

# **ALP NATIONAL PLATFORM**

**CONSULTATION DRAFT**

**SEPTEMBER 2020**



## Foreword

Last year Anthony Albanese issued us all a challenge: to adopt a Platform that was accessible to an audience beyond the Party which spoke to who we are as a movement and what we seek for Australia. A Platform of this kind would be much more significant and carry much more weight. But it also needed to be much shorter.

At the December 2019 meeting of the National Policy Forum this challenge was accepted and over the last nine months an enormous amount of work has gone into this Consultation Draft which we are now releasing to the Party for feedback.

While the Platform is a document which belongs to the ALP it has always had a wider significance. All of us can remember the iconic debates from past National Conferences. Unlike the Liberals, we have allowed Australia to watch those debates – no matter how difficult – which have shaped our Party and our country. In this sense the ALP National Platform is a significant document for the whole nation.

At the same time many of those debates have been detailed and their resolution complex. And those resolutions have been far more meaningful to us as members of the Party than they have to a wider audience. That is as it should be. The Platform has been a mechanism to resolve differences across a diverse movement. It has also been used to hold the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party to account to the broader ALP membership. This function of the Platform is critical.

This draft is set out in a new way which reflects the distinct roles of the Platform.

The reconstituted Platform will have three parts. The first is an **Introduction** which will be released closer to National Conference by the Leader according to convention. It will set the scene for this moment in our history and the distinct challenges Labor faces now. The second is the **Declaration** which has 7 chapters and is 60 pages in length. This part is Labor speaking to a wider audience of Australians about what we stand for. The third is the **Statements in Detail**. This deals with particular issues in all the detail that the Party itself needs. This part is an integral component of the Platform.

Together these parts form the ALP National Platform, and will be published in full prior to the next federal election.

Now it is over to you. The extraordinary times through which we are living will demand new ideas which have yet to be conceived. For all the work that has already been done, this Consultation Draft is only a first step. We need your help and feedback to finish the job. The consultation process around the draft Platform with the broader party is the most important part of the process. For when it is all said and done this is your Platform and we need your thoughts.

Together we can make the ALP National Platform the proud declaration of the movement which has built our proud nation. So in anticipation, we thank you for your contribution.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Richard Marles".

**The Hon Richard Marles MP**

Deputy Leader of the Opposition



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# DECLARATION



## **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 being borne by those who can least afford it.
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’s starting point is strong economic management. The drift towards economic populism seen elsewhere in the world is rejected outright. 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. Markets allocate goods and services efficiently, but not always equitably. Labor will ensure that markets are functioning, fair and work for the benefit of the Australian people.
7. Labor will boost productivity and build a more dynamic economy, including through greater partnership between private and government sectors, 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.
12. Labor will deliver sound public finances by adhering to a fiscal strategy that achieves a balanced budget on average over the economic cycle. Labor will take a responsible approach that supports growth, jobs and invests in future prosperity while strengthening public finances.
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 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 that enables all Australians to bargain for better pay and conditions.

18. To give Australians a greater direct stake in the economy and lift economic performance, Labor will support greater industry and workplace collaboration. As a social-democratic party, we encourage companies and unions to replicate the success of other nations in making employees real and valued stakeholders through representation on company boards. Labor will also include unions alongside business, community and other appropriate interests in constituted boards, committees and consultative bodies that provide advice to government.
19. 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.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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 leverage Native Title and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander land. Where traditional knowledge, art and culture are commercialised, First Nations people must benefit.
23. 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**

24. Labor believes Australia must become more economically resilient, and build a more diverse economy.

25. Labor will use all the tools of government in driving an integrated approach to generating growth and prosperity.
26. 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 foster a culture of entrepreneurialism, innovation and commercialisation across the economy, from start-ups to established businesses and within the public sector.
27. Labor believes that research and development investment should increase as a proportion of our economy in order to secure our future prosperity, and we will facilitate more investment in research and development. Labor believes that public investment in research and development should be targeted and guided by clear strategic objectives.
28. 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, 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.
29. Technological advances such as the internet of things, smart logistical systems, 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.
30. 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 well paid, secure jobs. Labor will strengthen and improve workplace regulations to ensure that workers in the gig economy earn a living wage and have access to the same protections and standards as all Australian workers.
31. 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 in STEM education, eliminating gender discrimination in the science workforce, and maintaining a migration system that allows Australia to attract the best and the brightest from around the world.

32. 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 and the Australian Institute of Marine Science are critical to this goal.

