and the United States' long-term role in underpinning broader stability in our region.
10. Recognising that Labor's foreign policy will be informed by our belief in democracy, liberty, the rule of law and human rights, a future Labor government will work with likeminded democratic nations to uphold and defend democracy, including through a Global Summit of Democratic Nations.
11. Labor values Australia's friendship and partnership with India and Japan as fellow democracies. India's growing leadership role in the Indo-Pacific region and the world is valued and will be supported by a Labor government. Labor will continue to strengthen Australia's engagement with India and Japan and build on opportunities to advance our shared interests.
12. Labor believes that China is, and will continue to be, of great importance to Australia, to our region and to the world. It is in both our countries' interests to have a productive relationship, even when there are differences or disagreement. We must engage effectively with China while always standing up for our democratic values, including human rights, as well as advancing our national interests and safeguarding our sovereignty.
13. Labor seeks to strengthen economic, security, social, cultural and educational ties with countries including Japan, Korea, India and Indonesia based on mutual respect and a sense of genuine partnership in our own Indo-Pacific region. Labor supports enhanced cooperation through rules-based institutions and opportunities for regional engagement including the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the East Asia Summit (EAS), the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum. Labor will continue to work in our region, including with relevant financial institutions, to meet the development and infrastructure needs of our region. In particular, a Labor government will commit resources and pursue closer relationships and cooperation with ASEAN and its members. Deepening of relationships and mutual trust may mean that, one day, ASEAN membership could be a natural step, desired by our neighbours and

seen as logical by Australians. Labor supports deep and sustained engagement with Pacific Island countries and will maintain Australia's position as the region's preferred development and security partner.

14. Labor acknowledges the vital importance to Australia of our relationship with Indonesia—as one of our nearest neighbours and the world's third largest democracy—and will seek to deepen social and cultural ties and increased trade between our two countries.
15. Labor will ensure the languages of the region are taught more widely in our schools.
16. Labor will strengthen Australia's links with Muslim-majority countries, including through the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.
17. Labor supports an enduring and just two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, based on the right of Israel to live in peace within secure borders internationally recognised and agreed by the parties, and reflecting the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to also live in peace and security within their own state.

Self-reliant defence and peacemaking

18. Labor's defence policy is founded of the principle of Australian self-reliance. Australia's armed forces need to be able to defend Australia against credible threats without relying on the combat forces or capabilities of other countries. Labor will give our armed forces the personnel, skills, equipment and other resources they need to do this vital job.
19. Labor is committed to ensuring defence spending reflects our country's strategic circumstances and accords with the international benchmark of two per cent of GDP.
20. Labor is committed to local jobs and local content in Australia's defence procurement and sustainment projects, including with respect to major platforms like submarines and ships. This is an opportunity to develop sovereign industrial capability, a more advanced manufacturing sector, and secure, decent, long-term jobs for Australians. Labor will implement a strategy to deliver concrete rules and plans to maximise local content, develop sovereign industrial and research capabilities, and build-up the skills and expertise of the Australian workforce. Labor will negotiate appropriate, specific, enforceable and audited Australian Industry Content (AIC) commitments into the contractual arrangements for all major defence materiel procurements and local defence contracts. Labor will also ensure transparent public disclosure of AIC commitments.
21. Labor will foster a strong national defence industry able to provide our sailors, soldiers and aviators with the best and safest equipment available while maintaining the scientific, technical and manufacturing skills and capacities necessary for Australia's long-term defence needs and maximising the national economic security dividend from supporting local industry capability. This will require national effort and commitment on the part of political parties, government, the Australian Defence Force, vocational and tertiary institutions, local defence industry and relevant unions.
22. Our self-reliant defence policy will be enhanced by strong bilateral and multilateral defence relationships. Where appropriate, Labor will strengthen existing defence ties with our key allies and through the United Nations (UN), as well as building new and strengthening existing relationships within the Indo-Pacific region.

23. Labor will engage in active defence cooperation efforts with our neighbours to preserve peace, prosperity, stability and security in the Indo-Pacific region. We regard these efforts as fundamental to Australia's own national security. A major objective of our engagement will be to promote the professionalisation of neighbouring military forces, including their adherence to the rules of armed conflict and their respect for the rule of law and human rights.
24. Labor supports the use of facilities in Australia by the armed forces of friendly countries for combined exercises, training and goodwill visits, provided that in times of peace:
 - a. the use of Australian ports by foreign warships does not extend to the home porting of any of those vessels in Australia;
 - b. the staging of military aircraft through Australian airfields or airspace shall only be for such purposes as may be agreed beforehand by the Australian Government;
 - c. no nuclear, biological or chemical weapons may be stored or stationed in Australia; and
 - d. nuclear powered vessels visit only those ports which have been determined as being suitable for those vessels and provided also that all other safety precautions and conditions deemed necessary by the relevant Australian authorities are complied with by the vessels concerned and appropriate environmental safeguards are in place.

Partners for peace and prosperity in our region

25. Labor believes Australia's security and prosperity are strengthened when we are an active partner in the Indo-Pacific region. Labor's priorities for the region include:
 - a. the continuation of the liberal rules-based order in which military and economic power is not the only decisive factor;
 - b. promoting the centrality of ASEAN as a key platform for regional stability and ASEAN nations as key bilateral relationships for Australia;
 - c. focussing on our special relationship with Pacific Island countries in our near region;
 - d. advancing the power of our international development and cooperation programs to support the stability, security and economic development of Pacific Island countries;
 - e. the continued constructive engagement of the United States in the Indo-Pacific; and
 - f. regional co-operation and engagement.

Supporting the international rules-based order

26. Labor strongly supports multilateralism. Australia is a founding member of the United Nations, the World Trade Organisation, a member of the G20 and an active player in many international institutions. We know that Australia's sovereignty is enhanced by multilateralism, where engagement between nations is governed by internationally agreed rules and norms. Multilateral trade agreements have been shown to deliver larger economic and social benefits than regional or bilateral preferential agreements. A rules-based, multilateral system, underpinned by core and enforceable labour and environmental standards, provides for fairness and equity.

27. Labor recognises that Australia's security and prosperity relies on our continued economic engagement with the world – and integration with our region – including through trade and investment.
28. Labor acknowledges that open trade agreements and comprehensive economic partnerships have become matters of strategic and geopolitical significance. Labor will at all times act in the national interest and in accordance with Australia's international obligations in dealing with open trade agreements and comprehensive economic partnerships.
29. Any process to obtain a Labour Agreement must be thorough, genuine, with effective consultation with trade unions and have rigorous oversight applied to its operation. Labour Agreements must only be used to address acute and temporary skill shortages across regional Australia. Importantly, overseas workers should only be a temporary need, not part of permanent business model. The Coalition Government has provided unscrupulous employers and labour hire firms with a green light by systematically approving labour agreements without appropriate labour market testing, genuine trade union consultation and safeguards for ensuring compliance after approval. Labor will increase the Temporary Skilled Migration Income Threshold and enforce an approval process that requires the Department of Home Affairs to consult with trade unions and apply greater scrutiny and compliance measures against employers. Labour Agreements must be assessed regularly, with the skills and training of Australians focussed on ending labour shortages and employing Australians.
30. Labor believes that many of the significant challenges facing the contemporary world—terrorism, climate change, pandemics, growing economic inequality and the global displacement of people—can only be effectively addressed through international co-operation. Continuing to deepen Australia's bilateral and multilateral trading relationships, particularly in our region, and strengthening our relationships with allies and aligned nations will be essential to building the region and world we want.
31. Labor holds the promotion of democracy, individual freedom and human rights as important foreign policy objectives to be pursued through diplomatic, economic and international development assistance means. Labor will work to uphold human rights around the world, including freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of assembly and expression, the rights of Indigenous peoples around the world including their right to self-determination, the rights of persons living with disabilities and LGBTIQ rights. We will be forthright about human rights violations overseas and will raise these with the governments concerned, including through bilateral representations and formal bilateral human rights dialogues as well as appropriate multilateral avenues. When necessary, we will support targeted sanctions agreed by the international community to protect human rights in ways that do not hurt the population of the country in question. We support global adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other key human rights instruments and will ensure all human rights instruments ratified by Australia are observed in domestic law. Labor supports the introduction of Magnitsky-style legislation to target human rights abusers to send a strong signal to those committing human rights abuses abroad and to defend our democratic institutions.
32. Labor holds state repression of trade unionism to be a violation of human rights. Labor supports the work of the International Labour Organisation. Labor also supports regional trade union cooperation, international treaties, and development programs that uphold labour rights including in the Indo-Pacific region.

33. Labor will support international efforts to eradicate the exploitation of child labour and modern slavery.
34. Labor will work within the international system to promote and protect the rights of people with disability, including through its development assistance programs.
35. Labor supports the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and supports efforts to increase indigenous participation in UN forums.
36. Labor will champion gender equality and the economic, social and political empowerment of women and girls. We will pursue measures to reduce violence against women and girls, particularly with Australia's Pacific neighbours, and acknowledge the disproportionate suffering experienced by women in conflict zones.
37. Labor will actively advocate for the abolition of the death penalty and torture across the world.
38. Labor strongly supports the maintenance of a rules based international order, auspiced and supported by multilateralism and the United Nations. We support strengthening the United Nations' capacity in preventive diplomacy, peace building, peacemaking, peace keeping and peace enforcement.
39. Labor supports the work of the International Criminal Court and its application of the principle of complementarity as a key part of Australia's ongoing commitment to international criminal justice.

Eradicating biological, chemical and nuclear weapons

40. Labor will act with urgency and determination to rid the world of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. Labor will build on Australia's strong history of leading international action by working with our partners and allies to build consensus for action, negotiate new treaties and instruments, and promote adherence to and implementation of existing treaties and instruments.

Emergency management: playing our part

41. Labor will provide strong leadership to improve Australia's emergency management capacity and readiness for disasters at home and abroad. Our approach will emphasise prevention, mitigation and preparation to improve response and recovery.
42. The incidence and severity of natural disasters in Australia around the world is increasing, and in an increasingly connected world these disasters are having broader and longer-lasting disruptive impacts on individuals and economies. Accordingly, our capacity to prepare for, respond to and build back better after disasters must keep pace. Under Labor, Australia's foreign policy efforts and international development programs will emphasise efforts to build resilient communities by preventing, mitigating and preparing for disasters both at home and in the Indo-Pacific region, embedding prevention and preparations for climate change related challenges at every level. Labor will deliver a safer and fairer disaster management framework by promoting and integrating the United Nations Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction.
43. Labor recognises that, in addition to natural disasters, other types of emergencies require international cooperation, including global public health emergencies. An interconnected world

increases the risk of pandemics; transparent engagement and coordinated preparation and response are crucial for managing these risks.

44. Local governments are more often than not the first to respond to natural disasters. Labor sees local governments as a key partner in emergency management. Labor believes local governments' important role must be recognised, supported and directly funded including for clean-up and reconstruction efforts, as well as being part of discussions with Federal and State governments in terms of natural disaster funding distribution and mitigation. Local government workers who are at the forefront during bushfires, severe storm events and other natural disasters should be provided all necessary support. Labor will ensure that councils are provided with prompt funding and reimbursements by the Federal governments, for natural disaster events and work with State Governments to ensure the same arrangements for State emergency declaration, for work undertaken by employees.

Active climate change and environmental diplomacy

45. Labor believes that working to ensure global action on climate change and the protection of the global environment should be a core objective of Australia's foreign policy. Climate change represents an existential threat to humanity and is the single greatest threat to the livelihoods, security and wellbeing of the peoples in the Pacific. Environmental degradation contributes to social and political conflict and undermines regional and international security. Labor will lead in multilateral forums to achieve global action on climate change, environmental protection and sustainable development. Ensuring traditional owners as well as the entire community are included in program design and implementation will be a priority. Labor will:
- a. support implementation of the Paris Accord, with the goal of limiting global warming to less than 2 degrees above pre-industrial levels and taking efforts to limit warming to 1.5 degrees above pre-industrial levels and be an active participant in the UNFCCC;
 - b. work to further strengthen the Antarctic Treaty System with particular emphasis on enhancing environmental protection;
 - c. drive diplomatic engagement with like-minded nations on international instruments to better protect the world's oceans; and
 - d. work through international forums to address unsustainable fishing practices worldwide with the establishment of protected areas a particular priority. We will energetically seek to combat unsustainable, illegal and unregulated fishing in the Southern Ocean, work to strengthen the law of the sea to improve sustainable ocean management and support progress towards a treaty that protects the high seas.
46. Labor remains firmly opposed to all commercial and scientific whaling, and will vigorously pursue all options to implement Australia's objective of a worldwide ban on whaling and to ensure Japan adheres to the landmark ruling in the International Court of Justice against Japan's Antarctic 'scientific' whaling program.

Using our aid to promote prosperity

47. Labor believes our international development program should reflect Australia's generous spirit, and advance our national interests, consistent with our values: our belief in democracy, liberty, the rule of law and human rights. Labor will rebuild Australia's international development program and increase Official Development Assistance to internationally

accepted levels in a timely manner. We will work with the international community to achieve the longstanding funding targets contained in the Sustainable Development Goals. Labor will, over time, achieve a funding target for the international development program of at least 0.5 per cent of Gross National Income. Labor will increase aid as a percentage of Gross National Income every year that we are in office starting with our first budget.

48. Labor will ensure Australian international development addresses:
 - a. poverty reduction;
 - b. equitable access to quality health and education services;
 - c. economic development and infrastructure investment;
 - d. climate change and environmental sustainability, sustainable agriculture, forest and fisheries management, and food security;
 - e. water, sanitation and hygiene;
 - f. good governance including public provision of services, social and financial inclusion, open civic space, human rights and strong trade union development;
 - g. global humanitarian crises and the root causes of crisis, conflict, instability and insecurity;
 - h. empowerment of people with disabilities; and
 - i. gender equality and empowerment of women and girls as a key objective, including ensuring at least 80 per cent of Australia's aid investments address gender issues and tackling violence against women and children.
49. Labor will implement the Sustainable Development Goal process as a global blueprint to end extreme poverty. The SDGs will guide Labor's plan for Australia's international development program.
50. Labor's international development program will be inclusive and non-discriminatory, and will promote human rights.
51. Labor's international development program will be delivered through an appropriate balance between the public sector, the private sector and non-government organisations (NGOs). We will ensure all aid delivery partners including government agencies, private companies, NGOs and multilateral institutions are held to high standards to promote accountability and aid effectiveness.

Protecting Australians overseas

52. Australia should protect the safety of Australians overseas. Labor will deliver a high standard of travel advice and consular assistance to all Australians overseas and provide timely and appropriate assistance to those who require it.

Valuing our defence personnel, veterans and families

53. Valuing their sacrifices on our behalf, Labor will ensure current and former defence personnel and their families receive exemplary support during and after their period of service.
54. Labor supports a defence force made up of highly motivated, skilled, well trained and well-equipped personnel who volunteer for service. We will ensure ADF personnel are paid fairly and

in a manner that properly reflects the unique nature of military service. Labor will ensure female military personnel have equal opportunities for career progression and development within the ADF and that our defence personnel reflect as closely as possible the diversity of our population.

55. Labor will maintain a strong Reserve element as an important part of our force structure.
56. Labor will continue to support a modern, dedicated occupational health and safety regime for all personnel, supported by a fair and supportive military rehabilitation and compensation scheme.
57. Labor recognises that defence personnel can often find the transition to civilian life difficult. We will ensure they have the right level of economic, employment, and physical and mental health support to make a success of their post-service lives. Our post-service support will extend to the partners and family members of service personnel and provide adequate programs to assist them.
58. Labor acknowledges the challenges faced by veterans and their families and is committed to improving their lives. This includes the transition into civilian life, ready access to financial welfare and targeted support, the troubling rates of suicide and domestic and family violence as a result of post-service stress, and the role of Ex- Service Organisations within the welfare support space.
59. Labor will respond to the welfare needs of veterans and their families through services that respond to their lived experiences and focus on the different facets of their lives. This includes rehabilitation and transitional support services, mental health services, education and skills training, employment programs, housing and homelessness services, and respite for veterans and families experiencing hardship.
60. Labor is committed to ensuring the Department of Veterans Affairs is fit-for-purpose and responsive to the needs of veterans and their families, including through better engagement, streamlined claims processes and support services that are uncomplicated, timely and easily accessible.
61. Labor supports a strong and bipartisan approach to military commemoration to preserve the integrity of significant battlefields where Australian troops have served. We will maintain the Australian War Memorial as a leader of commemorative activities. Where possible, we will work with foreign governments to preserve the integrity of significant battlefields where Australian troops have served.

Strong borders and a strong humanitarian immigration program

62. To maintain Australians' confidence and trust in the integrity of our migration system, Labor will fund and maintain robust border security measures that support the orderly processing of migration to our country and protect our national interest and our national borders.
63. To combat all forms of people smuggling, trafficking and exploitation by boat, plane or other means, Labor will engage with Australia's neighbours to address 'push factors' by seeking innovative, effective and lawful solutions to the irregular movement of people through the region.

64. Under the Refugee Convention, people seeking asylum have the right to seek protection and asylum. Labor will continue to show global leadership and increase Australia's humanitarian refugee intake and we will treat people seeking our protection with dignity and compassion in accordance with our international obligations, the rule of law and the principles of fairness. Labor believes as a nation we must not harm people seeking refuge.
65. Labor will maintain Australia's reputation for having some of the best migrant settlement services in the world. Labor will seek to improve these services through improving the availability and integration of Commonwealth-funded migrant and settlement services.