### **A better connected Australia**

33. 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.
34. 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.
35. Labor will develop policies to leverage next-generation mobile technologies to support the competitiveness of domestic industries.
36. Labor will improve mobile coverage in regional and vulnerable communities, ensuring these enhancements are guided by local needs.
37. 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 strengthen the range of postal and other services offered by Australia Post in rural and regional Australia.
38. 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**

39. 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.
40. Labor will set out an ambitious 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.
41. Labor in Government will not permit 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, further limit the capacity of governments to procure goods and services locally; require the privatisation or contestability of public services; undermine the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, or; undermine State of Commonwealth workplace laws or occupational licencing arrangements. Labor will not enter into agreements that include ISDS provisions.

## Modern infrastructure, transport and regional development

### *Investing in infrastructure development*

42. 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.
43. 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.
44. 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.
45. Labor will support activity and jobs in the construction sector through our investments in infrastructure, including in housing.
46. Labor recognises that infrastructure investment can be used to deliver broader policy objectives. We will particularly invest in remote communities to assist Indigenous 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 strive to eliminate barriers to access by people with disability and promote social inclusion by improving access to jobs and services for all Australians. Infrastructure procurement policy will be used to support Australian manufacturing, apprenticeships, regional development and jobs growth.
47. 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.
48. 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*

49. Labor recognises the critical role that transport plays in enabling people to access important services and activities, such as employment, education and health care. The quality of transport options available affects people's everyday ability to participate in social and economic activities and contributes to quality of life.
50. 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.

51. 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.
52. Labor understands the health and environmental benefits of active transport options, including cycling and walking, and will build these into all infrastructure project planning.
53. 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.
54. Labor developed Australia's only Aviation White Paper. In Government, we will continue to grow our aviation industry. Labor recognises the need for a strong aviation sector with sufficient competition to ensure services and affordable airfares for all Australians.
55. 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.
56. Labor will ensure that aviation industry policy and employment laws protect Australian jobs in the aviation industry.
57. 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.
58. 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.

#### *Developing our regions*

59. 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.
60. Labor is committed to tackling high unemployment and chronic underemployment experienced in regional areas.

61. 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.
62. 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 jobs.
63. 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.
64. 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. We will invest in the infrastructure that is critical to the future development of Northern Australia.
65. Labor acknowledges First Nations people are the traditional custodians of the land and today 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 enable them to take advantage of employment opportunities and to develop Indigenous cultural enterprises.

#### **Building a stronger nation through migration**

66. 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.
67. 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.
68. 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.
69. 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.

70. 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.
71. Labor will encourage skilled migrants to take up jobs in rural and regional locations 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.
72. 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. require 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. ensure temporary migrants are protected by Australian workplace law and are not exploited through sham contracting or unethical labour hire practices give them; and
  - c. offer them ‘whistle-blower’ status if they are providing evidence of exploitation.
73. 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.
74. 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**

75. 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.
76. To provide the right environment for a strong and competitive financial sector, Labor will support the four pillar banking policy to ensure adequate competition and protect the interests of consumers.
77. 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.
78. 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.

79. 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.

**Dignity and security in retirement**

80. Labor believes that older Australians 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.
81. 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.
82. Having 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.
83. 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 infrastructure. Labor will resist attempts to undermine superannuation, and will fight to reinforce its sustainability.
84. 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.
85. 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.
86. 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.
87. 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.
88. 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 peoples' ongoing capacity for work and life expectancy, including in First Nations communities.

89. Labor will always place superannuation fund members' interests first and will not tolerate misconduct or conflict of interest in the sector.
90. 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.
91. Labor supports equal representation governance of superannuation boards.

### **Building a dynamic and vibrant business sector**

92. 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.
93. Labor recognises the major contribution micro and small businesses including franchisees make to 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.
94. 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.
95. Labor will put cooperatives and social enterprises on a level playing field with other small businesses, including greater access to capital and government grants.
96. 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**

97. Under the Coalition, Australia’s productive capability has weakened, become less diverse and as a consequence there are fewer opportunities for well paid, secure jobs and investment.
98. 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 and exports of high value goods and services.
99. 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**

100. 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.
101. 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.
102. 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;
  - 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.
103. 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 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 people business sector.

### **A strong services sector**

104. 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.

105. 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.
106. 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.
107. 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**

108. 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. 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. maintain high levels 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 sector;
  - 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.

#### **Resources for the nation**

109. 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 energy 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.
110. Labor will ensure resource development on First Nations peoples' land proceeds consistently with Labor's land rights and native title policy, improves employment, business, education and training opportunities, and lifts community development and self-determination opportunities.

### **Growing tourism**

111. 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.
112. Labor will grow regional tourism, including through investment in infrastructure and domestic and international marketing to encourage regional dispersal and longer stays.
113. 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**

114. 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.

115. 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.
116. 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.
117. 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**

118. Recognising their crucial role in fostering creativity and creating prosperity and employment, Labor will provide a sustainable level of funding to the arts. Our arts policies will support the continuing development of Australia's artists, cultural institutions, cultural heritage collections and arts education programs more generally, to develop a creative culture that will enrich our lives and tell Australia's stories to the world.
119. 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.
120. Labor will provide strong support to protect and promote First Nation people's culture.
121. 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 Nation 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 peoples' 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, 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. Labor will increase participation and reduce underemployment through a combination of active labour market programs, support, incentives and responsibilities.

6. Labor will create an effective employment services system 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 and not unduly punitive. 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 programs designed to meet the specific needs of First Nations people.
7. Labor is committed to working 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 that aim to remove remaining barriers, including those based on gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexuality or disability status. Diversity contributes to growth and equity.
9. Labor will work with business 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 aim for full gender equality in the workforce by helping people balance their work and family responsibilities. Labor will:
  - a. pursue rights to unpaid parental leave of up to two years;
  - b. give people the 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. set a goal for parents to have access to 26 weeks of paid parental leave, as the internationally recognised best-practice benchmark, and the goal of 26 weeks at full pay plus superannuation through a combination of government and employer contributions;
  - 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.
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 reduce 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. 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, 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 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 employees about their industrial rights and other relevant concerns.
28. Labor understands the growth of the gig economy and information technology platforms will have both positive and negative effects on the way Australians work. 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 can pose physical and mental health and safety risks, Labor will make job quality and secure employment central social policy objectives.
30. In recognition of the potential stress caused to employees by fly-in-fly-out (FIFO) employment practices, Labor will support industry best practice in work patterns, accommodation standards, communication technology and mental health support for FIFO workers.
31. Preservation arrangements should reflect peoples' ongoing capacity for work and life expectancy, including for those people employed in physically rigorous and other demanding occupations.
32. 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.

33. 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.
34. 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.
35. 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.
36. Labor will ensure the effective regulation of internships to protect interns from exploitation.
37. Labor will be a model employer in government and will not seek to reduce industrial obligations or terms and conditions through Government outsourcing.
38. 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.

39. 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.

40. 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.
41. 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 within our existing international obligations. Temporary overseas workers are vulnerable to exploitation and this exploitation affects 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

42. Labor believes that every workplace injury is preventable. Australians deserve to know that they and their loved ones will come home from work. Since their inception, Australian unions have fought to make Australians safe at work. Labor will continue to support Australian workers and their representatives to make sure that every workplace is a safe one.
43. Labor will advance a national work safety agenda through Safe Work Australia and make occupational health and safety (OH&S) a joint responsibility of employees and their unions, employers and government. As part of this strategy, Labor will:
  - a. improve Comcare and oppose its outsourcing or privatisation;
  - b. retain Seacare as an independent Commonwealth statutory authority;
  - c. improve and clarify the OH&S regulatory frameworks covering workers in dangerous industries, including shipping, offshore oil and gas and stevedoring;
  - d. introduce a strongly enforced national “safe rates” scheme for all parties in the transport supply chain; and
  - e. develop a national strategy on industrial disease focusing on reform to the regulatory environment for prevention, monitoring and response to industrial diseases, including deadly industrial diseases that have recently re-emerged, including black lung, asbestosis, silicosis and other cancers.
44. Labor will protect the community from exposure to asbestos-related disease, in cooperation with states and territories, by improving asbestos awareness and management and removal of asbestos from the built environment. Labor will work towards a full world-wide ban on the mining, manufacture and use of asbestos and ensure that the Australian Border Force has the powers and resources it needs to keep Australia safe from dangerous products.

### **Defending the right to organise**

45. Labor recognises the right of all workers 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 due respect for workers' rights to join a union without hindrance or discrimination, and using modern payment methods.
46. 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.
47. 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.
48. Labor will improve access to collective bargaining, including where appropriate through multi-employer collective bargaining, to assist workers in low-paid and hard-to-organise industries.
49. Labor will facilitate bargaining for multi-employer and multi-agency public sector agreements.
50. 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.
51. 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.
52. 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**

53. Labor believes that great schools, universities and TAFEs are 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.

54. 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.
55. Under the Coalition we have seen Australia’s education and training system fail our people, teachers and our businesses. School results are going backwards; the marks needed to get into teaching are falling when they should be rising; 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*

56. 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.
57. Labor will maintain the current universal access to preschool and kindergarten programs and will consider 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.
58. 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*

59. Labor supports educational excellence and high achievement for all. It is unacceptable for anyone to miss out on achieving 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.