STATEMENTS IN DETAIL

Trade

1. Labor supports trade between Australia and the rest of the world because trade generates economic growth, creates jobs, improves living standards and reduces poverty. Labor has a long record as an advocate for an open global trading system. Reducing barriers to trade creates more competitive industries and benefits consumers through lower prices and greater choice. Trade is a pathway to a high-skill, high-wage future for working Australians.
2. Australia's trade success depends on its international competitiveness. There will be important trading opportunities for Australia in coming years through engaging with the Asia-Pacific region and ensuring our businesses take part in global value chains. Labor will ensure Australia can realise these opportunities through policies to improve Australia's international competitiveness and to give businesses and individuals the skills and capabilities they need to succeed in a globalised economy.
3. The benefits of trade can and must be shared fairly, both at home and abroad. Labor will invest in education, training, skills and innovation, building Australia's national infrastructure, and promoting the health and welfare of the community so Australians benefit from the opportunities created by trade. While the benefits of trade liberalisation are significant, they can come at a cost to sectors, workers and regions that are disadvantaged by structural change in our economy. Particularly in the short-term, adjustment support is needed for some sectors, workers and regional communities to ensure they are lifted up, not left behind, by economic change. Labor will develop industry policy and provide structural assistance to sectors of the economy, workers and regions which are impacted by economic change.
4. Labor supports Australian industry, including agriculture, manufacturing, minerals including coal, oil and gas, and services having access to global markets in accordance with Labor's policy framework as described here. Economic growth has been good for developing countries, but in many economies these benefits have not been fairly shared. More equal economic growth will create decent jobs, lifting people out of poverty, giving them economic independence and supporting human rights. Labor is committed to trade policies consistent with Australian values of justice and equality, community views, workers' rights and the interests of developing countries.
5. Labor supports the open, rules-based, multilateral trading system under the auspices of the World Trade Organisation. Multilateral trade agreements have been shown to deliver larger economic and social benefits than regional or bilateral preferential agreements. A rules-based, multilateral system, underpinned by core and enforceable labour and environmental standards, provides a framework for fairness and equity and is the most effective means to ensure governments around the world do not resort to universally damaging protectionism.
6. Labor will oppose low-quality, piecemeal trade agreements in favour of fair and transparent multilateral agreements. When multilateral trade negotiations are not making satisfactory progress, Labor will consider high-quality regional or bilateral trade agreements that are in Australia's national interest and that support the multilateral trading system. Trade agreements must be consistent with Australia's social and economic values, be based on widespread consultation, provide for appropriate minimum and enforceable labour and environmental

standards, take account of social and economic impacts and allow sovereign governments to make decisions and implement policies in the interests of their citizens.

7. Labor will prohibit through legislation the Commonwealth signing trade agreements that:
 - a. Waive labour market testing;
 - b. Include investor state dispute settlement provisions;
 - c. Include provisions that require the privatisation of any public services;
 - d. Include provisions that undermine the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme;
 - e. Include provisions that undermine any law of the Commonwealth, a State or a Territory relating to anti-dumping;
 - f. Include provisions that limit the right of the Commonwealth to regulate in the interests of public welfare or in relation to safe products;
 - g. Include provisions that have the effect of restricting the Commonwealth's procurement arrangements from any form of preference for the purpose of:
 - i. Protecting Australia's essential security interests;
 - ii. Benefiting local small and medium enterprises;
 - iii. Protecting national treasures
 - iv. Implementing measures for the health, welfare and economic and social advancement of Indigenous people;
 - v. Promoting ethical standards and sustainable development through ethical procurement
 - vi. Providing for the full, fair and reasonable participation of local enterprises in government contracts as outlined in Commonwealth, state and territory industry participation policies and successor programs and policies; and
 - vii. Maintaining the Australian industry capability programs and its successor programs and policies.
8. Labor will legislate so that trade agreements signed by the Commonwealth:
 - a. Require skills assessments (including practical and theoretical testing) to be undertaken in Australia and not restrict such skills assessments for temporary visa holders.
 - b. Must include in any future bi-lateral trade agreement a labour chapter with enforceable internationally recognised labour standards.
 - c. Should seek to include a labour chapter with enforceable internationally recognised labour standards in any regional or multilateral trade agreements.
9. Labor believes that the process of developing, negotiating and finalising trade agreements should be transparent, consultative and subject to the processes of the parliament. However, under the current framework, trade agreements are the prerogative of Executive Government,

and the Parliament only determines enabling legislation designed to give effect to certain limited provisions of the agreement.

10. Labor in Opposition will:
 - a. Seek written confirmation from the government that any trade agreement signed by the government does not violate clauses 7 and 8;
 - b. Undertake formal consultation with affected unions about the impact of any proposed trade agreement;
 - c. Labor will actively campaign against trade agreements that do not comply with clauses 7 or 8 above, including by making shadow ministerial statements, participating in public campaigns, demanding that the Commonwealth conduct rigorous independent economic analysis and debating the merits of the agreement in the Parliament and Parliamentary Committees;
 - d. Amend parliamentary procedures to require an independent economic assessment of the impact of each agreement to be included in the report of the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties to the parliament; and
 - e. Vote against any enabling legislation for agreements, where the enabling legislation itself does not comply with clauses 7 or 8 above.
11. If prior to the election of a Labor government, trade agreements are signed which are not consistent with the above, Labor in government will seek the renegotiation of the agreement to ensure it is consistent with the above points before bringing any enabling legislation before the Parliament.
12. Labor supports trade and investment liberalisation through the Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. APEC is a driver of regional economic integration and Labor will take an active approach to its role in the region’s economic architecture. APEC has a key role in promoting economic reform behind the border throughout the Asia–Pacific region and will promote these efforts. Labor will also support India’s ambition to join APEC. Australia should engage in the proposed Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific.
13. Labor will work to:
 - a. Provide leadership to the Cairns Group and seek reductions in agricultural subsidies and protection;
 - b. Secure reciprocal new market access for all of Australia's economic sectors;
 - c. Address non-tariff 'behind the border' trade barriers such as excise tax arrangements, standards, customs procedures, subsidies and other restrictive measures against Australian exports and explore opportunities to better eliminate non-tariff barriers to trade unfairly erected to hinder Australian exports whilst ensuring legitimate barriers to defend Australians, Australian industry and the environment are not undermined;
 - d. Reduce the costs to business of engaging in trade and taking part in global value chains through trade facilitation reforms;

- e. Reduce the cost to business of accessing preferential treatment under bilateral trade agreements by ensuring such agreements have standardised and minimal administrative burden country of origin and other rules; and
 - f. Overcoming non-tariff barriers is one of the most significant ways that market access and trade for Australian exporters can be increased. Labor will establish a cross-agency team with officers from the DFAT, Austrade and the Departments of Industry and Agriculture to help Australian exporters tackle non-tariff barriers to trade.
14. Labor will ensure Australians are informed about trade negotiations and will undertake full community consultation before entering new agreements. The provision of public updates will follow each round of negotiations. Where feasible, draft texts will also be released.
15. Labor will establish a subcommittee of the Australian Labor Advisory Committee (ALAC) to provide a direct voice from the labour movement to relevant Members of Parliament on trade policy.
16. Labor will legislate to ensure transparency in trade through:
- a. An initial preliminary national interest assessment is tabled in Parliament on commencing negotiations for any trade agreement, setting out priorities and objectives, including independent assessments of the economic, employment, regional, social, cultural, regulatory and environmental impacts;
 - b. Industry, unions and community groups are consulted during trade negotiations on draft negotiating texts, proposals and requests for review and comment through the establishment of an Accredited Advisors program based on the 'Cleared Advisors' program in the United States where after each round of negotiations DFAT will provide them with the draft text in order to provide real time feedback;
 - c. Material is tabled in Parliament once any negotiation is complete, including the proposed treaty and any legislation required to implement the treaty domestically and a debate is allowed on treaty text as well as implementing legislation;
 - d. An Independent National Interest Assessment which includes a comprehensive social, economic and regional impact assessment is made of the negotiated treaty text, to inform parliamentary debate, community discussion and Joint Standing Committee on Treaties consideration of the treaty;
 - e. Independent evaluation of free trade agreements takes place ten years after ratification to determine the impact of any agreement; and
 - f. Australian submissions and materials relevant to free trade agreement negotiations and the World Trade Organisation are made public, unless there are commercial-in-confidence reasons, or disclosure would damage the national interest.
17. Labor will ensure:
- a. The role of the Parliament in trade negotiations is strengthened by the expansion of the role of the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties (JSCOT). Before negotiations on a new trade agreement the Government's Statement of Objectives will be submitted to the

- Committee for consideration and feedback. At the end of each round of negotiations DFAT will be required to brief the Committee;
- b. Developments at the World Trade Organisation, and the positions a Labor Government takes there, are regularly reported to Parliament through the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade and Accredited Trade Advisors' are provided the means and opportunity to provide real time feedback during negotiations;
 - c. Consultative mechanisms are open to, and representative of business, unions, and environmental and community interests. Consultation will not be used to enable unethical practices or to shield unscrupulous behaviour in shaping trade outcomes;
 - d. The composition of delegations to World Trade Organisation Ministerial meetings is reviewed so they include appropriate representation from business, unions and non-government organisations; and
 - e. World Trade Organisation rule changes are advanced to ensure immediate publication of dispute settlement decisions, together with short, plain language explanations.
18. Labor will better utilise Australia's rights under multilateral agreements to defend Australian jobs and interests from unfair trade. A strong and effective trade remedies system should ensure overseas exporters do not engage in unfair and predatory trade practices and injure Australian manufacturers, growers and food processors, or undermine jobs. Labor will continue to strengthen Australia's anti-dumping laws and ensure that the Anti-Dumping Commission has adequate resources to enable thorough, timely and accurate investigations, compliance by exporters and importers, and rigorous enforcement of anti-dumping measures. Labor will have a zero tolerance approach to the circumvention or avoidance of duties or their intent and be vigilant in overcoming this behaviour. Labor will also look to streamline 'Review of Measures' and 'Duty Assessment' processes to ensure that the correct amount of duty is collected and paid including, where necessary, retrospectively. Labor supports the provision of independent advice and assistance for small and medium-sized Australian enterprises and producers.
19. Australia's anti-dumping system should reflect and act on international developments and exporter behaviour and should not lag behind comparable countries. Australian firms, particularly SMEs, need help including expertise and information such as import data. Access to import data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics is vital for manufacturers and producers seeking the imposition of anti-dumping measures by the Anti-Dumping Commission. It is also important for the assessment by Australian industry of the effectiveness of measures imposed by the Anti-Dumping Commission, particularly in enabling the identification of noncompliance or circumvention of those measures. Labor in government will amend the Census and Statistics Act to improve access to trade and import data held by the Australian Bureau of Statistics.
20. Labor will ensure the International Trade Remedies Forum and the Anti-Dumping Review Panel is appropriately resourced and is comprised of industry representatives where appropriate or those with experience in industry in order to effectively deliver their important functions. Labor will transfer the responsibility for Safeguards investigations from the Productivity Commission to the Anti-Dumping Commission consistent with international best practice. Labor will also continue to maintain Ministerial discretion to determine if duties are in the public interest and not impose a test.

21. Labor will in Government direct the International Trade Remedies Forum to investigate the new Trade Defence Instrument enacted by European Commission and do a gap analysis between their and Australia's approach including in relation to considering how non-compliance with international labour standards impact reasonable costs for the purpose of normal value determination in anti-dumping investigations and how distorted costs should subsequently be replaced with benchmark costs in this situation. The Forum will be directed to provide advice on any updates required to the Anti-Dumping and Subsidies Manual and/or the relevant sections of the Customs Act with the view of clarifying current approaches to these matters by the Anti-Dumping Commission and, where required and appropriate, harmonising the Anti-Dumping Commissions approach with the new approach of the European Commission.
22. Consumers have the right to know that imported products meet Australian standards for safety and quality. Labor will develop, fund and support an intelligence-led, risk-based approach to standards compliance assurance on imported products. This will include new and invigorated processes for sampling, testing, labelling and penalties for false and misleading conduct regarding claims to adherence to regulation and standards. Appropriate governance and regulatory mechanisms will be formed through consultation with governments, unions, industry and other stakeholders.
23. Over 40 million people worldwide are trapped in some form of modern slavery, many of whom are victims of exploitation in global supply chains. Australia has an important role to play in abolishing modern slavery. Modern slavery is a hidden problem that will not be discovered without meaningful attempts to expose it. Labor will ensure that Commonwealth criminal laws adequately capture, and prohibit, forced labour. This includes forced labour in shipping, fishing, clothing, food production, domestic work and other high-risk sectors. Labor will enforce supply chain reporting requirements, including mandatory reporting requirements and penalties for non-compliance. Labor will also establish an Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner to lead our efforts to abolish modern slavery in Australia and abroad.
24. Increased international trade brings with it the responsibility to promote higher labour standards for Australia and internationally. Labor will support greater cooperation between the World Trade Organisation and International Labour Organisation secretariats on trade and enforceable labour standards. Labor supports and promotes the incorporation of enforceable core ILO Conventions and labour standards, as a minimum, in all international trade agreements. Labor in government will require the inclusion of enforceable reciprocal obligations for countries to adopt and maintain in their laws internationally recognized labour principles, as stated in ILO conventions in bilateral agreements and should be included in multi-lateral agreements. Labor will outlaw importation into Australia of goods or services produced with forced labour and child labour or prison labour. Labor will work against forced, prison and child labour.
25. An investment priority for Australia's aid program will be raising international labour standards and capacity building for unions working abroad. Labor will promote ethical standards including higher labour standards and sustainable development in all aid programs, including through the provision of legal and economic expertise as well as capacity building for national and industry level unions. Labor will use all possible diplomatic efforts to build human rights and social justice outcomes into trade policy. Labor is strongly committed to promoting international labour standards and enhancing the capacity of unions abroad.

26. Labor supported communities participating in the forestry, timber and forest products sectors with legislation and regulations to prohibit the importation of illegally logged wood and forest products made from it. Labor will ensure that importers comply with the Legislation and Regulations by taking a risk-based approach to monitoring due diligence systems to ensure imported products are not derived from illegal sources.
27. Labor will not allow trade agreements to limit the capacity of the Australian Government to determine immigration policies that promote education and training, permanent rather than temporary migration, local employment and fair employment standards. Labor will ensure future trade agreements do not prevent Australia from effectively regulating temporary migration, including by requiring genuine labour market testing for temporary work visas as well as Australian market wages and employment rights for immigrant workers where genuine skills shortages are deemed to exist. Labor will ensure trade agreements promote recruitment of local labour and protect the wages and conditions of local workers. Labor will not ratify agreements which waive labour market testing and will renegotiate clauses in current agreements which do.
28. Labor recognises that trade agreements should not be used to undermine Australian working conditions and foreign workers should only be used in situations where specific skills shortages are present and only for the period it takes to train and develop the capacity of an Australian to do the job.
29. Labor recognises that the varied definition of contractual service suppliers and waiver of labour market testing in free trade agreements has undermined Australia's immigration system. Labor will ensure that the definition of contractual service suppliers is reviewed to be consistent across all free trade agreements to ensure consistency in applying labour market testing to protect Australian jobs.
30. Trade agreements should not enable the degradation of public services and must not inhibit the right of Australian governments to regulate and re-regulate in the national interest.
31. Labor will guarantee the protection of access to affordable medicines for all Australians by ensuring that third parties cannot unduly influence the decisions of the Pharmaceutical Benefits Advisory Committee, or the operation of the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme. Trade and investment agreements must not extend the monopolies on medicines by extending either the patent or the data exclusivity periods of medicines or biologics (such as cancer and immunotherapy drugs).
32. Labor supports the principle of national treatment so foreign and domestic companies are treated equally under the law. Labor does not support the inclusion of provisions in trade agreements that confer legal rights on foreign businesses that are not available to domestic businesses. Nor does Labor support the inclusion of provisions such as investor state dispute settlement clauses that constrain the ability of government to make laws on social, environmental, labour and economic matters in circumstances where those laws do not discriminate between domestic and foreign businesses. These undermine fair competition, judicial independence and the Australian people's sovereign right to legislate and implement policies in their interest through democratic processes. As such, Labor views these provisions as contrary to the national interest and basic principles of democratic sovereignty and will not

accept such clauses in any trade agreements. Labor will not ask this of Australia's trading partners in future trade agreements.