60. Labor is committed to a properly funded national needs-based and sector-blind school funding model. This funding model will ensure that:
- all schools are fairly resourced to meet the needs of all students;
  - disadvantaged schools get the biggest funding increases in the shortest time;
  - schools and teachers have the resources necessary to give students with disability the same education and vocational opportunities as other students; and
  - the gaps between First Nations students and non-First Nations students are closed in all areas of schooling, including early childhood education, school attendance, reading, writing, numeracy and year-12 completion.
61. Labor supports targeted needs-based investments to overcome disadvantage.
62. 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.
63. Labor will oversee a national curriculum and national student assessment and reporting framework that is free from political or commercial influence. Among other aims, the curriculum must:
- ensure Australian children master the basics early in their schooling, such as reading, writing, and maths;
  - lift student results across the board, including for students who are struggling, and students who are gifted and talented;
  - support quality vocational education and training in schools; and
  - include civics and citizenship education to develop in students a deep knowledge of their rights and freedoms and equip them with the ability to play an active role in our democracy.
64. Labor will work to lift the status of the teaching profession and support improved practice and continued professional development.
65. Labor believes parents have a right to choose non-government schooling. Non-government schools should be supported by public funding that reflects need and is consistent with a diverse and inclusive society.

*Quality vocational education and skill development*

66. 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.

67. Labor will ensure at least two-thirds of all public funding for vocational education goes to TAFE. The balance of funding will go to other high quality, trusted vocational education providers, including in the adult and community education sector. Unscrupulous practices and operators will not be tolerated.
68. 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 and social partners to develop and provide high quality courses relevant to the labour market, student aspiration 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.
69. Labor will strengthen apprenticeships and traineeships, including through pursuit of a nationally consistent system of trade papers and harmonisation of associated rules. Labor will encourage the growth of apprenticeships and traineeships via ratios and quotas in Commonwealth funded major projects and activities.
70. 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.
71. 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.
72. Labor will ensure the vocational education and training system does not shift costs onto individual students.
73. 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**

74. Universities have long been centres for both learning and research. They are critically important institutions for the pursuit of knowledge and also key drivers of long-run economic growth and productivity.

75. 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.
76. 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; and
  - c. will maintain a targeted system of student income support.
77. Labor recognises the crucial importance of university research to our economy through innovation and to society through advances in fields like science, medicine, the arts and creativity generally. Labor will therefore ensure that research activity is linked strongly to its social benefit and to university engagement with community and industry.
78. 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.

## 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, 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, 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. 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.
5. Science is always central to Labor's decision-making in relation to climate change, energy and the environment.

### Creating a low-emissions economy

6. 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.
7. 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.
8. 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.
9. 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.

10. 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.
11. 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.
12. Labor believes the most effective and economically beneficial way to address climate change 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 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.
13. 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.
14. 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.
15. Labor will work with unions and industry to ensure that the workers and communities affected by economic changes can prosper in a modern energy economy.
16. 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.
17. 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 Clean Energy Finance Corporation and the Australian Renewable Energy Agency.
18. 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**

19. 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, as well as ensure affordability, reliability and pollution reduction goals.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. Labor supports the responsible development of Australia’s gas reserves, subject to environmental approvals to ensure communities concerns are addressed through rigorous science-based processes, including gas from coal seams, shale and tight gas formations. Labor will ensure gas development is environmentally sustainable, science-based and safe, managing environmental impacts and ensuring sustainable local economic activity. Labor will ensure the industry operates at the highest environmental standards and will ensure the coal seam gas industry assesses and manages environmental and other impacts, including on water reserves and co-existence with other agricultural activities, and engages constructively with landholders.
23. 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.
24. 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.
25. 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.
26. 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.
27. 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 via a robust domestic fuel refining and storage capability.

### **Stronger environmental protections**

28. Labor recognises the strength and sustainability of our economy depends on the health of the environments in which we work, live and play, this means clean water, air and healthy ecosystems are protected. We recognise a strong economy is underpinned by a healthy environment and accept it is our responsibility to protect our environment for future generations.
29. Labor believes protecting our biodiversity is critical to Australia’s future. By protecting our built and cultural heritage, we conserve a valuable asset and ensure these places are experienced and enjoyed by future generations.
30. Labor recognises that effective and transparent environmental management systems are essential for sound decision-making, monitoring, assessment and reporting of environmental performance and outcomes.
31. 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.
32. Labor believes that Australia’s environmental protection laws need to be fit-for-purpose, 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 and streamlined environmental assessment processes;
  - c. the fair and efficient 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, and ecological sustainability; and
  - e. the creation of plans that set targets and approaches to protect the environment.
33. Labor will deliver on our international obligations including sustainable development, to protect biodiversity, to protect heritage, restore landscapes, control plastic pollution and improve air quality and water quality.
34. Labor will address environmental and climate impacts of land clearing in the nation’s environmental laws, as part of a comprehensive response to land clearing and climate change. Labor will also consider a National Parks trigger and the expansion of the existing water trigger.
35. Labor will ensure Australia meets its international obligations to protect World Heritage Areas and places subject to international treaties such as Ramsar wetlands.
36. Labor will 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.