33. Australia is a party to Investor State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) clauses through existing trade and investment agreements. Labor in government will review ISDS provisions in existing trade and investment agreements and seek to work with Australia's trading partners to remove these provisions. While this process is underway, Labor will work with the international community to reform ISDS tribunals so they remove perceived conflicts of interest by temporary appointed judges, adhere to precedents and include appeal mechanisms.
34. Labor will set up a full time negotiating team within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade whose sole job will be to negotiate the removal of ISDS clauses and the reinstatement of labour market testing where it has been waived in trade agreements to ensure those agreements are consistent with Australian laws and regulations, including applicable Australian workplace law, work safety law and relevant Australian licensing, regulation and certification standards laws and regulations. The Team will be required to brief Accredited Advisers on the status of these negotiations and the Accredited Advisers will be provided the means and opportunity to provide real time feedback during negotiations.
35. Labor supports current World Trade Organisation rules that allow all nations to determine for themselves the appropriate public-private mix in their health, education, water and welfare sectors and the distribution of government funding within these sectors, and to protect their cultural industries, and procurement and employment policies. Labor will vigorously oppose any trade proposals that would require Australia to privatise its public services including its health, education or welfare sectors, undermine the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, reduce government rights to determine the distribution of funding within the above sectors, or remove protection for our cultural industries. Labor will oppose attempts to privatise water services under World Trade Organisation rules. Federal, state, territory and local governments should retain the power to implement policies to encourage industry development, research and development, regional development and appropriate environmental, employment and procurement standards. Labor will ensure ethical Government procurement requirements and practices for all Government spending and contracting is adhered to.
36. In Government, Labor will increase the capacity of unions to assist in the lifting of global labour standards to protect workers' rights in Australia and abroad. We need to do more in our region to increase the capacity of unions to organise workers, protect vulnerable people from exploitation, lead and advocate public policy and work with foreign governments— both through the International Labour Organisation and global and regional organisation and forums to lift labour standards.
37. Australian unions have a proud record of fighting to protect working people in partnership with those in our region. Labor will support programs that enhance and resource the ability of unions to:
 - a. Promote and support core ILO rights, including freedom of association, collective bargaining, elimination of forced, compulsory and child labour and the elimination of discrimination;

- b. Capacity build, deliver education and enhance leader development for unions and organisations working abroad;
 - c. Advocate to raise awareness and build platforms for change on global issues impacting working people;
 - d. Promote worker to worker links within multi-national corporations and their supply chains;
 - e. Monitor and assist in the enforcement of clauses in labour chapters in trade agreements (where they exist);
 - f. Engage with temporary foreign workers, including pre-departure to Australia wherever feasible;
 - g. To conduct compliance work regarding labour standards in supply chains; and
 - h. Work with other nations and domestic unions to strengthen labour standards, workers' rights, occupational health and safety standards and gender equality.
38. Labor will:
- a. Increase fairness and transparency in global supply chains including by targeting exploitative practices and by implementing ethical Government procurement requirements and practices for all Government spending and contracting;
 - b. Work with other nations to strengthen institutions to protect labour standards, workers' rights, occupational health and safety standards and gender equality; and
 - c. Require ethical labour standards for all companies that receive government financial assistance including in their supply chains. These efforts will be a crucial part of our international efforts to negotiate and enforce (where applicable) labour chapters as part of trade agreements – seeing positive action on the ground and advocacy in regional and multi-lateral forums.
39. Labor will not support the expansion of intellectual property rights in a way which would extend monopoly patent rights to charge higher prices and would give copyright holders greater rights at the expense of consumers.
40. The development assistance Australia provides under the World Trade Organisation's aid-for-trade initiative should support developing countries in establishing skills, infrastructure, regulatory and investment policies to support sustainable growth. We will deliver practical trade-related capacity building programs that promote workers' rights and improve the ability of developing nations to export, improve their international competitiveness, and engage with the global economy.
41. Labor recognises that trade is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition to promote economic growth in developing countries. We want nations throughout the world to benefit from open markets and share in global growth. Labor will promote policies to achieve this in the World Trade Organisation, through trade agreements, at the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Labour Organisation and other international forums.

42. Increased international trade brings the responsibility to promote higher environmental standards for Australia and internationally. Labor is committed to sustainable development. Labor will work to remove environmentally damaging subsidies, and promote mechanisms that balance the interests of environmental protection and open markets.
43. Australia has an important role and responsibility at the Asian Development Bank. Labor supports the inclusion of core labour standards in its decision-making, including the roles monitoring mechanism at the Asian Development Bank.
44. The Asian Development Bank's Safeguard Policy prohibits investments that include the "production of trade in or use of unbonded asbestos fibres". However, this does not apply to the purchase and use of bonded asbestos cement sheeting where the asbestos content is less than 20%. This in effect means an exemption by the bank for almost all bonded asbestos containing materials used in the construction sector. Under Labor the Australian Government will lobby for a change in policy to end of the use of asbestos in Asian Development Bank financed projects.

Uranium

1. The production of uranium and its use in the nuclear fuel cycle present unique and unprecedented hazards and risks, including:
 - a. Threats to human health and the local environment in the mining and milling of uranium and management of radioactive materials, which demand the enforcement of strict safety procedures;
 - b. The generation of products that are usable as the raw materials for nuclear weapons manufacture, which demands the enforcement of effective controls against diversion; and
 - c. The generation of highly toxic radioactive waste by-products that demand permanently safe disposal methods.
2. Labor accordingly will allow the mining and export of uranium only under the most stringent conditions.
3. In relation to mining and milling, Labor will:
 - a. Ensure the safety of workers in the uranium industry is given priority. Labor has established a compulsory register for workers in the uranium industry that includes regular health checks and ongoing monitoring. The register is held by an independent agency and will be subject to privacy provisions;
 - b. Ensure Australian uranium mining, milling and rehabilitation is based on world best practice standards, extensive continuing research on environmental impacts and the health and safety of employees and affected communities, particularly Indigenous communities;
 - c. Ensure the Australian public is informed about the quality of the environmental performance of uranium mines through public accountability mechanisms;

- d. Foster a constructive relationship between mining companies and Indigenous communities affected by uranium mining; and
 - e. Prohibit the mining of uranium within national parks under International Union for Conservation of Nature protected area category 1A, category 1B, and category 2, and listed world heritage areas.
4. In relation to exports other than to India, Labor will allow the export of uranium only to those countries that observe the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), are committed to non-proliferation policies, and have ratified international and bilateral nuclear safeguards agreements. Labor will export uranium only to countries that maintain strict safeguards and security controls over their nuclear power industries.
5. In relation to India, an important strategic partner for Australia, commitments and responsible actions in support of nuclear non-proliferation, consistent with international guidelines on nuclear supply, will provide an acceptable basis for peaceful nuclear cooperation, including the export of uranium, subject to the application of strong safeguards.
6. In addition, Labor will work towards:
 - a. Strengthening export control regimes and the rights and authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA);
 - b. Appropriate international responses to violations of existing safeguard commitments;
 - c. Limiting the processing of weapon usable material (separation of plutonium and high enriched uranium in civilian programs);
 - d. Tightening controls over the export of nuclear material and technology;
 - e. Universalising of the IAEA additional protocol making it mandatory for all states and members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group to adhere to the additional protocol as a condition of supply to all their transfers;
 - f. Criminalising actions of individuals and companies that assist in nuclear proliferation;
 - g. The development of an international guarantee of nuclear fuel supply to states foregoing sensitive nuclear technologies;
 - h. Revising the NPT to prevent countries from withdrawing from the NPT and passing a new resolution in the United Nations Security Council addressing the penalties for withdrawal from the NPT;
 - i. Encouraging all nuclear states to join the NPT;
 - j. Reserving the right to withhold supplies of uranium permanently, indefinitely or for a specified period from any country that ceases to observe the non-proliferation safeguards and security conditions applied to Australian uranium exports to that country, or which adopts nuclear practices or policies that do not further advance the cause of nuclear non-proliferation;
 - k. Supporting the maintenance and enhancement of international and Australian safeguards to ensure that uranium mined in Australia, and nuclear products derived from it, are used only for civil purposes by approved instrumentalities in approved countries that are

- signatories to the NPT (with the exception of India) and with whom Australia has safeguard arrangements; and
- I. Seeking adequate international resourcing of the IAEA to ensure its effectiveness in undertaking its charter.
7. Labor will progress these commitments through diplomatic means including the re-establishment of the Canberra Commission to re-invigorate Australia's tradition of middle power, multilateral diplomacy. In doing so, Labor believes that as a non-nuclear armed nation and a good international citizen, Australia can make a significant contribution to promoting disarmament, the reduction of nuclear stockpiles, and the responsible use of nuclear technology.
 8. Labor will:
 - a. Vigorously and totally oppose the ocean dumping of radioactive waste;
 - b. Prohibit the establishment of nuclear power plants and all other stages of the nuclear fuel cycle in Australia;
 - c. Fully meet all Australia's obligations as a party to the NPT; and
 - d. Remain strongly opposed to the importation and storage of nuclear waste that is sourced from overseas in Australia.
 9. Labor acknowledges that radioactive waste management is a complex policy challenge that requires the highest levels of transparency and evidence, while balancing the need of the community to benefit from treatments for diseases like cancer. Accordingly, Labor will act in accordance with scientific evidence, and with full transparency, broad public input and best practice technical and consultative standards, taking into account the views of traditional owners, to progress responsible radioactive waste management.

A country that makes things

1. Labor will rebuild Australian manufacturing. The deindustrialisation of Australia's regions and suburbs has had devastating social and economic consequences, squandered new growth and investment opportunities and hollowed out Australia's economic capability.
2. Shortages and supply-chain interruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic have shown that Australia urgently needs a strong, growing and diverse manufacturing industry. Being able to produce or guarantee access to the goods that its citizens and businesses need is the cornerstone of a resilient Australian economy, society and nation state.
3. Labor will ensure Australia's supply of vital goods like food, medicines, water, communications, energy, personal protective equipment (PPE) and other necessities required by a modern economy is secure from disruption and overseas dependence.
4. To have a vibrant and sophisticated economy, Australia must have a thriving and innovative manufacturing sector. Australia's unrivalled resource and energy endowments should mean we should a country with a booming manufacturing industry.

5. Labor will work to rebuild, modernise and diversify Australian manufacturing with an active approach to government programs, collaboration with industry, unions and institutions at the sectoral level and supporting industrial development, particularly in regional Australia. Labor will invest in sustainable manufacturing, and in particular those new technologies which will enable Australian industry and Australian workers to gear up for the future.
6. Labor will work to create a future for Australia's industrial capacity in strategically important areas. Labor will develop a plan for industries that must be secured, expanded or created. As part of this, Labor will assess which products, capabilities and items must be produced domestically, stored strategically or sourced from reliable partners.
7. This plan should have a focus on securing jobs in suburban and regional Australia and should also build upon existing areas of production where Australia is already globally competitive.
8. Labor acknowledges that Australia's industry policy has failed to achieve this vision.
9. High energy prices and poor quality trade agreements continue to undermine existing industry, a weak procurement framework is failing to support new industries and innovation ecosystems are poorly developed.
10. Labor will employ a variety of means to provide a stronger future for Australian manufacturing. These measures will include:
 - a. supporting the transition to modern clean forms of energy to deliver affordable, reliable energy to Australian industry;
 - b. the continuing use of research and development tax incentives;
 - c. procurement policies;
 - d. fostering collaboration between industries and research institutions; and
 - e. supporting Buy Australia programs.
11. Labor believes that in its role as a major purchaser of goods and services, government can play a part in fostering Australian industries, particularly emerging industries or companies. Labor will promote a procurement strategy to safeguard and grow skills, investment and jobs within our existing international obligations which allow for, amongst other things, any form of preference to benefit small and medium enterprises (SMEs). This procurement strategy will have processes free of corruption and discrimination, lead on sustainability and ethical procurement practices, and ensure that robust and objective public interest tests occur in all cases. Our procurement strategies will support the growth of a strong First Nations people business sector.

Sector Plans

12. Labor acknowledges the unique challenges facing many important sectors within our manufacturing industry. In recognition of this, tailored approaches will be developed to assist these important sources of jobs, investment and innovation.
13. **Automotive:** Labor notes the massive failure of policy by the LNP and the consequent abandonment of workers and their communities which arose from the closure of Australia's car

assembly plants. The vehicle industry provides a solid base for R&D, innovation, skills and jobs strategies in any digital technology strategy. Acknowledging this, Labor will work with suitable investment organisations to create a space for a revitalized vehicle industry in this country.

14. Labor will work with investors, businesses, R&D organisations and unions which work in the existing vehicle components sector to develop and maintain vehicle markets as a first term Labor government initiative. In addition, Labor will work to develop a domestic decarbonized vehicle industry strategy across the country comprising electric vehicles utilising the latest in digital technology.
15. **Defence and Shipbuilding:** Labor recognises the importance of strong, viable Australian defence and shipbuilding industries. Labor notes the strong bipartisan commitment to our naval shipbuilding requirement and will work with employers and unions to ensure that this remains an important part of our defence and manufacturing posture.
16. Labor will support domestic manufacturers to engage in global defence manufacturing supply chains. Labor is committed to ensuring a sovereign capability to support the ADF and will ensure that the vessels built for the RAN and assets produced for the ADF are, to the greatest extent possible, designed, built, maintained and sustained by skilled Australian workers.
17. **Steel and aluminium:** Labor recognises the steel and aluminium industries maintain an integral role in Australia's industrial economy. This includes in the downstream value add from Australia's rich resources, the supply of heavy metals to overseas markets and the domestic building materials industry, and to the economies of our regional communities. The steel and aluminium industries also play a critical demand and supply-side role in the National Electricity Market, and in the training and development of skilled trade labour in Australia.
18. **Chemicals and fertilizers:** Labor recognises the chemicals and fertilizers industries play an irreplaceable role in critical Australian industries, particularly in the food, fuel and resource sectors. Specifically, this includes servicing the agricultural activities of Australia contributing both to exports and domestic food supply and the packaging of all perishable and non-perishable goods. This also includes the role it plays in ensuring our fuel refining industry remains competitive.
19. **Building materials and products:** Australia's infrastructure spend per capita is world-leading, underpinned by the biggest resource industries in the world, and the growth of urban population centres across our coastal regions. Labor's approach will see the building materials industry play a critical role in ensuring Australia's construction and infrastructure industries use Australian-made products, to the benefit of the domestic economy. This includes cement, glass, asphalt, downstream aluminium, steel and copper, timber and wood products, windows and doors, furnishings and blinds, carpets, cabinetry, joinery, geotextiles industries and more.
20. **Agriculture:** Labor recognises Australia's agriculture industry provides a diversity to our economic exports, provides critical independence to our national food supply, and is a hallmark of the national identity. Horticulture and downstream processing of food-related products such as wine and beer also continue to be important growth industries.

21. **Rail:** Australia has a proud history of producing our own trains and rolling stock. This is reflected in the many Australian-built trains currently on our networks. However, this area of significant market share has been continually eroded by short-term decisions which have led to the loss of significant rail manufacturing capacity.
22. Labor will work with state governments and other users (including the mining industry) to enhance the productive capacity of Australian train manufacturers. Utilising the best and safest technology available combined with the most innovative manufacturing techniques and components, Australian-made trains will once again be the world's best in passenger and freight transport.
23. **Medical technology:** Australians are justifiably proud of our strong performance in the medical field. Eight of the 16 Nobel Prizes awarded to Australians have been in medicine. The accompaniment to this has been the equally strong application of Australian knowhow to medical technology. In areas such as the treatment of hearing, sleep disorders, and life-saving medicines, Australia has been a world leader. Unfortunately, under the current Government this advantage has been let go, with Australians finding to their dismay that we could not even manufacture enough basic surgical masks during the pandemic to satisfy hospital demand, let alone the needs of the general population. To remedy this, Labor in government will work with industry, researchers and research institutions, workers and their unions with the aim of increasing self-sufficiency in fundamental medical equipment, including face masks and other protective equipment like gloves, surgical and isolation gowns, as well as ventilators, beds, sterilization equipment, etc. Operating through innovative partnerships with industry, Labor will leverage Australia's current productive capacity in the medical equipment industry and develop techniques and products to deal with current and future needs, as well as developing new products at the edge of innovation to help keep Australians safe and well.
24. **Textile, Clothing and Footwear (TCF):** Benefits of local TCF manufacturing include that it minimises the risks that are associated with global supply chains. Several local businesses already trade on the strong branding and reputation of Australian-made products in both domestic and export markets. There are further opportunities for the sector in supplying defence industries, fashion, medical and general PPE, workwear and TCF commercial furnishing markets. Drivers of change to the TCF industry and TCF markets in Australia have seen increasing adaptation and the entrance of specialised and niche product manufacturing with design and quality becoming a key area of competitive advantage. Coinciding with these changes has been an increasing trend toward ethical consumerism. There needs to be a growth plan for the TCF industry and Labor will assist in building collaboration by engaging with employers and unions within the different sectoral groups across the local industry and consider the tripartite roundtable model of engagement which has been adopted by the Victorian Government for the sector.
25. **Food:** Australia has a justifiable reputation as a source of high-quality foods and beverages. Clean, green and environmentally sustainable, Australia's food industry has enjoyed significant success in creating and servicing export markets around the world. Labor will work with food industry companies, workers, and their unions to grow the sector and develop technology to create new products aimed at enhancing Australia's leading position as the world's food bowl in a carbon-constrained world.
26. **Pulp, Paper and Fibre:** The PPF industry has been a mainstay of Australian manufacturing, especially in regional Australia, since federation. To ensure a future for this vital industry, and the

communities that rely on it, Australia will help this industry to continue on its current path towards a sustainable future. In government, Labor will develop procurement guidelines which encourage the purchase of Australian-made paper and boxes. Labor will also support our domestic industry to develop new packaging materials, bioproducts and production methods in partnership between local industry, researchers and institutions including CSIRO.