37. Labor will 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.
38. Labor will 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.
39. Labor will:
  - a. support Traditional Owners to pursue World Heritage listing for the Kimberley, recognising the importance of federal leadership and the consent of Traditional Owners;
  - b. ensure cultural values are included in all National and World Heritage listings;
  - c. oppose resource extraction in national parks or World Heritage areas; and
  - d. 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.
40. 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;
  - d. strengthening our environmental laws; and
  - e. safeguarding the biodiversity of species and ecological habitats in its catchments.
41. As well as protecting Australia's biodiversity under the law, Labor believes Australia needs a national system of parks and reserves, as well as policies aimed at achieving ecologically sustainable use of other land and waterways.
42. Labor will make sure:
  - a. threat abatement and recovery plans for threatened species and ecological communities are implemented; and
  - b. land clearing that adversely affects threatened ecological communities and critical habitats for threatened species is prevented.
43. Labor will implement a best-practice national vegetation mapping and monitoring program.
44. Labor will improve Australia's preparedness to prevent and combat new invasive species and work with state and territory governments to develop new tools and biological controls to reduce the impact of established pests and diseases.

45. Labor will ensure national environment funding programs and other volunteer and community programs, like Landcare funding, support local sustainable agriculture, conservation and environmental priorities and contribute to national priorities to improve biodiversity and resilience.
46. Labor will cooperate with the states, territories 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.
47. Labor will:
  - a. support employment for First Nations people to work on and manage country, including considering expanding support 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 involvement in land management, including through national parks, tourism and state forests.
48. Labor will harness the social, economic and environmental benefits that flow from the sustainable management of Australia's forests.
49. Labor will continue to work with industry, communities and environmentalists in relation to Tasmanian forests and the forestry industry.
50. 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.
51. 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.
52. 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.
53. Labor will support the development of industries that minimise resource consumption, waste and pollution generation and support development of waste policy and programs.

54. Labor will work with state and territory governments to coordinate a national approach to waste, including plastics and other sources of waste in marine environments.
55. 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.
56. Labor will fulfil Australia’s obligations to control the safe movement of hazardous waste.
57. Labor will promote national air quality standards and monitoring, reporting and control of air pollution.
58. 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. 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.

#### **Caring for land, rivers and oceans**

59. Labor is committed to building Australia’s land-based carbon offsets industry. It is a powerful way to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and create economic opportunity, especially in rural and regional Australia. Labor believes land-based sequestration can be an Australian export industry helping the globe to address climate change. It can also help protect and restore Australia’s natural landscapes.
60. Labor supports Landcare and promotes sustainable farming practices and improved natural resource management.
61. Australia’s long-term water issues require national leadership and 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.
62. Labor wants the Murray-Darling Basin to have healthy, working rivers, supporting agriculture, sustaining local communities, allowing for First Nations cultural practices, and providing a haven for the abundant plants and wildlife that depend on the system.
63. 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.
64. 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.

65. 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.
66. Labor will protect the ecological health of the rivers, wetlands, lakes and channels of the Lake Eyre Basin and will cooperate with the governments of the Northern Territory, South Australia, Queensland and NSW to protect the ecological sustainability of the Basin.
67. Labor will support initiatives to improve water security for Australia’s cities and towns and will support investment in wastewater recycling, desalination, stormwater harvesting and efficient water infrastructure. Labor will ensure economic developments are stringently assessed for their effect on water quality and supply.
68. 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 Gilliard Governments’ establishment of Australia’s Marine Reserve Network, the largest network of marine protected areas anywhere in the world.
69. Labor will:
  - a. implement management plans for the Commonwealth Marine Reserves and Sanctuaries Network;
  - b. protect Australian waters 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; and
  - c. ensure protection for iconic marine species like whales, dugongs, turtles and sharks, and promote the conservation and research of key bioregional health indicator species.

## 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 the 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. 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.
11. 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.
12. Labor will never give up on closing the gap in the health of First Nations people. We will work with First Nations people and community-controlled health organisations to reduce the gross inequalities in health outcomes between First Nations people and other Australians. Labor’s policies will recognise the successes achieved by First Nations people-led health and related services. We will work to address systemic racism and ensure the entire health system is equipped to provide safe, culturally appropriate health care to First Nations people. This includes increasing the numbers of First Nations people in all parts of the health workforce.
13. Labor knows that Australians who live outside our capital cities do not get the same access to healthcare 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.

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

14. 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.
15. 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.
16. Labor sees oral health as the missing element of Medicare. Our long-term goal is to provide universal access to affordable dental services for all Australians.