27. **Timber and wood products:** Labor recognises that the timber and wood products industry is an important employer in regional Australia and that timber production and harvesting has a comparatively low carbon footprint. Timber and wood products are a carbon sequestering and renewable source of products vital for domestic housing construction. Timber, along with innovative products manufactured in newer and emerging industry sub-sectors, carbon fibre wood laminates and other engineered wood products provide sustainable options which can improve the associated carbon emissions performance of commercial construction and infrastructure projects. Labor in Government will work with industry, unions, researchers and communities to boost and improve research and development, resource security, skills development and the take up of innovation in the timber and wood products industry.
28. **Energy and Renewables:** The Australian Labor Party has a long history of supporting the renewables sector. While the sector has matured in recent years, it still enjoys significant growth as state governments, industry and communities embrace the transition to clean energy.
29. As the percentage of our energy that is created through renewable sources continues to increase, we must do more to ensure that we deliver the full economic benefit of this transition.
30. Labor will ensure that new renewable energy projects – design, engineering, manufacturing, installation, commissioning, servicing and maintenance – support good quality, local jobs. The most important economic factor of any procurement process is the local jobs it has the capacity to create. Therefore, a future Labor government will implement policies to maximise and require locally manufactured content on future renewable energy projects. This will help create long-term jobs in the renewable sector whilst providing new jobs for workers in the energy sector. A future Labor government will work in conjunction with the relevant unions to create a vibrant and sustainable manufacturing industry in the renewable energy sector. Australia has the skills and the capacity to become a renewable energy powerhouse – let’s make it here.
31. **Mining:** Australia has gained significant wealth from its mineral resources, but we have not done enough to capitalise on our global leadership in this sector. Australia should not just be a leader in the user of cutting-edge mining technology, we should be a leading exporter of it as well. Labor will develop a comprehensive plan to ensure that we build on our strength and expertise in mining technology and develop a domestic manufacturing industry to support it.
32. Australia also enjoys a significant competitive advantage due the large quantity of key minerals like lithium and rare earth minerals. Rather than exporting these highly sought-after commodities, we should be developing a manufacturing industry around them and creating good quality, skilled jobs in regional areas. Labor will develop these new industries and ensure that the Australian Made stamp is seen on high quality, high tech goods that are shipped all around the world.

Financial services

A Professional Financial Services Industry

1. Labor acknowledges that our financial services sector is a major employing sector in our economy providing significant employment and career opportunities for around half a million Australians, now and into the future.
2. Labor also recognises that businesses, and the Australian community in general, are compelled to participate daily in our financial services sector. A comprehensive, professional, efficient and competitive industry is essential to allocating capital in the economy and our essential services such as banking, insurance and superannuation.
3. It is in the national interest to ensure that Australia's finance industry has comprehensive local capability to meet the needs of both the domestic and global economies. The strength of our regulatory regime, together with effective competition policy and consumer protections will ensure our finance sector has the best chance to make its full contribution to national wellbeing, as well as providing a platform for growth in the export of financial services to our region and the world.
4. We want Australia to become a financial services centre in the region and will continue to undertake the necessary reforms to achieve this. That means we need to foster a professional, efficient, ethical and innovative marketplace for financial services and investment in employment, technology and skill development across the sector.

Financial Services Industry Plan

5. Australia needs a financial services industry plan that focuses on innovation and on identifying capabilities in the Australian economy for developing a globally competitive and traded financial services sector. This industry plan should include strategies to:
 - a. Develop stronger links between universities, business and industry bodies, training institutions, unions, and the federal and state governments;
 - b. Improve skills through training, especially through an expanded and restored TAFE sector, and other relevant skills development initiatives;
 - c. Encourage leaders who are capable of building a globally competitive and productive sector;
 - d. Invest in infrastructure that will allow Australian industry to be globally competitive;
 - e. Leverage the roll out of the NBN to build competitiveness and productivity and to strengthen the regional job market;
 - f. Increase capabilities in data management;
 - g. Extend market links to the global financial services sector;
 - h. Attract investment by companies that can build an international presence for Australia and promote Australia's key capabilities in the financial services sector.

6. Off-shoring of financial service sector jobs has been emerging as an important issue impacting employees and communities for a number of years. The COVID-19 pandemic has further exacerbated underlying risks. The business continuity arrangements for large financial services organisations, and data protection for consumers, have both been exposed to the serious risks entailed in offshoring critical functions.
7. Labor believes that all Australian financial service sector employers have a responsibility to support and promote new and better Australian jobs, creating opportunities for local employment. Labor supports policies that promote Australia as a financial services centre and Labor supports those Australian financial services businesses who create and promote Australian jobs. Labor believes that offshoring financial services sector jobs undermines our capacity to develop and maintain a safe, efficient, comprehensive, sustainable and internationally competitive local industry, and therefore believes offshoring is not in the national interest.

Competitive and sustainable banking system

8. Labor promotes a competitive and sustainable banking system for all. Australians are compelled to participate in the finance sector and as such the industry bears national economic and social significance. The banking industry must provide its products and services transparently and responsibly, balancing the needs of consumers, employees, shareholders and the economy. Our banks are highly profitable compared to their overseas counterparts, and Labor expects them to continue supporting the communities in which they operate.
9. Labor continues to support the four pillars policy. The four big banks continue to dominate our domestic banking environment and any move to merge these entities would severely compromise competition and be detrimental for consumers, local jobs, services and the economy.
10. We believe vigorous competition underpinned by ethical practices, prudent supervision, consumer protection and transparency is the best way to get a better deal for families and create a system that offers real choice for consumers and businesses. Combined with a strong prudential supervision and other regulation, this approach will continue to greatly benefit both the financial services sector and the consumers, and ensure that important reforms such as the Future of Financial Advice are pursued to the benefit of all Australians.
11. Labor recognises the structural changes in the finance sector arising from the digitalisation, artificial intelligence and automation. Labor notes the speed and scale of these changes, and their impact on employees.
12. Labor supports the establishment of a tripartite (Government, employer, employee) Finance Skills Consultation Committee to establish and oversee training and accreditation in the finance sector, in order to position workers for the finance jobs of the future. The Terms of Reference for this committee:
 - a. skills accreditation;
 - b. the portability of skills and qualifications;
 - c. a scalable, pathways-based approach to training; and

- d. the importance of ethics training for all levels of staff to nurture public confidence in the sector.

Productivity Commission

1. Labor notes that it is twenty years since the Productivity Commission was created. The Productivity Commissions processes and legislative functions are in a substantial need of modernisation. It is time that the Commission undergoes a thorough examination to test if its remit, make up, statutory guidelines, structure and culture is fit for purpose, whether it is desirable that the Commission remain the principal review and advisory body to the Commonwealth Government and what reforms need to be undertaken to it if it is. Therefore, a Labor Government will hold a root and branch review into the Productivity Commission and its constituting legislation. Labor is committed to reforming the Productivity Commission, to ensure that its functions and policy guidelines are fit for purpose in a time of rising inequality and a turbulent international trade and investment environment.

Supporting the Australian Textile Clothing and Footwear sector and ethical practices in it for the benefit of workers

1. The Australian Textile Clothing and Footwear (TCF) sector remains an important provider of jobs across many Australian cities and regional communities. The sector provides employment for thousands of women and men including over 30,000 workers in the formal sector and many thousands more in the informal sector as home-based workers.
2. Many workers in the sector face language barriers and cultural challenges which may impede them from obtaining alternative employment, yet possess a unique, specific, and valuable skillset and capability of great value to a sector which underpins key sections of the economy around the country.
3. Although the local sector has faced a challenging transition period due to numerous and specific pressures presented by globalisation and increased international competition benefiting from falling barriers to access to our domestic markets, many manufacturers have remained committed to maintaining Australian manufacturing operations and have taken advantage of the opportunity to adapt and innovate.
4. As a key sector of the manufacturing industry, the sector provides and will continue to provide, important flow on jobs in communities.
5. The sector proved critical during the COVID-19 pandemic with many local firms and their supply chains able to pivot to produce medical Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and face masks for the public when demand soared, and global supply chains broke down.
6. There exist new and emerging markets where locally made, ethically accredited products, as well as sustainably made, high quality products and unique design innovations are highly valued, and this presents an opportunity for local producers.
7. Despite all the above, the TCF sector has too often been ignored by the Coalition when they consider Australia's manufacturing future.

8. The Coalition have also abdicated their responsibility to help put a stop to worker exploitation in the sector.
9. They refuse to use their significant purchasing power to help drive ethically, locally made production of TCF by Small and Medium Enterprises in the sector, nor will they reinstate critical funding for Ethical Clothing Australia which they slashed in 2014.
10. This is despite that TCF workers are especially vulnerable to exploitation, for several reasons including that the sector is characterised by:
 - A high proportion are mature aged migrant women, who face cultural and linguistic barriers to understanding and inquiring about their workplace entitlements.
 - A difficulty in identifying homeworkers/outworkers in manufacturing supply chains.
 - A lack of familiarity of the homeworker/outworker provisions and related provisions of the *Textile, Clothing, Footwear and Associated Industries Award 2010* (the TCF Award)
 - An unverified number of workers being homeworkers/outworkers, who work away from business premises (often at home) at the end of long and complex production supply chains
 - Limited record keeping, compounding the risk of worker exploitation.
11. Labor will support jobs, workers conditions and workplace rights in the TCF sector in recognition of their importance to the economy and the workers involved in the sector.
12. Labor will address the following areas of importance to the TCF sector and the workers, families and communities which rely on it:

Industry Policy

- Unlike the Coalition, Labor recognises the TCF sector as a vital cog of Australia's manufacturing industry and advanced industrial capacity worthy of support and innovation assistance. Labor will ensure a tripartite approach to building the innovative capacity of Australian industry including the TCF sector.
- Labor recognises that in government it will be able to assist the transformation of the TCF sector by supporting the development of new products and processes, targeting opportunities in ethical production and the high-tech, high-value end of the market including medical PPE.
- The conditions of support to TCF companies will be designed to ensure sustainable employment outcomes, ethical labour, and environmental standards, and maintain capacity and build skills.
- Labor will support Australia's industries including the TCF sector through innovation programs and government procurement policies.
- Australia has huge opportunities to expand TCF production and will work with the industry to attract investment and to increase access to finance.

Ethical Clothing Australia

- Labor will provide important financial support to Ethical Clothing Australia in recognition that it represents a unique, worlds best practice accreditation system which sees employers and unions working collaboratively to stamp out exploitation in TCF supply chains.
- ECA accreditation serves workers well by ensuring that they are being paid appropriately, receiving all their legal minimum conditions, and working in safe workplaces throughout the business supply chain and serves accredited businesses well by ensuring they have a vehicle to demonstrate ethical products as a key market differentiation point for them to capitalise upon the increasing preferences and requirements of procurers, purchasers, and consumers.

Ethical Procurement

- Labor will lead on ethical procurement practices and improve opportunities for Australian TCF manufacturers in government tenders and require all companies that tender for TCF contracts to hold Ethical Clothing Australia accreditation.
- Labor will establish a TCF Ethical Procurement Register and require all companies that tender for Government contracts in the TCF sector to hold Ethical Clothing Australia accreditation and be on the register.
- Labor will require successful TCF suppliers and their supply chains to remain accredited and be transparent to ensure that ethical standards are monitored and met throughout the life of a procurement contract.

Local procurement

- Labor will require that the purchase of locally manufactured TCF (where the required goods are manufactured locally, meet all requirements of bid specifications, there is a genuine market, and the procurement will be consistent with our international obligations) by all Government departments and agencies.
- Labor will require contractors on publicly funded projects to purchase locally manufactured TCF from businesses which are accredited by Ethical Clothing Australia (where the required goods are manufactured locally, meet all requirements of bid specifications, there is a genuine market, and the procurement will be consistent with our international obligations).
- Labor supports the lowering of the threshold for government procurers being required to consider the economic benefit a TCF contract provides or clarifying that the current threshold can apply to an aggregated total procurement across government.
- Labor will compare the definition of Small and Medium Enterprises in Australia to the prevailing definition in the United States and examining any barriers to harmonising it.
- Labor supports the continued manufacture of combat uniforms being in Australia and wants to expand Australian made component of uniform and equipment supplies of ADF personnel consistent with our international obligations.

- Labor will support the important work of Ethical Clothing Australia and work with agencies to extend requirements for ethical labour standards to companies tendering for government contracts that source their TCF contracts from offshore when local purchasing is not feasible.

Outworker Rights

- Labor recognises the disadvantaged position of outworkers in the TCF sector.
- Outworkers require specific regulatory protection to control the exploitative conditions under which they are employed and ensure they are deemed to be employees and receive all employee entitlements including superannuation.

Workers Assistance

- Labor recognises that vital support and assistance for TCF workers who lose jobs in the sector are provided with appropriate support for programs and services like a non-means tested training allowance, training in English language and literacy, customised support for training and job-seeking, and funding for community-based organisations to advocate on behalf of redundant workers.

Safe and secure jobs in aviation

1. COVID-19 has demonstrated the inherent volatility of the aviation sector and vulnerability to external shocks, with reasonably paid secure jobs being replaced by low paid, unsafe and insecure jobs. Power imbalances and their impact on workers throughout the supply chain have been brutally highlighted. Aviation is a public good which warrants effective government regulation, oversight, planning, investment and equity in order to create and maintain good Australian jobs in our cities and our regions and protect essential transport routes to Australian businesses and communities. As such a Federal Labor Government will ensure that an appropriate capacity exists to make binding and enforceable orders on all supply chain participants, including comprehensive dispute resolution mechanisms; providing 'same job, same pay' and maximising secure jobs; and the ability to inquire and make recommendations to Government about any issues facing the sector including through the use of fair procurement policy.

Australian shipping

1. Labor recognises that Australia needs a revitalised, strong Australian-flagged shipping industry with a secure workforce. The nation needs a strong Australian flagged fleet to ensure secure supply of goods essential to our economy, such as fuel, as well as to ensure the safety of our community in times of crisis. Labor acknowledges that shipping is an important national strategic industry supporting many other industries such as manufacturing, energy production, agriculture and tourism and that ships are efficient, require no built infrastructure for navigation and are the least energy intensive of all freight transport modes.
2. We will amend maritime laws to revitalise the Australian shipping industry with more effective regulatory arrangements for ship licencing overseen by an industry body. We will improve maritime safety laws to ensure the maintenance of maritime skills and qualifications as well as minimum safety and crewing standards necessary for a safe shipping industry. We will establish

a strategic fleet, support development of the cruise sector including special support for the Australian expedition cruise sector, establish more contemporary foreign seafarer visa requirements, and improved corporate and seafarer tax incentives and workforce development measures so Australian shipowners can compete fairly and employ more Australian seafarers. We will ensure Australian shipping and port infrastructure is appropriately funded and will establish industry stakeholder engagement arrangements to help coordinate our commitment to revitalise Australian shipping.

3. We will establish a stronger interface and integration between commercial shipping and Naval, Customs and search/rescue/salvage/emergency response requirements of government, as well as with appropriate government agencies and commercial shipbuilding/repair/maintenance to improve maritime security and help build the maritime cluster.
4. Labor acknowledges that new opportunities for Australian ships will emerge as industries transform in response to utilisation of new technologies and as Australia rebuilds its manufacturing industry, as energy transitions away from fossil fuel usage adopting new energy sources such as hydrogen, ammonia and biofuels and as more value adding occurs in agriculture, all creating demand for ships in domestic and international sea transportation. Labor will incentivise these new opportunities for Australian ships.

Second Sydney airport

2. Labor will develop an integrated Sydney Aviation Plan to provide for Sydney's future airport needs. Labor supports a second airport for Sydney to serve the needs of the region and drive economic activity. Labor will ensure the operation of a second airport improves economic activity and job creation in western Sydney and minimises environmental impacts, including by having night time fly free zones over communities. Labor will maintain the cap and curfew at Kingsford Smith Airport and implement the long-term operating plan maximising take-offs over water.

Safe rates

1. A Federal Labor Government will, as a matter of urgency, legislate for a national system of Safe Rates consisting of an independent body with responsibility for safe standards of work including fair payments and conditions. This task has become more pressing given the emergence of new technology and the gig economy in passenger and freight transport which has accelerated the downward spiral throughout the transport industry. The system will ensure implementation of the following principles:
 - a. Universal application of a system of binding, enforceable and safe standards. The standards will cover all parties in the transport supply chain/ contract networks to ensure safe performance, planning and appropriate payments. The standards will focus on eliminating economic and contractual practices that place undue pressure on transport supply chains/ contract networks;
 - b. Appropriate, enforceable payments and related conditions for all operators and workers, regardless of label;

- c. The capacity to resolve (including where necessary through binding decisions) transport supply chain/ contract networks disputes;
- d. Appropriate and adequate enforcement regime; and
- e. Appropriate resourcing of supply chain/ contract networks auditing, training and education through an industry fund.

Postal services

1. Australia Post is a critical part of Australian infrastructure, delivering letters, parcels and services that are essential to Australian communities and businesses.
2. Labor will maintain Australia Post in full public ownership.
3. Labor will maintain Australia Post as the sole carrier of the standard-size letter service, and the sole issuer of postage stamps. Flat-rate postal charging arrangements will be protected to ensure universal and equitable access to all Australians, metropolitan and regional.
4. Labor will encourage the growth of Australia Post's service offering and ensure Australia Post's community service obligations provide equitable access to a full range of essential services for all Australians.
5. Labor commits to ensuring community service obligations meet the needs of the Australian people and Australian businesses. Labor commits to have the ACCC retain price oversight on all letter delivery.
6. Australia Post should maintain appropriate coverage of post office outlets and street post boxes throughout Australia. Labor will ensure the ownership mix between corporate retail outlets, franchisees and licensed post offices is maintained.
7. Postal services are the lifeblood of many rural and regional communities. Labor will work to maintain and strengthen the service offering of Australia Post in rural and regional Australia through Post Offices, including continually improving Australia Post's service delivery capabilities and its digital services.
8. Australia Post employs thousands of Australians. Labor will work to protect the jobs of these workers, encourage Australia Post towards direct full-time employment rather than contract work, and endeavour to ensure contractors will not be used to undermine the current entitlements of direct employees.
9. Labor will ensure postal workers continue to play a strong role in both mail and parcel delivery, and will encourage consultation and collaboration between Australia Post and unions to address and overcome any challenges.