17. The mental health of Australians is just as important as their physical health. Labor will invest in strong mental health policies and programs to help Australians better understand and address this growing issue. We 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 and reach the most disadvantaged and at-risk groups. 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.
18. 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. We will ensure that any proposed international treaties do not undermine equitable access to medicines.
19. 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.
20. 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.
21. Labor will work to improve sexual and reproductive health for all Australians and supports the rights of women to make decisions regarding reproductive health, particularly the right to choose appropriate contraceptives and termination, and will ensure these choices are supported by access to relevant medical, support and advice services.
22. Labor believes Australians nearing the end of their lives, and their families, should receive the highest standards of palliative and end-of-life care including ensuring dignity and choice at the end of life. This requires a health policy discussion 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*

23. 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.

24. 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.
25. 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.
26. 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.
27. Labor will enforce the ban on the cloning of human beings.
28. 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.
29. 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.

### **Nurturing our children**

30. 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.
31. 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.
32. Labor will work in partnership with First Nations people and their organisations to address the overrepresentation of First Nations children in Australia's child protection system.
33. 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.

34. 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.
35. 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.
36. Labor will work to protect children from exposure to inappropriate material over the internet, at home, school and at other public access points.
37. Labor believes all people should be able to access assisted reproductive technology, to adopt, and to enter into domestic surrogacy arrangements, regardless of relationship status, sex, gender, identity or sexual orientation.

### **Valuing older Australians**

38. 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.
39. 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.
40. Labor will ensure the three pillars of our retirement income system are preserved and strengthened. Labor will protect retirement incomes through:
  - a. an integrated system of the aged pension;
  - b. universal and compulsory superannuation; and
  - c. private savings such as the family home and investments in businesses.

Through the integration of all three pillars Labor will ensure the retirement incomes system operates efficiently and fairly to both retirees and the broader community.

41. 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.
42. 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**

43. Labor believes that nobody should be denied access to high quality and appropriate aged care services. This means high minimum standards of quality care, underpinned by adequate staffing levels with the appropriate mix of skills.
44. As Australians get older, they should be able to navigate and choose the support and care arrangements they want, including controlling who provides them. Labor will work to further ensure older Australians are able to align services with their needs and choices. Labor will ensure regulation of the quality of services and safeguards to prevent unconscionable conduct.
45. Labor will ensure that choices about care are informed by open and transparent information and data on safety and quality standards of facilities, charges and staffing. We believe in increased transparency and accountability of taxpayer funds invested in all aged care services.
46. Labor recognises that many older Australians want to live independently in their homes for as long as possible. We will support them to remain at home and close to their family and community through the provision of community and home care services.
47. Labor will support older Australians to stay connected through modern information and communication technology.
48. Labor will support aged care services being available in local communities, particularly in rural and regional areas to make sure that the supply of quality aged care services meets current and future demand.
49. Labor will listen to those using aged care – whether at home or in facilities, their families, loved ones, and aged care workers – to ensure that our aged care system is high quality and meets the needs of older Australians. This includes ensuring consumer participation in the accreditation system and a strong and robust complaints process.
50. Labor will ensure the provision of culturally appropriate aged care, including strategies that address the particular needs of diverse groups of Australians.
51. Labor believes that the aged care services sector performs invaluable work providing the care and support for older Australians. Aged care staff deserve to be well paid, well-supported and have access to future career paths. In recognition of the importance of this industry to the nation's future, Labor will work with the sector, including unions to develop and implement an aged care workforce strategy.
52. 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**

53. 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.
54. Labor will ensure mainstream community services and facilities will be inclusive and accessible to people with disability and their families.
55. 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.
56. 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.
57. 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.
58. 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.
59. Labor will create new types of user-led services to ensure people with disability have choice and control over the services they receive.
60. 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 are critical to growing and maintaining the NDIS workforce and that NDIS pricing should support fair wages. 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.
61. Labor will invest in research, evidence, and information to support service innovation, planning and quality, as well as informed choice by NDIS participants.
62. 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.

63. 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.
64. 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.
65. 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.
66. 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.
67. 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**

68. 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.
69. 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.
70. 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.
71. 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.
72. 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.

73. 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.
74. 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.
75. 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**

76. Labor believes that housing affordability is one of the biggest issues facing Australians. The great Australian dream of owning your own home is, for many, out of reach. Many Australians are also struggling to pay their rent and more Australians are homeless than ever before.
77. Home ownership rates are at their lowest level in over 50 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 stakeholders to assist first homebuyers to purchase their first home and improve housing affordability.
78. 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 will work with the states, territory and local governments and industry stakeholders to help Australians who rent to have access to more secure, affordable, long term accommodation.
79. There are more Australians experiencing homelessness than ever before, particularly among women and children experiencing domestic violence, 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.
80. Labor will work with the state, territory and local governments to improve access to social and affordable housing. Recognising that improved housing is needed to close the gap, Labor will also address the issue of overcrowding among communities of First Nations people.