Delivery of government services

1. Labor will:
 - a. ensure government service delivery is appropriately resourced to deliver quality and timely services to Australian citizens;
 - b. Increase the skills and capacity of staff in all areas of customer engagement;
 - c. Maintain a robust, responsive and contemporary digital information system;
 - d. Maintain a network of accessible service centres, access points and agents throughout metropolitan and regional Australia capable of providing real time performance information to citizens;
 - e. Pursue a Service Delivery Reform agenda to improve choice and standards in delivery;
 - f. Establish an e-citizens Charter promoting transparency, accountability and democratic participation;
 - g. Redirect resources saved by digital service delivery to deliver intensive case management programmes for those in greatest need, ensuring digitally excluded citizens are not disadvantaged;
 - h. Integrate and promote, where practical and appropriate, Services Australia's digital platforms with other government digital platforms;
 - i. Develop a departmental e-Government research centre laboratory in line with international best practice from within existing departmental resources. The laboratory will conduct research aimed at continuously improving both Services Australia's digital service delivery offerings and those across other government departments and agencies; and
 - j. Protect the integrity and privacy of the personal records of Australians using government services by keeping all data and processing work associated with the delivery of government services within the public service, and ensure each government department/agency has employed a Privacy and Information Officer.

Stronger public sector

1. The Australian Public Service and the wider public sector have a crucial role to play in serving our community and shaping the future of our nation. However, years of cuts and outsourcing has undermined the capacity and capability of the public service. Labor is committed to building a stronger public service that delivers better outcomes for the community, contributes to building a fairer and more inclusive Australia, and is a better place to work.

Rebuilding public sector capability

2. Labor will:
 - a. Increase the number of direct, permanent jobs in the public service, and reduce the use of contractors, casual, labour hire and non-ongoing positions;

- b. Establish and maintain agency funding levels commensurate with service delivery and policy development requirements, and provide adequate agency funding across the whole of the APS;
- c. Abolish the Average Staffing Level cap in the public service and stop wasting taxpayers money on contractors, consultants and labour hire firms for work that could be done more effectively by public servants, with savings reinvested into rebuilding public service capability through secure jobs;
- d. Work with trade unions and employees, to take meaningful steps to replace the Efficiency Dividend (ED) with genuine targeted efficiencies and productivity improvements. Labor recognises that the ED is no longer an effective public policy measure for generating efficiencies and has had a damaging effect on public sector jobs, service delivery and policy capacity;
- e. Ensure contracting and labour hire is not used as a vehicle to cut wages, conditions or job security for public servants, including by government agencies being required to ensure labour hire firms pay the same wages and conditions as directly employed public servants;
- f. Develop a Workforce Strategy to address current and future capability requirements and which recognises the detrimental impact of outsourcing and labour hire and will rebuild internal capacity.

Procurement consultants, contractors, and labour hire

3. Labor will ensure government procurement decisions consider the impact on public sector service delivery and policy development capacity and do not create perverse incentives that reduce the internal capability and corporate knowledge of government agencies. Agreements with contractors and consultancies should require knowledge transfer and capability building where possible to reduce long term reliance on outsourced labour.
4. Labor will strengthen transparency and accountability in monitoring and reporting on government contracting by:
 - a. Requiring procurement government spending data to be collected on a central database, including tender notices, contract reporting and consultancy spending;
 - b. Clearly defining contractors and consultants and establishing broader reporting categories to ensure all data is adequately captured and transparently reported; and
 - c. Requiring agencies to keep records of sub-contractors used and properly track the status of their non-APS workforce including the number, level, cost and length of service of labour hire staff and contractors.

Public sector industrial relations

1. Labor will work with the public service and unions to build an effective public sector with fair and equitable conditions of employment and job security. Labor will:
 - a. End the pay and conditions disparities that exist across the public service by supporting a single, unified Australian Public Service and addressing pay inequities through an agreed mechanism to achieve equal pay for work of equal value across the APS, and take active

- steps to address pay inequities in low-paying public sector agencies with a high proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander staff;
- b. Ensure Commonwealth agencies undertake genuine, fair collective bargaining and recognise the Commonwealth as a single employer where core APS-wide terms and conditions are negotiated in good faith at a service-wide level and remaining conditions negotiated at an agency, group of agencies or portfolio-wide level as appropriate;
 - c. Lead by example on addressing the ill effects of family and domestic violence by introducing public-sector wide standards of paid leave and other supporting entitlements for workers who are affected by family and domestic violence;
 - d. Ensure genuine, good faith consultation on all matters affecting employees in the workplace;
 - e. Facilitate support for the role of trade union delegates in the workplace, and their rights to communicate with workers, access the workers they can represent, paid leave to attend union training and time to fulfil their roles;
 - f. Recognise employees' rights to exercise genuine freedom of association and the right to organise in a union including by giving workers the right to access union delegates and union representation at work, during working hours and in their workplace;
 - g. Recognise the right of public servants to hold and express political views as private citizens, limiting restrictions to this right to actions and expressions which genuinely undermine their capacity to serve the public;
 - h. Ensure that Government workplaces provide best practice work health and safety, including through supporting the role of workplace health and safety representatives and recognising the role of unions in health and safety;
 - i. Enable public servants to balance work and family responsibilities;
 - j. Take active steps to increase the proportions of First Nations peoples and people with a disability employed in the APS and ensure they have access to meaningful career development;
 - k. Ensure service-wide productivities are recognised as efficiency gains by Australian Public Service agencies and that these gains are shared between government, employees and the community;
 - l. Ensure secure, comprehensive, service-wide standards and classifications, and ensure internal appeal and review rights;
 - m. Secure superannuation arrangements in industrial instruments, and maintain at least 15.4 per cent employer contribution to the superannuation of federal government employees, regardless of choice of fund;
 - n. Expand APS workforce entry points, such as cadetships and other targeted programs, and improve career development pathways; and
 - o. Act as a model litigant in any proceedings before the Fair Work Commission.

Aged care services

1. Labor recognises that one streamlined home and community care program is being implemented but we recognise and support the need for some services to continue to receive block funding post the transition date of 30 June 2022. Labor in Government would continue to block fund some services past this transition date.
2. Labor will work with stakeholders to investigate and facilitate the continuation of home and community care services that are currently delivered by local governments, particularly those in Victoria.

Sexual and reproductive health

1. Labor recognises that there are unique barriers to accessing sexual and reproductive health services, and particularly contraception and termination. As well as legal barriers in some states and territories, these include a lack of affordability and accessibility, poor service provision in many regional and rural areas and issues of reproductive coercion.
2. Labor will work to improve sexual and reproductive health for all Australians and supports the rights of individuals to make decisions regarding their reproductive health, particularly the right to choose appropriate contraceptives and termination or to continue with their pregnancy. Labor will ensure these choices are supported by access to relevant medical, support and advice services.
3. As part of this, Labor will:
 - a. Support awareness of, access to and uptake of modern contraceptives, particularly long acting reversible contraceptives;
 - b. increase the availability of culturally sensitive and accessible sexual and reproductive health services; and
 - c. Work with states and territories to improve legal protections, such as safe access zones for women seeking termination services, as well as expand service provision in the public system.

Territories

1. Labor recognises that Australia needs special arrangements between the Commonwealth and the External Territories tailored to the particular needs and circumstances of each territory. We will maintain and improve the legislative framework for non-self-governing territories and improve the services they enjoy so they have:
 - a. opportunities as far as possible equivalent to mainland Australians;
 - b. a diversified economy based on the strengths, needs and aspirations, populations and environments of each;
 - c. economic, social and cultural development appropriate to the needs, aspirations and circumstances of each territory;

- d. governance arrangements that are equal, fair, and sustainable and reflect islanders' desire for real decision-making power, responsibility and a level of autonomy; and
- e. access to all protections under Australia's Human Rights Framework.

Civil society

1. Labor acknowledges the crucial role of Civil Society in Australia's democracy and its role in advocacy and influencing government policy. Labor notes the role of civil society in addressing pre-existing fault lines in our political, social, and economic systems that have been exposed and deepened through the effects of COVID-19.
2. Labor is committed to working closely with Civil Society organisations as we recover from the pandemic and reimagine a new Australia. We will acknowledge, support, and engage with the expertise held within Civil Society.
3. In pursuing a partnership with Civil Society, Labor will pursue the following objectives:
 - a. establishment of an expert body to ensure the views of civil society are reflected in policy reform and initiatives to strengthen and build nourishing communities;
 - b. review the Recommendations of the 2010 Productivity Commission Report on the Not for Profit Sector;
 - c. development of a national working with vulnerable people (WWVP) registration to ensure consistency and traceability across jurisdictions and to improve the safety of vulnerable people;
 - d. work across jurisdictions to create a modern and standardised national fundraising framework, reducing red tape and improving charities' access to donors and philanthropists;
 - e. review and reform the funding models for contracted services to support longer-term planning and better service provision;
 - f. recognise that non-profit organisations are always better positioned than for-profit corporations to provide community services. In the procurement of community services, Labor will remove the practice of competing on labour costs by ensuring tenders and grant programs are sufficient and appropriately funded to provide for adequate and safe staffing levels, and fair and reasonable wages and conditions.
 - g. recognise that community led organisations have been an essential part of delivering services and building community capacity. Labor will prioritise funding for specialist services, including specialist services delivered by women, LGBTIQ, First Nations, disability and CALD groups.
 - h. ensure not-for-profits are free to advocate on behalf of their cause without fear of being deregistered as a charity and that advocacy itself is protected as a government funded activity of community organisations;
 - i. acknowledge and support the significance of volunteer recruitment and management in Australia, particularly in responding to natural disasters and COVID-19, and ensure that

frontline volunteers are given suitable access to workplace safety needs, such as COVID-19 vaccinations and protective equipment; and

- j. support the not-for-profit sector in bridging the technological divide, so that more organisations, regardless of size or location, can access the digital economy and the productivity gains that technology can deliver.

Privacy

1. An individual's right to privacy is a fundamental political, civil and human right must be protected. Government should provide a strong regulatory framework to protect people's right to privacy and ensure the security of their personal information, whether held in the public sector or the private sector.
2. Labor will provide a strong regulatory framework to protect people's right to privacy, in all states, and ensure the security of their personal information, whether held in the public sector, not-for-profit sector, or the private sector, on paper or in digital form.
3. Many services relied on by Australian consumers require them to provide very personal information about themselves to secure those services including employment details, income levels, credit/financial history and circumstances as well as family links.
4. Labor believes Australians retain ownership of their personal information and it is essential Australians can have confidence their information is securely stored and accessed and in ways that enshrine their rights as they exist under Australian law.
5. Labor substantially updated the Privacy Act 1988 to, among other things adopt a risk-based approach to protecting personal information in their possession from misuse, interference or loss, as well as unauthorised access, modification or disclosure.
6. Labor will maintain these objectives to ensure all personal data including health, financial and employment details are equally protected.
7. Labor acknowledges particular community concerns about the offshore storage and access of their personal data. In Government, Labor will continue to review the adequacy of offshore data storage and privacy laws.
8. Labor will continue to work to ensure the types of agencies with access to the data and purposes for which the data is available are appropriate. We will ensure the current warrants scheme and the threshold conditions on warrantless access are appropriate and freedom of the press is protected.

Nuclear disarmament

1. Congratulates the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons on its work in returning to global prominence the cause of nuclear disarmament;
2. Acknowledges the value of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (the Ban Treaty) and its aspiration to rid the world of nuclear weapons for all time; and

3. Acknowledges the centrality of the US Alliance to Australia's national security and strategic policy. Labor in government will sign and ratify the Ban Treaty, after taking account of the need to:
 - k. Ensure an effective verification and enforcement architecture;
 - l. Ensure the interaction of the Ban Treaty with the longstanding Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty;
 - m. Work to achieve universal support for the Ban Treaty. Labor will take urgent action to reduce the risk of nuclear war by continuing its proud record of seeking nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation by:
 - n. Working to create the conditions necessary to achieve a pathway to universal support for the Ban Treaty;
 - o. Advocating to the United States that it actively negotiates with Russia, China and other nuclear armed states to develop a follow on treaty to the New START treaty with a view to realising the objective of Article VI of the Treaty on the Non -Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), namely, a world free of nuclear weapons; and
 - p. Seeking to work with partners and allies to build upon the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament to develop an initiative which proposes a way of working with states possessing nuclear weapons to achieve Article VI of the NPT and encouraging transparency among all states with nuclear weapons in relation to their use doctrine and the composition of their arsenals, while continuing to strengthen non-proliferation goals in the Indo Pacific region.

Israel and Palestine

The Special Platform Conference:

- supports the recognition and right of Israel and Palestine to exist as two states within secure and recognised borders;
- calls on the next Labor Government to recognise Palestine as a state; and
- expects that this issue will be an important priority for the next Labor Government.

A nation built on migration

1. Migrants and refugees have made an important social and economic contribution throughout our nation's history. Australia's diversity is a source of national strength and a critical factor in nation-building.
2. Australia is, and will remain, a society of people drawn from a rich variety of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Australia is, and will remain, a multicultural society.
3. Labor will enact policies that enable and promote the participation of migrants and refugees in social, economic and political life by recognising the value of Australia's diversity and removing

barriers to access and participation. Labor will ensure that our policies do not adversely impact on the ability of migrants and refugees to fully participate in Australian society.

4. To support Australia's multicultural society, Labor's migration policies will:
 - Remain non-discriminatory;
 - Respect the heritage and traditional customs of migrants and their children;
 - Recognise the importance of all aspects of the migration program, including skilled, family and humanitarian streams;
 - Support Australia's social cohesion by encouraging universal respect for Australia's democratic beliefs and laws, and the rights, responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship;
 - Consistently oppose those who foster extremism, hatred, ethnic division or incitement to violence; and
 - Be evidence-based, supported by rigorous research and evaluation.
5. Labor believes that there is an inequity for New Zealand citizens living in Australia under the terms of the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangements (TTTA). Labor will consider the permanent residency status and potential citizenship arrangements for New Zealand citizens living in Australia under the terms of the TTTA.
6. Labor affirms that every worker, no matter where they have come from or what languages they speak, must be treated with fairness, dignity and respect inside and outside the workplace. Labor notes that migrant workers are at particular risk of wage theft, harassment, bullying, discrimination and unsafe practices and being trapped in the black economy by rogue and unscrupulous employers.
7. Labor condemns operators whose business model is built on the disgraceful exploitation of workers who are forced to work in the black economy. The black economy refers here to the shameful practice of running a business outside the tax and regulatory system, to gain an advantage and to try and get away with mistreating workers, often migrant and marginalised workers. These workers are ripped off and don't receive lawful wages, benefits and are prevented from seeking legal protections.
8. Some of the most abhorrent behaviour from operators occurs in the horticulture sector, where a significant number of employers operate entirely in the black economy. These operators exploit the workers that feed us, and provide fresh produce to our communities. It is estimated that 100,000 workers across Australia are operating as the backbone of the industry in an unregulated environment.
9. Labor will work with trade unions to address the problem of worker exploitation in the black economy. Conference demands better oversight, a review of and adjustment to the temporary work visa system as part of the solution for those migrant workers trapped in the black economy where workers are paid cash well below award wages, not paid their superannuation and treated in a manner that is appalling to those who share Labor's values of respect, fairness and dignity for all workers.

10. Labor will deal with the complex issue of those seeking Australia's protection by giving expression to the values of compassion, justice, human rights, fairness and generosity. These are values which are at the heart of the Australian identity.
11. Labor will treat people seeking our protection with dignity and compassion and in accordance with our international obligations, the rule of law and core Australian principles of fairness and humanity. Labor will legislate to enshrine our international obligations into Australian domestic law.
12. Under the Refugee Convention, asylum seekers have the right to seek protection and asylum and, regardless of the mode of arrival, this is not illegal under Australian or international law. Accordingly, Labor rejects the practice of referring to asylum seekers as 'illegals'.
13. Australia must not harm people seeking refuge.
14. Family reunion for migrants and refugees is important to successful settlement.
15. The issue of those seeking protection is both a global and regional one. Accordingly, in order to achieve a long-term resolution to the issue, it must be dealt with through international cooperation and not unilateral action. Within our region, Australia must play a leadership role. Recognising the value of a bipartisan approach in this policy area in the past, Labor will work towards a bipartisan approach once again.
16. A fundamental principle in treating those seeking protection with humanity is to provide as much certainty as possible. An aspiration of certainty in all matters around asylum seekers, including the duration of assessing refugees' claims, must underpin Australian policy.
17. Labor will work to ensure those in detention facilities are treated with dignity and respect and have access to an appropriate standard of care and substantive access to health and education services while held in immigration detention centres.
18. The world is experiencing its greatest humanitarian need since the Second World War with the largest number of displaced persons since that time. Labor believes that Australia should lead debate on the establishment of a best practice framework, including new regional agreements and understandings required to ensure the Refugee Convention and the international protection system function effectively in this environment. Australia understands that such a framework must include working to ensure better support for those countries that host the great majority of the world's refugees and people seeking asylum, to directly address the needs and rights of displaced persons in these places. This includes encouraging countries in our region to provide protection to those in need and ensuring Australia responds by accepting our responsible share of the world's resettlement of refugees.
19. Labor acknowledges the role of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as the international agency dealing with the world's response to this humanitarian need. In pursuing Australia's responsibilities as a civilised and modern nation, Labor will ensure Australia is one of the leading contributors to the global work of the UNHCR with a significant increase to funding for UNHCR.

20. Australia has a particular responsibility to show humanitarian and protection leadership in South East Asia. Accordingly, Labor seeks a leading role working with South East Asian nations in the region and in particular with Indonesia to build a regional framework to improve the lives of asylum seekers. Labor will give appropriate consideration to UNHCR refugee registrations to assist Indonesia and the UNHCR to work through the backlog. Subject to Australian vetting processes and sovereignty concerns Labor will positively considered such refugees for inclusion within the increased humanitarian intake.
21. To combat people smuggling Labor will engage with Australia's neighbours to address 'push factors' by seeking innovative, effective and lawful solutions to the irregular movement of people through the region. This approach will include multilateral engagement through Australia being a co-chair of the Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime (the Bali Process), and new and deeper bilateral arrangements of a type envisaged by the Regional Cooperation Framework agreed at the Bali Process Ministerial Conference in March 2011.
22. Labor will seek to ensure appropriate multilateral infrastructure is in place to build a humanitarian regional framework which may include seeking to extend the work of existing multilateral processes.
23. In recognising that addressing 'push factors' in transit countries will lessen the need for people to take a boat journey, Labor will work with the UNHCR to help build its capacity in South East Asia to pursue its mandate and assist the region's asylum seekers.
24. The phenomenon of people smuggling has a long history arising from the need for people to escape from danger and persecution. Labor also recognises that those who decide to leave a country in perilous circumstances have the right under the Refugee Convention to determine their means of departure. However, recognising the risk to life of people travelling on unsafe, unseaworthy and overcrowded boats often operated by criminal syndicates, Labor supports measures to reduce such journeys by working with regional neighbours and the UNHCR to eliminate any influence that people smugglers may have over vulnerable protection claimants by addressing people smuggling at its source, in countries of first asylum and transit countries.
25. The most significant source country in South East Asia is Myanmar. Myanmar has undertaken enormous political and economic reforms, but we are deeply concerned by events that have led to the large-scale movement of Rohingya refugees into neighbouring countries, particularly Bangladesh. Labor will work with Myanmar in the critical task of protecting human rights for all of its people and ensure our aid and cooperation programs with Myanmar are suitably tailored to do so.
26. In pursuing strong regional arrangements Labor will seek to ensure they provide access to protection in countries of first asylum and transit countries to deter secondary movements of asylum seekers through:
 - The developing of capacity to improve accommodation, work rights, access to health and education services and other living standards for asylum seekers;
 - Expediting the claims for refugee status by asylum seekers; and

- The seeking of durable solutions.
27. Labor will increase the humanitarian intake of refugees to create an orderly pathway to resettlement in Australia. This would help reduce the risk of asylum seekers being exploited by people smugglers and provide asylum seekers with an alternative to boat travel to Australia.
28. Noting Pacific Island nations are particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, and these nations have expressed a clear desire for Pacific peoples to continue to live in their own countries where possible, and acknowledging Australia's unique responsibilities in the Pacific, Labor will:
- Support Pacific Islanders to remain in their homelands as the first response to this challenge;
 - Work to assist with intra-country relocations when citizens have to be moved from low-lying areas to higher ground; and
 - In the event that in the longer-term permanent migration becomes necessary for some Pacific Islanders, work in close consultation with the region to ensure that appropriate settlement is achieved.
29. Labor will continue Australia's contribution to international aid efforts to reduce the risk of displacement and to alleviate the pressing humanitarian needs of displaced persons
30. Labor will act to eradicate the exploitation and wage theft experienced by temporary migrant workers working closely with trade unions by introducing a range of measures that deliver increased protections. Measures will:
- Manage information exchanges between the Fair Work Ombudsman and the Department of Home Affairs to protect exploited migrant workers from unwarranted deportation and ensure they can come forward without fear to ensure investigations and prosecutions of employers;
 - Explore reforms to visa laws to allow migrant workers who have been exploited or underpaid to remain in Australia until the relevant legal processes for recovery of their lost wages and conditions to be finalised;
 - Protect international students from exploitation and reduce the ability for businesses to use the cash economy to systematically ignore minimum award entitlements and exploit vulnerable workers;
 - Deliver better protections to working holiday visa holders who are subject to exploitation and underpayment;
 - Ensure employers not workers are the focus of exploitation investigations;
 - Increase fines for employers who breach obligations and employ people without work visas; and
 - Protect migrant workers from harassment, bullying, discrimination and unsafe practices.

31. Labor recognises that shocking exploitation in the horticulture industry has persisted for too long without meaningful action by the Coalition Government. The current poorly designed and managed visa framework and its fractured approach to sourcing overseas labour gives unscrupulous employers and labour hire firms far too much influence over vulnerable workers and a capacity to use worker exploitation as a business model. Such an approach has allowed for a collapse of wages and conditions in the sector and introduced a guest worker program into Australia by stealth. Labor notes the reputational damage inflicted on Australia by its failed management of the 88 Day Working Holiday Maker visa program and the conscripting of young holiday makers into a sector notorious for exploiting them. Australia must urgently address the horticulture sectors structural dependence on visa workers and the exploitation and lowering of working conditions that this generates.
32. As part of a broader review of the purpose and structure of Australia's migration program, Labor will reform the Working Holiday Maker program to better protect the rights and conditions of visa holders as well as assessing its impact on regional labour markets and industries.
33. Labor supports reforms that protect the rights and conditions of all horticulture workers. Protections for workers will be complemented by a more coherent overall visa framework that preferences permanent migration, the skills, training and employment of Australians, and the use of temporary overseas workers only when needed. This would be reinforced by stronger oversight, enforcement and penalties for employers and labour hire firms that act illegally in the sector. Labor will work to ensure Australia's horticultural sector is a highly profitable, highly productive sector offering good, secure jobs with fair pay and conditions for all workers, including Australians and workers in regulated programs such as an improved Seasonal Worker Program.
34. Labor condemns the exploitation of workers in Australia's horticultural sector. Labor notes the multitude of government, parliamentary, non-government, union and academic reports that have highlighted this ongoing structural problem with workforce in horticulture. Labor will implement and advocate for policy reforms from opposition and in government that address this issue and immediately end the structural and endemic exploitation of workers that currently exists in Australia's horticulture sector.
35. Labor supports workers in the horticultural sector being paid a guaranteed minimum rate for the work they do. Guaranteed rates of pay will help end exploitation currently occurring via the gaming of piece rates and other illegal behaviour. Labor supports efforts by the union with relevant constitutional industrial coverage to amend the Horticulture Award in order to provide minimum guaranteed rates of pay for horticulture workers.
36. Labor will appoint a Special Envoy for Refugee and Asylum Seeker Issues with responsibilities for advancing Australia's interests and ensuring Australia plays a global role in the resettlement of displaced people.
37. As the Government should have done, Labor will refer the United Nations Global Compact on Migration for consideration through the proper parliamentary committee process.

Australia's humanitarian intake, settlement services and refugee assessment

1. Those found to be owed Australia's protection under the Refugee Convention, Complimentary Protection or and other international instruments will be given permanent protection under the Migration Act 1958.
2. Those not found to be owed Australia's protection under the Refugee Convention, Complimentary Protection or and other international instruments will be promptly returned only after any relevant legal avenues have been exhausted.
3. Labor supports the existing definition of 'serious harm' and 'persecution' including the current risk threshold of the 'real chance test'.
4. Labor will support a humanitarian migration program that reasonably responds to international humanitarian crises as they arise.
5. In continuing Australia's generous humanitarian program, Labor will provide appropriate support for the travel and resettlement of refugees and others requiring Australia's protection.
6. State, Territory and local governments support refugees to settle in Australia. Labor will facilitate opportunities for business, community groups, individuals and State, Territory and local governments to participate in and support the resettlement of refugees through a community sponsored refugee resettlement program. Any community sponsored places should be in addition to the government's refugee and humanitarian program.
7. Labor aspires to progressively increase Australia's government funded humanitarian intake to 27,000 places per year.
8. Labor aspires to progressively increase the community sponsored refugee program intake to 5,000 places per year.
9. Temporary Protection Visas place refugees in an ongoing State of uncertainty and prevent meaningful settlement, creating hardship for refugees and denying Australia the benefit of their contribution.
10. Labor will abolish Temporary Protection Visas and Safe Haven Enterprise Visas and transition eligible refugees onto permanent visa arrangements.
11. Labor believes protection claims made in Australia should be assessed and reviewed on the individual merits with procedural fairness ensuring our international human rights obligations are met. Accordingly:
 - The assessment and review of protection claims will be underpinned by robust, efficient and transparent processes that ensure fair and consistent outcomes, including access to review and independent advice;
 - The assessment and review of protection claims of specific lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer asylum seekers will be underpinned by appropriate

and relevant assessment tools and processes that reflect cultural experiences of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer community;

- The assessment and review of protection claims must be independent and free from any political or diplomatic interference;
- The processing of protection claims must be streamlined to enhance the quality of decision making, to provide more efficient pathways for prompt resolution of visa status and to alleviate the courts' immigration case-load burden; and
- The Stone Review process will be maintained as an important mechanism for ensuring the fairness of Australia's security assessment system; and
- Labor will create an independent Refugee Review Tribunal and abolish the Immigration Assessment Authority. The Tribunal will allow for procedurally fair, simple, affordable and accessible processes and procedures, including in relation to adverse credibility findings, for the review of refugee related decisions.

12. Labor will require the National Security Legislation Monitor to advise on establishing other mechanisms for:

- Independent review of the adverse security assessments that ensures procedural fairness while recognising that processes may be required to protect intelligence sources and methodology; and
- The management of those whose adverse assessment is upheld.

13. Labor will explore options other than indefinite detention, including third country resettlement, to deal with refugees with adverse security assessments in a way that does not jeopardise Australia's national security interests.

14. Reporting on the '90 day rule', which requires that refugee status determinations are concluded within 90 days from the time of application, has been an important accountability measure in ensuring the Government operates in a timely way in assessing protection applications.

15. Labor will reintroduce the 90 day rule into the Migration Act.

16. The existing fast track assessment process under the auspices of the Immigration Assessment Authority and the limitation of appeal rights does not provide a fair, thorough and robust assessment process for persons seeking asylum.

17. Labor will abolish this fast track assessment process.

18. Labor believes the Refugee Convention plays a critical role in Australian law. Referring to the Refugee Convention in the Migration Act 1958 is good legislative practice.

19. Labor will reintroduce the appropriate references to the Refugee Convention into the Migration Act 1958.

20. Protection visa applications made in Australia should be assessed by Australians on Australian Territory.

21. Under legislation passed by Labor, complementary protection claims should be considered by way of the protection visa framework.
22. Labor will work to ensure asylum seekers have access to appropriate, independent, government-funded legal advice while working through their claims for protection.
23. In assessing asylum claims where the fear of persecution arises from a person's lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer status, the fact that the country the person is fleeing has criminal penalties for engaging in consensual homosexual sex is sufficient of itself to establish that fear of persecution is well-founded, and any assessment of the asylum seeker's identity and fear must take account of the very different manifestations of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer identity that other cultures, especially ones profoundly hostile to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer people, necessarily engender.
24. Labor will ensure asylum seekers who self-identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer will be assessed by officers who have expertise and empathy with anti-discrimination principles and human rights law. Officers, translators and interpreters at all levels of the assessment process will have specific lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer cultural awareness training to ensure the discrimination asylum seekers face in their country of origin or transit are not replicated.
25. Australia's settlement support services are regarded as the best in the world. Labor will maintain this and accordingly will direct sufficient focus and resources to our settlement services.
26. Labor will provide appropriate English language tuition and tailored employment programs as essential settlement services which are critical to the achievement of full social and economic participation of refugees.
27. Labor will seek to improve the availability and integration of Commonwealth-funded migrant and settlement services. Labor will ensure settlement service policies are:
 - Informed by advice from the Settlement Services Advisory Council, the Settlement Council of Australia and other key stakeholders and the community; and
 - Coordinated in partnership with State and Territory governments, local governments, community organisations and service delivery providers.
28. Labor will ensure services across government for refugees are culturally responsive, universally accessible and consistent with Labor's social inclusion agenda. Recognising the value of community support groups in providing settlement services, Labor will support the involvement of such groups.
29. Refugee settlement can have a particularly positive effect in rural locations and these people play an important role revitalising rural and regional communities. Labor supports the settlement of suitable humanitarian entrants in regional locations with the support of State, Territory and local governments and local communities.

Australia's border and immigration detention

1. For the Australian people to have confidence and trust in the integrity of our migration system, Labor will fund and maintain robust border security measures that support the orderly processing of migration to our country and protect our national interest and our national borders.
2. Labor will ensure asylum seekers who arrive by irregular means will not be punished for their mode of arrival.
3. Labor is united in its commitment to prevent further loss of life at sea of vulnerable children, women and men. Labor will:
 - Meet its obligations to the maritime principle of safety of life at sea which requires a response to assist in the rescue at sea of vessels in distress;
 - Consider introducing further penalties for serious people smuggling offences; and
 - Ensure repatriation of crew members who are proven to be juveniles.
4. To support Australia's strong border security regime, Labor will maintain:
 - An architecture of excised offshore places; and
 - The non-statutory processing on Christmas Island of persons who arrive unauthorised at an excised place, except where other arrangements are entered into under bilateral and regional arrangements.
5. Labor will take advice from the UNHCR in relation to any arrangements with third countries to ensure resources and commitments provide appropriate settlement support services to refugees, including health and welfare services. Labor will prioritise establishing durable and suitable third country resettlement agreements.
6. Labor will ensure there is a strong, independent voice within government to advocate for the rights, interests and well-being of children seeking asylum within the immigration system, including those in immigration detention. Labor will appoint an officer independent of the Department of Home Affairs, backed by the administrative resources and statutory powers necessary to pursue the best interests of those children, including the power to bring court proceedings on a child's behalf. This will be done without reducing the Minister's obligations in relation to unaccompanied non-citizen children.
7. Labor will not pay people smugglers to engage in any form of people smuggling.
8. Under Labor's policies, unauthorised arrivals who enter for the purpose of seeking asylum will be mandatorily detained, for management of health, identity and security risks to the community. Labor will strive to ensure this is for no longer than 90 days.
9. Labor believes community-based assessment is the most reasonable, humane and cost-effective approach for supporting asylum seekers while their claim for protection is assessed.

10. Labor's humane and risk-based immigration detention policies and practices will be guided by key immigration detention principles, namely:
- Detention that is indefinite or otherwise arbitrary is not acceptable and the length and conditions of detention, including the appropriateness of both the accommodation and the services provided, will be subject to regular review;
 - Detention will occur in a Government-run immigration detention centre appropriately located close to services and relevant support and is only to be used as a last resort and for the shortest practicable time;
 - People in detention will be treated fairly and reasonably within the law;
 - People in detention will be provided an appropriate standard of care including the provision of health, mental health and education services a standard consistent with that afforded to the Australian community; and
 - Conditions of detention will ensure the inherent dignity and safety of the human person.
11. Labor supports the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Accordingly, Labor's humane and risk-based immigration detention policies and practices will include a commitment to ensure that after the necessary health, identity and security checks every humanly practical effort will be taken to remove children and their families from immigration detention centres into alternative suitable arrangements.
12. Unlawful non-citizens will be subject to mandatory detention where they present a proven unacceptable risk to the community.
13. Labor will not detain, process or resettle lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex refugees or asylum seekers in countries which have criminal laws against any of these communities as it makes these places unsafe environments for all of them.
14. Labor recognises that successive Coalition Governments have failed to negotiate viable and timely regional resettlement arrangements, which has left refugees and asylum seekers including children languishing in indefinite detention. Labor believes that whilst these arrangements are negotiated, the Australian Government is not absolved of its obligation to provide appropriate health, security, and welfare services to asylum seekers. Labor will:
- Work to negotiate on, and agree to, regional resettlement arrangements and resettle eligible refugees as a priority;
 - Continue to support the United States Refugee Resettlement Agreement and accept New Zealand's generous offer to resettle refugees by negotiating an agreement on similar terms as the United States Agreement; and
 - Ensure appropriate health, security, and welfare services for asylum seekers; and
 - Improve the medical transfer process, establish an Independent Health Advice Panel to provide medical advice and maintain ministerial discretion in all decision making.