#### **Support for the community sector**

81. Strong communities are fundamental to Labor’s egalitarian project. We believe in the value of mass membership organisations – from trade unions to local sporting clubs – in promoting community cohesion and building bridges across diverse groups. Labor recognises the social benefits of volunteering, philanthropy and civic activism.
82. 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.

83. 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.
84. Labor recognises that non-profit organisations are always better positioned than for-profit corporations to provide these crucial frontline support services. We will ensure 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**

85. 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**

86. 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 the citizen at the centre. We will embrace new technologies to provide convenient, more efficient and more effective delivery of services—but always 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 and cultural rights, like 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 that First Nations people are the original inhabitants of this land and are the oldest surviving cultures on earth.
8. Labor is committed to reconciliation, truth-telling, the empowerment of First Nations people and to self-determination. These principles will guide Labor policies and programs.
9. Labor recognises that First Nations people experience particular unacceptable disadvantage compared to other Australians, as a consequence of the past. 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.
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. We believe land use and ownership issues should be resolved by negotiation wherever possible.
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 relevant 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 and reduce the number of First Nations children in the child protection system, ensuring children in care maintain contact with their culture, language and community;
  - d. support policies like justice reinvestment to reduce high rates of incarceration for First Nations people and ensure deaths in custody are treated in a manner that maintains public confidence in the justice system;
  - 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 and harassment, 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.
27. Labor believes that addressing violence against women and their children must be a national priority that requires a partnership between all Australians.
28. Labor believes that forced marriage is an abuse of human rights which disproportionately affects young women and children. We will act to prevent this practice from occurring.

#### **Equal rights for LGBTIQ Australians**

29. Labor believes lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender; intersex and queer (LGBTIQ) Australians deserve the same human rights, respect and safety as every other Australian.
30. Labor will work closely with LGBTIQ Australians to develop policy to:
  - a. ensure they enjoy equality before the law and have access to public services without discrimination;
  - b. strengthen laws and expand programs against discrimination and harassment on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, sex characteristics and queer status;
  - c. 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;
  - d. support national intersex-led organisations to provide support to intersex persons and their families, and advocate on intersex issues; and
  - e. review documentation requirements, including passports and birth certificates, as they affect transgender and intersex people, to facilitate their equal enjoyment of human rights without discrimination and to promote identification options beyond that of the binary choice of being male or female.
31. Labor will ensure schools are welcoming and supportive environments for all students and teachers, regardless of their gender identity and sexuality. We will support programs that promote understanding, tolerance and respect for every student.

32. Labor opposes “reparative” or “gay conversion” therapies. Labor will work with advocates to ensure people are not coerced into undergoing such therapies, and promote justice for those affected by such practices.
33. Labor will support the Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics and will promote resolutions to support human rights protections for LGBTIQ people at the Human Rights Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

### A multicultural nation

34. 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 and linguistically diverse Australians, and a commitment to secure inclusive institutions to ensure no-one is left behind.
35. Labor is committed to standing up for multiculturalism and culturally and linguistically diverse Australians, through policies which:
  - a. Works 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. Remove barriers to recent migrants’ participation in our economy and society, and ensure government services redirect the needs of all Australians;
  - c. Keep our migration policies non-discriminatory;
  - d. Respect the heritage and traditional customs of migrants and their children;
  - e. Continue the family reunion program;
  - f. 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;
  - g. Ensure migrants, including refugees, are not economically exploited and have full access to the relevant workplace rights and protections; and
  - h. Recognise the ongoing benefits of cultural diversity to all Australians, and the role of government, working with community, in building an inclusive society.
36. 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.
37. 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, particularly for vulnerable groups of migrants, and prioritise the processing of applications by families, partners and children to ensure families are kept together.

### **A better future for young people**

38. 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.
39. 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; and
  - e. continue to support the work of the National Children’s Commissioner.
40. 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**

41. Labor believes in and supports the right of all Australians 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. Labor recognises that the freedom to have or adopt a religion or belief, or not to have or adopt a religion or belief, is absolute.
42. Labor believes that no Australian should ever be vilified or subjected to violence or threats of violence because of that person’s religion or religious belief.
43. 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.

### **Labor’s opposition to discrimination**

44. 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.

45. Labor will simplify and harmonise federal anti-discrimination laws by consolidating them into a single piece of legislation.
46. Labor believes it should continue to be unlawful to discriminate against any person on the basis of age, disability, race, sex, gender identity, intersex status and sexual orientation.
47. 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.
48. 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, 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. 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.
4. 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. enforce the Code of Conduct for ministers and their staff to ensure they uphold clear standards relating to their behaviour; and
  - e. at all times, uphold and defend the rule of law.
5. Labor will always protect Australia’s democratic processes and institutions from foreign interference.