15. Labor will ensure all Australian Government involvement in detention facilities it operates or funds is subject to transparent, independent oversight. Provisions for this oversight will be reflected in all contracts with service providers including through providing effective and consistent protections for whistle-blowers. Labor will use its best endeavours to provide for this oversight in any relevant international agreements, including by enabling Comcare to fulfil its regulatory obligation to investigate all serious matters within Australian-funded onshore immigration detention centres and offshore regional processing centres.
16. Recognising the inequities of the policy of charging immigration detainees a daily maintenance rate while in immigration detention, Labor extinguished such detention debts and will oppose any attempts to reinstate this practice.
17. As soon as the reasons for mandatory detention have ceased every effort must be made to remove asylum seekers from immigration detention centres through community detention or the granting of bridging visas with work rights. People seeking asylum will have means-tested access to funded migration assistance, and to appropriate social services, including income, crisis housing, healthcare, mental health, community, education and English as a Second Language support during the assessment of the claim for protection.
18. The provision of services at immigration detention centres will remain with private sector contractors for the term of the current contracts. In evaluating the future form of detention facility service provision, the views of all stakeholders, including the relevant trade unions must be taken into account.
19. Labor will legislate to impose mandatory reporting of child abuse in all onshore immigration detention facilities and offshore regional processing centres and work with all State and Territory governments to ensure all unaccompanied minor refugee children are covered by the relevant child protection authorities.

RESOLUTIONS

Labor



Chapter 1

A strong and secure Australia

Labor notes that 83 per cent of jobs in manufacturing are good, secure jobs with many of these in regional Australia. Australia needs more of these valuable industries and the jobs they create, not less.

Australia has the innovative capacity, the highly skilled workforce, the industrial base, the capital markets and the natural resources necessary to be a world leader in any industry of its choosing it merely lacks the will and the vision to make it happen.

Labor understands the value-adding, economic multipliers that manufacturing jobs bring to Australian cities, suburbs and regions.

The shortages and supply-chain interruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic made plain the risks to Australia from an over-reliance on imports of critical materials and essential goods.

Shortages in face masks, hand sanitiser and other PPE and now vaccines have shown that Australia urgently needs a strong, growing, high tech and diverse manufacturing industry. Such shortages also demonstrated that rival nations act ruthlessly in their own self-interest and supply chains are not as market driven or dependably free of government interference as previously believed.

Australians rightly expect that their nation and governments should be able to produce or guarantee access to the goods that its citizens and businesses need. Such independence is the cornerstone of a resilient Australian economy, society and nation state. Labor understands that the world will not return to the old and comfortable arrangements and that our region and world will be more uncertain and more prone to unpredictable behaviour from those who wish to do us harm. Labor will act to safeguard Australia against such threats through a smart, efficient and robust sovereign capability policy.

Labor will ensure Australia's supply of vital goods like food, medicines, water, communications, energy and other necessities required by a modern economy are secure from disruption and overseas dependence. Labor will urgently work to expand its vaccine and domestic pharmaceutical industries to keep Australians healthy.

Labor thanks and celebrates our blue, pink and fluoro collar heroes who kept Australia moving during the height of the pandemic. The pandemic has shown the importance of tangible and tactile work and also highlighted the risks that front-line workers take each and every day, risks that were multiplied by COVID-19

Labor considers that Australia's essential workers need and deserve a pay rise, not a pay cut, and condemn any attempts to reduce their wages and conditions. Labor notes that essential services workers have either had their wages stagnate or reduce in real terms and will work to urgently reverse this manifest unfairness.

Front line essential services workers many of whom live in suburban and regional Australia have demonstrated themselves to be the backbone of Australia's economy and deserve our enduring respect and thanks. Labor stands with our heroes.

Commonwealth infrastructure and building procurement

A Federal Labor government will crack down on waste, delays and failure in infrastructure delivery by ensuring there are appropriate delivery models and expertise in projects funded by the Commonwealth.

In the building and construction space, Labor will repeal the Code for the Tendering and Performance of Building Work 2016 and replace it with a comprehensive procurement policy which:

- ensures environmentally sustainable outcomes in government buildings and infrastructure;
- maximises apprenticeship opportunities;
- ensures secure supply chains and the fair treatment of workers within supply chains;
- develops and promotes the Australian manufacturing industry;
- promotes collective agreements that reflect and support best practice industrial relations and employment practices;
- ensure compliance with work health and safety laws and encourages best practices;
- prevents the victimization of employees as a result of their choice to be a member of a union, and promotes the important and legitimate role of unions and union delegates;
- supports and enhances the right of workers to join and fully participate in the activities of their union, including collective bargaining as well as the facilitation, training and adequate protection of the role of union delegates and health and safety representatives in the workplace;
- recognises the legitimate role of union officials in enrolling and representing workers on site or in the workplace;
- ensures that any work which is to be sub-contracted is performed by bona fide contractors only via responsible contracting arrangements; and
- prevents the use of non-conforming and non-complying building products.

Role of public transport in Australia's economic recovery from the pandemic

This Conference acknowledges the dedication of Australian public transport workers during the COVID-19 pandemic. As the pandemic showed, public transport workers play a vital frontline role in the provision of services that are essential to our society and our economy. Safe, reliable and

efficient public transport services with secure jobs will be crucial to bringing our cities back to full speed, and to facilitating Australia's economic recovery.

The pandemic has led to dramatic reductions in public transport patronage across the board. At the same time, some State Governments - notably the South Australian and NSW Governments are continuing with job-destroying public transport privatisations programs.

This Conference:

- recognises the role of public transport services and public transport workers in the economic life of our major cities;
- asserts that maintaining effective urban public transport networks is in the national interest;
- condemns the public transport privatisation agendas of the NSW and South Australian Government;
- supports a more active role for the Federal Government in funding public transport infrastructure;
- contends that federal funding for urban public transport infrastructure funding should be contingent on State guarantees that service provision related to that infrastructure will not be outsourced, franchised, contracted out or otherwise privatised; and
- supports a public transport industry which provides secure jobs for Australian workers as a pivotal plank for Australia's economic recovery.

Local government

A Labor government will:

- focus on the long-term financial sustainability of Local Government through increases to grant allocations, including fair increases to Financial Assistance Grants;
- restore full Local Government representation, including voting rights, to the peak Ministerial Council of the nation, currently National Cabinet; and
- re-establish the Australian Council of Local Government.

Housing and construction

Labor recognises the significant contribution the housing and construction sectors play in the national economy. Conference is of the view that a Ministry for Housing, Construction and Infrastructure would be a desirable way to better coordinate industry and procurement policy for infrastructure and the built environment to maximise the benefit the sector provides to Australian workers and to the economy as a whole.

Chapter 2

Jobs

For Labor, jobs are the cornerstone of success for the economy, families, and individuals. Labor will foster business growth to create secure jobs and promote full-time employment.

Where part-time and casual jobs are preferred by Australians, Labor will ensure their wages, conditions and safety are protected.

Labor acknowledges that underutilisation rates, rather than just unemployment, are a key measure to the health of our society. This focus on good and secure jobs will support Australians in our regions, suburbs, and cities to be engaged in society, have pride in their contributions, develop skills, be healthy and happier, and more financially secure.

Secure work

Australians need a job, a secure job and a fairly paid job if they're to be able to learn in their youth, buy a home, raise a family, and retire comfortably.

Labor acknowledges that the cause of many social and economic issues in Australia are exacerbated by the rise in insecure work.

Labor will promote the creation of secure jobs which have the protections and certainty needed to respond to changes in rights, diversity, safety and working hours.

Portable entitlement funds

Labor supports the operation of employee portable entitlement funds as a method to deal with the protection of workers' entitlements, particularly in industries with itinerant patterns of employment.

Security of payment laws

Labor opposes corporate structures designed to undermine workers' rights and the right to collectively bargain. Labor is committed to protecting the rights for small business, including ensuring security of payment in the building and construction industry. The recommendations in Review of Security of Payment Laws: Building Trust and Harmony, prepared by John Murray in 2017, including in relation to the implementation of statutory trusts, must be implemented immediately.

Sham contracting

Labor acknowledges that sham contracting is an endemic form of wage theft in the economy and, in particular, the construction industry. However, the current provisions in the Fair Work Act 2009 relating to sham contracting are insufficient and have proven ineffective.

The Fair Work Act 2009 should be amended to:

- introduce a specific prohibitions on sham contracting which applies not only to a person (employer), but also to any interposed entity (including corporations, partnerships and trusts) used to engage a worker;
- remove provisions which enable employers to escape liability for sham contracting offences by requiring recklessness or proof of a state of mind. An employer's state of mind should not be a critical fact in determining whether a breach has occurred. This encourages a scenario whereby the less knowledge of the law an employer has, and the less attention they give to the issue, the more likely they will be able to successfully raise a defence.

Bullying, sexual harassment and gendered violence

This Conference:

- Recognises that workers' rights sit at the core of the Australian Labor Party's values, and that workplaces free of gendered violence are a fundamental right of all Australian workers.
- Recognises that a number risks and hazards are present in political workplaces making them high risk to bullying, harassment, sexual harassment and gendered violence. These risks include but are not limited to asymmetric power imbalances and cultural approaches to work.
- Recognises that these risks are present in all political workplaces, including ALP workplaces. Commits to working at the national level and with state branches to ensure mandatory training for parliamentarians and staff.
- Commits to fostering an environment where political staffers and all workers in political workplaces can organise for their safety at work.
- Commits to fostering a positive approach towards workplace health and safety training and reporting in workplaces.
- Commits to ensuring workers and volunteers have access to independent complaints processes with the ability to deliver real outcomes and sanctions.
- Recognises that gender equality is essential to achieving safe workplaces, and will take positive steps towards building that equality in consultation with workers and their representatives.
- Places on the agenda for the next National Conference a report from the leader of each federal and state parliamentary party on their progress towards creating better, safer and more inclusive workplaces in their parliament and political workplaces.

COVID-19 vulnerable worker payment

This Conference notes that despite the rollout of COVID-19 vaccines, the COVID-19 pandemic will continue to be a threat to the health and welfare of Australians for some time to come.

It is likely that Australia will continue experiencing small localised outbreaks of COVID-19 until the pandemic has passed. While many working Australians can choose to work from home, others in frontline service occupations do not have that option. For workers with pre-existing health conditions, this may mean they have to risk their health (or even their lives) to maintain an income.

To that end, this Conference notes the Rail, Tram and Bus Unions Protect COVID-Vulnerable Workers campaign.

Conference supports a federally-funded scheme to ensure vulnerable workers without access to paid sick leave receive a payment to allow them to stay at home and self-isolate during a localised outbreak of COVID-19.

Skills for technological change

As technology drives growth, it sees jobs change, disappear and new jobs emerge. For this to be inclusive growth, workers in changing workplaces deserve the opportunity to take advantage of new job opportunities through industry skills training arrangements that support lifelong learning and equip existing employees and new entrants to the workforce with new skill sets that evolve with industries. Skill sets would support those in occupations with low rates industry specific qualifications to engage with learning and to create new career pathways.

To ensure training is reflective of industry needs, that training results in a recognised qualification that is portable for workers and that training is properly funded as part of an overall industry strategy requires rebuilding a cooperative tripartite training system of employer, worker and government representation.

To ensure the economic benefits of innovation are maximised and are distributed through inclusive growth, Conference calls on Federal Government and Labor to work with State and Territory governments to ensure:

- the needs of industry for new skill sets are mapped to identify skill shortages; industry skills and training packages are developed to address skill shortages;
- that identification of skill sets and shortages be carried out cooperatively with representatives of workers, employers and Governments;
- industry skill training and retraining packages be developed for existing workers and new workforce entrants to take advantage of identified industry needs for new skills;
- assistance be given to workers transitioning within or between industries to address skill shortages; ensure industry skill training leads to recognised and portable qualifications for workers.

Impact of COVID-19 and the need for a gender equal recovery

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a profound impact on women's lives and has exposed the true extent of gender inequality in Australia.

Women are more likely to be in casual and insecure work; have lost more jobs and hours of work and are twice as likely to be on zero hour contracts; are more likely to work in low paid jobs; are more likely to not be ineligible for JobKeeper; are more likely to have completely wiped out their superannuation account through the Early Release scheme; have a greater share of unpaid caring responsibilities; are experiencing increased levels of family and domestic violence; are more likely to be subjected to violence at work, including record levels of sexual harassment; and have been disproportionately impacted by the decision of the FWC to delay the Annual Wage Decision for only some industries; mostly female dominated industries such as retail.

The COVID-19 response and recovery provide an important opportunity to reset our economy and address these inequities. Australia's workforce has transformed since the last economic recession and policies to stimulate the economy need to adapt in order to support and strengthen women's workforce participation. Policy measures being considered and implemented must ensure a gender equal outcome for women.

Social assistance sector

The social assistance sector – made up of workers in community and disability services among others – is the fastest growing industry in Australia. It provides thousands of new jobs each year across all communities, especially in regional Australia.

Workers in social assistance sector are predominantly women, they are low-paid and they are undervalued by conservative governments. In these sectors there is a high level of insecure work, and a lack of investment from Government in training and career pathways.

These workers make a difference every day in the lives of vulnerable Australians. They are highly skilled professional workers. Their services are funded by Government to provide services to the community on behalf of government. They deserve better.

Labor in Government will use funding mechanisms and regulatory powers to ensure there is decent work, better living standards and fairer pay for workers in social assistance sectors. These workers make a difference and Labor will be by their side.

Early childhood education and care

Labor has long recognised the vital role that early childhood education and care plays in the development and education of young Australians and in boosting workforce participation.

Given its national importance, it is vital that the focus of the sector remains on providing affordable and accessible high-quality care and not on shareholder or investor dividends.

This Conference calls for Labor in government to conduct an analysis of the sector to better understand costs and fees and examine the relationship between funding, fees, profits and educator pay.

Aligning the Fair Work Act and Sex Discrimination Act

Labor will amend the relevant sections of the *Fair Work Act* to align with the *Sex Discrimination Act* to cover workers who are currently not protected.

Chapter 3

Climate change

This Conference recognises that:

- Three years ago, Labor committed to recognising a climate emergency. It is a commitment that we still hold. Action on climate change is a Labor value;
- In that three years, action on climate change has only become more urgent after years of Coalition neglect, inaction and denial; and
- Climate change poses an existential threat to our people, our environment, our jobs and our way of life.

Accordingly, Conference resolves that Labor takes an emergency footing in tackling climate change, adopting renewable energy at a rapid pace in order to address the existential threat of the climate emergency and to reach Australia's potential as a renewables superpower.

Ramsar Wetlands

This Conference:

- Restates Labor's support for the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, to which Australia is a Signatory, and notes that Toondah Harbour is in the Moreton Bay Ramsar-listed wetland; Recognises the importance of Ramsar-listed sites to migratory wading birds;
- Acknowledges that migratory wading bird numbers are in steep decline, principally due to loss of tidal roosting and feeding sites along their migratory routes from North East Asia to Australia;
- Commits to protecting Australia's intertidal habitat on which these birds depend, with special reference to Ramsar listed sites; and
- Calls on an incoming Labor Government to fully apply Federal environmental law to protect Ramsar listed sites.

Natural environment

Labor acknowledges that Australia's natural environment is in an overall state of decline and many of our unique species are threatened as never before by a combination of intensified climate change

and loss of habitat. It also notes the UN Secretary-General's view that nature-based solutions could provide one third of the net reductions in greenhouse gas emissions required to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement.

For these purposes, Labor will revisit and reinvigorate historic programs initiated by previous Labor Governments. It will:

- support the continued development of a comprehensive, adequate and representative National Reserve System, identifying as a priority those areas where the need to halt biodiversity loss is most urgent and also large intact areas that are still able to function in ecologically natural ways;
- work for the extension of Landcare programs which support environmental restoration and sustainable agriculture, mobilising volunteer effort but also assisting in the creation of employment at local and regional level; and
- implement a strategic, landscape-scale approach to managing biodiversity, having regard to the National Wildlife Corridor Plan which provides a framework for large landscape-scale connectivity conservation at regional and continental level.

Mine rehabilitation

This Conference acknowledges that 50 years after it ceased operating, the former Commonwealth owned Rum Jungle uranium mine in the Northern Territory still requires extensive rehabilitation.

Labor will work with traditional owners and the Northern Territory Government to complete the rehabilitation of the Rum Jungle uranium mine as soon as possible.

Chapter 4

Aged care

Older Australians are being let down in our current aged care system. The recent Aged Care Royal Commission found older Australians care has been neglected in a system in crisis. However, the Royal Commission's recommendations threaten to leave older Australians without the quality care they desperately need, and the Liberal Government has again failed to meet its responsibilities to treat older Australians with dignity and respect.

The Commonwealth must commit to:

- Taking responsibility for the aged care crisis facing older Australians including addressing short staffing and ensure profits are not put before quality of care.
- A legally enforceable care time guarantee that would give older Australians the safety, dignity, and respect they deserve.
- Jobs with time to care that ensure continuity of care and a secure workforce.

- A decent wage and recognition of skills for all workers in aged care.
- Ensuring workers have a voice in their workplaces. Aged care workers provide quality care and work above and beyond the call of duty and know how to fix this system.

National Housing and Homelessness Plan

Too many Australians don't have a place to call home. Labor recognises that owning a home of one's own has always been the Australian dream and that access to safe and secure housing is a basic human right. Labor will therefore commit to the development of a National Housing and Homelessness Plan, which:

- helps more Australians to buy a home,
- helps Australians who rent, and
- helps put a roof over the head of more homeless Australians.

Equal remuneration

Labor in Government delivered Equal Remuneration for the social and community services sector. This sector is made up of predominantly women workers, whose contribution to a cohesive, decent and kind society remains undervalued.

Labor understands the importance of this sector to the future of our nation. We will prioritise policies and investments that better support workers and deliver quality, evidence-based services that put the needs of the community first.

Working age payment system

Australia's unemployment payment system is a barrier to many people getting into work. Payment rates have not kept up with wages or pensions; and payment rules are no longer fit for the changing nature of work.

Labor will work with experts on a process for reviewing the working age payment system to ensure it is helping people out of poverty and is designed to assist, rather than hinder, Australian getting back into the workforce.

Supporting our public health system

Labor notes that Australians expect our public health system to provide for their health needs from birth to death. Public health infrastructure, as it exists, has been paid for by taxpayers. The operation of the existing public health system is paid for by taxpayers. Ongoing improvements and expansion of the existing public health system must be paid for by taxpayers.

The ALP and a future Labor Government will prioritise support for the public health system in all Australian States and Territories. A future Labor Government will commit to investing Australian taxpayers' money in public health services that provide equity and access to the Australian people.

World-class health services will not be provided by way of extra fees and charges, but as a right as an Australian citizen.

The ALP and a future Labor Government will have, as a core pillar of its policy and national platform, a commitment to not privatise or outsource public health institutions, jobs or services.

Supporting LGBTIQ+ people

Labor understands the critical importance of ensuring that the LGBTIQ+ community has equal access & opportunity to healthcare, and appreciates the needs for specialist programs, support and funding for this unique community. While many issues are pressing for this community, mental health and aged care will continue to be a focus for Labor, and we are committed to removing all barriers to access and opportunity. Labor commits to ensuring no PBS, Medicare or government services will have a discriminatory impact on this community. In addition, education to empower Australians to make safe, informed decisions about sexual and reproductive health will be kept up to date, reviewed regularly and include all sexualities and gender identities.

Labor acknowledges the needs and rights of transgender and gender diverse people to fair, equal and affordable access to health care services. For many, this may include accessing vital specialist health services and gender-affirming medical technologies. Labor commits to removing, wherever possible, barriers to accessing these services in consultation with medical experts and government.

Labor will recognise the bodily integrity of intersex persons, prohibiting modifications to the sex characteristics of people with innate variations of sex characteristics performed for social or cultural reasons, and ensuring respect for intersex persons right not to undergo sex normalisation treatment. Labor commits to supporting the development and implementation with community participation of human-rights affirming oversight and standards of care, including for accessing lifetime medical treatments and procedures.

Labor will develop a national LGBTIQ+ health plan to support LGBTIQ+ health and mental health including peak bodies, antidiscrimination policies in Medicare and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, ensuring medical institutions and professionals maintain a strong understanding of LGBTIQ+ health issues, support for young LGBTIQ+ people regardless of where they live, and suicide prevention polices for high-risk groups including LGBTIQ+ people.

HIV

Labor is committed to leadership in partnership with affected communities and other organisations and clinicians in order to make HIV history. This leadership will include restoring capacity to HIV peak organisations, new efforts to promote HIV prevention, testing, and treatment in hidden populations. Needle and syringe programs have been critical in the prevention of the infection and spread of HIV and Hepatitis C, and Labor will continue to support these services.

Chapter 5

Ending violence against women

Violence against women must end so that women and their children can be safe at work, in their homes, on the street, in their communities, when socialising everywhere. The cost of violence is too high and the consequences of exposure to violence are long-lasting and intergenerational.

Labor in Government will approach this challenge with urgency and ambition, ensuring that:

- the next National Plan to prevent violence against women and their children includes sexual violence as a central focus
- evidence-based primary prevention activities create the foundation for a long-term, sustained reduction in violence, including by:
 - working with states and territories to properly fund age-appropriate programs educating young people about respectful relationships and consent;
 - supporting behaviour change programs to ensure perpetrators are identified and accountable for their behaviours;
- women who interact with Australian government agencies are offered appropriate services and support the Australian government, states and territories work together to ensure people leaving violence are supported through specialised services, including legal services, counselling and social support, housing and support for children;
- the Commonwealth leads a national law reform process to consider harmonisation of criminal laws governing consent;
- appropriate and adequate services are provided to First Nations people, LGBTIQ people, people from CALD communities, people with disability, and people living in remote, regional and rural areas;
- women and children are not impoverished by leaving violent relationships;
- women and children on temporary visas who are experiencing family violence can access appropriate protection;
- Australia's court systems deliver justice and avoid additional trauma for victims and survivors
- the family law system appropriately responds to violence when making decisions about arrangements for children;
- that workplaces support women experiencing domestic violence, including through the provision of paid domestic violence leave, and are governed by strong laws and processes to prevent and respond to sexual harassment and assault; and

- we ensure appropriate structures are in place for women to report sexual violence.

Intersex policy responses

Labor will ensure that the actions of a Federal Labor Government are informed by the Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics and the Plus 10 Supplementary Principles. Further, Labor acknowledges the Darlington Statement as a guide to intersex policy responses within Australia.

Chapter 6

Local government

This Conference resolves that a future Labor government will:

- restore full Local Government representation to the peak Ministerial Council of the nation, currently National Cabinet;
- re-establish the Australian Council of Local Government; and
- focus on the long-term financial sustainability of Local Government.

A strong public sector

Throughout COVID-19 our communities looked to the public sector for services, support and expert advice. The pandemic proved again what Labor has always known a strong society needs a strong and effective public sector. Conference notes, however:

- The Coalition Government is engaged in the privatisation by stealth of the Commonwealth public service, through cutting more than 12,000 jobs while simultaneously increasing wasteful spending on consultants, contractors and labour hire companies to do the work previously done by public servants.
- This privatisation by stealth has done huge damage to the capacity and capability of the public service to meet the needs of the Australian people while also condemning tens of thousands of workers to the risks and stresses of insecure work.
- Even at the height of the pandemic when support for job creation was desperately needed the Morrison Government single-mindedly pursued privatisation and expanded insecure work arrangements in public service delivery. This included engaging 8,500 casual labour at Services Australia without creating a single permanent role.
- The Morrison Governments push to privatise is also apparent in its obsession with attacking and undermining key national institutions such as the ABC, CSIRO and the ANAO.

Conference recognises that a future Labor Government will need to undo the damage wrought by the Morrison Government's policies, and indeed, to deliver on the promise of the Labor platform, Labor will need to unwind the privatisation and rebuild public service capacity and capability.

Conference therefore welcomes the commitments in this platform to rebuild the public service, by abolishing the ASL cap, increase the number of direct, permanent public sector jobs, reduce the use of consultants and outsourcing, and restore the independence of our vital public sector institutions.

Criminal justice

Australia has a higher incarceration rate than all the countries of Western Europe and Canada imposing increasing costs on the nation and which fails to reduce recidivism, provide effective outcomes for victims of crime or to make our communities safer. Learning from the experience of comparable countries Labor will seek cross party cooperation to lead and encourage all jurisdictions to collaborate in supporting evidence based criminal justice policies to address these issues and which rely less on high cost and harmful prisons.

Chapter 7

Armed conflict

Conference resolves that an Albanese Labor Government will refer the issue of how Australia makes decisions to send service personnel into international armed conflict to an inquiry to be conducted by the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Trade. This inquiry would take submissions, hold public hearings, and produce its findings during the term of the 47th Parliament.

Collective action to protect Australians abroad

Labor recognises that protecting Australians overseas often requires the support of allies. Labor will stand by Australia's friends and take collective action when their citizens are under duress, particularly in cases of politically motivated, unlawful or unexplained detention by states.

Visa and asylum processes for human rights and democracy activists

Labor will ensure that character assessments for the purpose of claims to asylum, residence, or citizenship are not adversely affected by non-violent democratic or human rights activism.

Diplomatic corps and public diplomacy

A Labor Government will ensure Australian diplomatic missions and public diplomacy are appropriately resourced to respond effectively to a rapidly changing geopolitical environment.

Refugees

Labor's policy should be framed to provide a positive and compassionate approach by a Labor Government to the treatment of refugees, rather than a reaction to the punitive and cruel approach

of the Coalition Government. Refugees and those seeking asylum in Australia are to be welcomed under a Labor Government as assets who enhance this nation and our economy and provide positive contribution to our strong multicultural society.

Labour market testing

Labor in Government will legislate to ensure that temporary skilled visas are utilised only where suitably qualified Australian residents and citizens are not available and cannot be trained in a reasonable time. Labor supports the retention and improvement of labour market testing to protect the legitimate interests of Australian workers. Labor will develop a tripartite process with unions, businesses and Government to support this process.

Julian Assange

Labor believes that the Australian government should be doing everything necessary to ensure that Mr Julian Assange is treated fairly and humanely, and welcomes the priority given to the health and welfare of Mr Assange in the UK Court's decision. This includes ensuring that under no circumstances should Mr Assange or any Australian face the death penalty. The UK Court has found that Mr Assange should not be extradited to the USA given his ill-health, and Labor believes it is now time for this long drawn out case against Julian Assange to be brought to an end.

Preventing nuclearisation of the Middle East

Labor expresses alarm at the potential nuclearisation of conflicts in the Middle East, particularly with Iran moving towards nuclear weapons capacity.

Labor supports the revival of the Iran nuclear deal (the Joint Comprehensive Action Plan) between Iran, US, UK, Russia, France, Germany, and China, with reservations.

Conference believes Iran, however, must whole-heartedly co-operate with UN, International Atomic Energy Agency, and other inspections and monitoring as provided in the Action Plan. There is no such thing as half-hearted verification.

Conference also calls on the Action Plan to ensure that Iran undertakes not to send its troops and agents to foment civil war across the region.

Conference agrees with Britain, France, and Germany, and now the emerging consensus in the US, that the interests of global security are best met through an Iran nuclear agreement with robust verification requirements.

Human rights

National Conference:

1. Strongly condemns the human rights violations against the Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minorities in Xinjiang and across China.
2. Notes:

- a. that there is a growing number of reports of the mass arbitrary detention of China's minority Uyghur population and other violations of human rights including forced labour, forced sterilisation, sexual assault and restriction of movement in Xinjiang and across China. These are not the actions of a responsible global power.
- b. that China is a state party to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.
- c. urges the Chinese government to uphold its international human rights obligations in Xinjiang and across China and allow unfettered access to Xinjiang by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- d. notes that the US government and the Parliaments of Canada and the Netherlands have labelled the human rights violations in Xinjiang as genocide, and that Human Rights Watch has labelled them as crimes against humanity.

A future Labor Government will ensure that Australia stands up for human rights in China and work with the international community to hold China to account for its international commitments.

National Conference calls on the Australian Government to:

1. provide its assessment of what is happening in Xinjiang and how it characterises the human rights violations that are taking place based on all of the information available to its agencies.
2. explain what actions it is taking to address the situation in Xinjiang and to provide support to Uyghur communities in Australia.

Independent Chinese trade union movement

Australian Labor recognises the rights of workers living in neighbouring nations and trading partners to freely form and join democratic Trade Unions

Unions and union members should be free from political interference.

Trade Unions and unionised workforces are critical in reducing inequality, improving safety and lifting productivity in workplaces.

Labor expresses its concern at the lack of ability for Chinese workers to freely and democratically unionise. This has serious repercussions for the rights of employees and citizens in our largest trading partner. Suffering from excessively long work hours, unsafe and unhealthy workplaces and unjust remuneration is unacceptable in any modern society.

Australia will support our neighbouring countries and trade partners in instituting legal frameworks which allow unions to be freely created and for unionised workforces to openly thrive. Labor will

work to support workers wishing to better their lives through the power of the Trade Union movement both at home and abroad.

South China Sea

Conference notes that under international law the South China Sea, with a size of 3.5 million km, belongs to no one country. This important area of marine, navigational, environmental, and cultural significance borders China, Taiwan, Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei.

We call for the South China Sea to be a zone of peace, with complete freedom of navigation for all countries. We call on all countries in the region to refrain from unilateral acts, militarisation, and other policies.

In that context, under the auspices of the United Nations, we call for an international-law framework to settle tensions and disputes between competing interests. In particular, we call on the major powers, including China and the United States, to abide by the International Court of Justice, the Court of Arbitration in the Hague and other like bodies, seeking to mediate between particular nations.

We call on all parties, including China, to abide by the decision concerning the South China Sea which was handed down on 12 July 2016 by the UN-appointed international arbitration tribunal in the Hague. A peaceful solution can only be achieved with a multi-lateral agreement which involves all nations under international law.

Myanmar

A Labor government seeks strong and enduring relations with the people of Myanmar.

In February 2021, a military coup d'etat overturned five years of civil government in Myanmar. The coup followed the National League of Democracy (NLD) led government being re-elected in November 2020 with over 80 per cent of the vote in internationally-observed free elections. The coup is a tragic step backwards for Myanmar and the use of lethal force by security forces against peaceful protesters is disastrous.

The Commander-in-Chief has installed himself as supreme leader and claimed for himself all the three powers of government: judicial, legislative, and executive.

One of nearly 1300 people detained by the junta, Aung San Suu Kyi, the State Counsellor (equivalent to Prime Minister), is held incommunicado; though in early March she appeared at a court hearing via video conferencing.

Labor will suspend military aid and associated support to the new regime.

Labor will work with like-minded governments, particularly our ASEAN neighbours, to help secure a peaceful return to democracy in Myanmar an objective which even the coup leaders profess they want to restore. Labor will also work for the restoration of human rights for all people in Myanmar, including minorities such as the Rohingya people, the stateless Indo-Aryan ethnic group who predominantly reside in western Myanmar.

Hezbollah and Syria

Labor condemns Hezbollah's external security organisation for its role in the ongoing Syrian Civil War in supporting Bashar Al Assad who routinely bombs, chemically gasses, and murders his own people.

There are estimates that more than 200,000 Syrians have died in this conflict with millions made refugees.

Conference supports democratic elements of Syrian society and their struggle to live free of persecution and the Assad regime.

Tibet

Labor calls on China to abide by its own constitution and laws which expressly allows for the cultural autonomy of the Tibetan people within the People's Republic.

Tibetans must be allowed, as they are under Chinese law, to freely practice their religion, to learn and speak their language and to have official documents in the language of the vast majority of people living in the Tibetan autonomous zone.

Taiwan

Labor calls for the maintenance of the status quo concerning Taiwan and China. Taiwan, a region of 24 million people, should continue to enjoy democratic and free elections and freedom of religion, assembly, free speech and the rule of law enjoyed by a democratic society. Labor is concerned that Beijing and Taipei peacefully resolve differences and co-exist. Labor rejects the use of military force to endeavour to change the status quo and calls on all countries to help facilitate peaceful relations.

Hong Kong and the rule of law

Labor supports long-standing Australian policy regarding the preservation of civil and human rights in Hong Kong under the negotiated treaty between China and Britain. It calls on the authorities in Hong Kong to reverse the new national security law to release all prisoners goaled under this law and to allow democratic elections for the Hong Kong legislature.

Labor notes with concern China's increasing interference in the affairs of Hong Kong in contravention of the Treaty. In particular, Labor notes that China has disqualified elected legislators in Hong Kong, engaged in behaviour to harass and curtail voices critical of China or advocating Hong Kong independence, and introduced the Hong Kong National Security Legislation which it has used to arrest and detain protesters and stifle protest and free speech.

Labor notes that under the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984, Hong Kong is to have a high degree of autonomy and to be administered under the policy of what is known as One Country Two Systems. In particular, clause 3(5) of the Sino-British Joint Declaration provides in part that in Hong Kong, "Rights and freedoms, including those of the person, of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of travel, of movement, of correspondence, of strike, of choice of occupation, of academic research and of religious belief will be ensured by law".

Given that China itself, along with Great Britain, advised the UN of the Treaty, Labor calls on China to comply with its obligations under the Sino-British Joint Declaration, to repeal the Hong Kong National Security Legislation and to release all persons detained under that law.

Labor reaffirms its support for the Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR, as the foundation for Australia's special relationship with the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong.

Latin America

Special Platform Conference recognises that:

- Latin American and Caribbean countries share common global interests with Australia, particularly in upholding the rules-based order, trade, food and energy security and environmental sustainability.
- Australia has provided home to a Latin American community that has made and continues to make untold contribution to the country and the Australian society.
- Australia is committed to strengthening its ties with Latin America, including creating new opportunities for trade, investment and cultural links.

Special Platform Conference notes that Labor in Government will:

- Identify and enhance new market access opportunities for Australian exports in Latin America, including international education, urban planning, major events and sport, mining and mining services, agribusiness and biotechnology, green technology.
- Promote academic cooperation and collaboration with Latin America and our shared scientific expertise, including deeper collaboration on Antarctic issues and fisheries management.
- Find mutual collaboration methods related to indigenous and aboriginal affairs, given our respective colonial experiences.

Cyprus

Labor notes that the island of Cyprus, and the capital Nicosia, have been divided since the Turkish invasion in 1974 and that Turkey continues to illegally occupy northern Cyprus.

Labor calls for Turkey to withdraw all its military forces from northern Cyprus and, in accordance with UN Resolutions 367, 540 and 551, de-recognise the illegal entity known as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Labor supports UN resolutions calling for the reunification of Cyprus as the Republic of Cyprus respecting the rights of all its citizens.

Western Sahara

Labor strongly supports the United Nations in its efforts to enable the people of Western Sahara to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the 1990 Settlement Plan, and supports the organisation without delay of the promised UN referendum of self-determination. In pursuit of individual freedom and human rights, Labor supports the United Nations mandating its mission MINURSO to monitor and report on the human rights situation in the Territory.