### Modernising the Australian Constitution

6. 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.

7. 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.
8. Labor supports and will work toward establishing an Australian republic with an Australian head of state.
9. 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.
10. 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**

11. 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.
12. 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.
13. 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. Labor will provide local government with long-term funding certainty and ensure that local government continues to reflect the will of local communities.

#### **A public sector working for Australians**

14. 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 the APS plays in delivering and designing services for the public good. We will ensure the APS is properly resourced to deliver services to the Australian people in an efficient and responsive way.
15. Arbitrary staffing caps have made the APS more reliant on external contractors and consultants to deliver its core services. We must invest in the capability and capacity of the APS so that it is able to deliver the services the Australian people rely on.
16. 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.

17. 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.
18. 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**

19. 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.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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.
23. Labor will protect the Australian electoral process from foreign and domestic interference and ensure that all claims of electoral malpractice are investigated.
24. 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.
25. 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.

### **Healthy public debate**

26. 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 ban on ABC advertising and sponsorship;
    - ii. opposing the privatisation of the ABC and SBS;
    - iii. ensuring board members of the ABC and SBS are chosen through a rigorous and independent process; and
    - iv. 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.
27. 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.
28. 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.
29. 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 or the private sector, on paper or in digital form.

**Justice for all**

30. 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.
31. 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; and
  - i. evidence obtained illegally, by torture, coercive techniques or by improper investigative practice is inadmissible.
- 32. Australia's 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.
- 33. 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.
- 34. Labor will support effective early intervention programs which assist disadvantaged communities.
- 35. Labor will ensure the Commonwealth's investigation, prosecution, defence and judicial processes are separate, independent, properly resourced and accountable.
- 36. Labor will always respect the independence of the judiciary, which is fundamental to the rule of law and our democratic society.
- 37. Labor will ensure judicial 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.
- 38. 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.
- 39. Labor will reduce incarceration rates for First Nations people in Australia and end the shame of too many First Nations people dying in custody.
- 40. Labor supports the appropriate use of noncustodial sentencing options for all offenders. This principle is particularly important for young people, 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.
- 41. 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.

42. 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.

**Family law that is fair**

43. 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.
44. Labor will ensure that the best interests of children will always be the paramount consideration in resolving family law disputes.
45. 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.
46. 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.
47. 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

### Continuing 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.

### Defenders of Australia’s sovereignty

3. 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 and the rising risks of cyber-attack, economic coercion, and foreign political and social interference.
4. 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.
5. Labor’s protection of the Australian people will begin with an uncompromising attitude towards border security.
6. 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**

7. 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.
8. 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 in areas such as intelligence, the fight against terrorism, defence equipment purchases, and the United States' long-term role in underpinning broader stability in our region.
9. 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.
10. Labor seeks to strengthen economic, social, cultural and educational ties with the nations of the Indo-Pacific region including through cooperation with important organisations, including the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the East Asia Summit (EAS), 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. 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.
11. 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.
12. Labor will ensure the languages of the region are taught more widely in our schools.
13. Labor will strengthen Australia's links with the Muslim world, including through the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.
14. 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**

15. 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.

16. 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.
17. 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.
18. 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.
19. 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.
20. 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**

21. 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**

22. 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.
23. 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.
24. 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.
25. 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.
26. 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. 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.
27. 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.
28. Labor will support international efforts to eradicate the exploitation of child labour.
29. Labor supports the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and supports efforts to increase indigenous participation in UN forums.
30. 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.
31. Labor will actively advocate for the abolition of the death penalty and torture across the world.

32. 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.
33. 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**

34. 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**

35. 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.
36. Climate change is increasing the incidence and severity of natural disasters in Australia and our region. Accordingly our capacity to respond must keep pace. Under Labor, Australia's foreign policy efforts and international development programs will emphasise our efforts to prevent climate change and to help our neighbours adapt to climate change related and other natural disasters.
37. 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.

#### **Active climate change and environmental diplomacy**

38. Labor believes that working to ensure global action on climate change and the protection of the global environment is a vital foreign policy objective. 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;
  - 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 and work to strengthen the law of the sea to improve sustainable ocean management.
39. 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

40. 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.
41. Labor will ensure Australian international development addresses:
- a. infrastructure and economic development projects in partnership with international agencies and partners;
  - b. climate change;
  - c. sustainable agriculture, forest and fisheries management, and food security initiatives;
  - d. water, sanitation and hygiene;
  - e. good governance and human rights;
  - f. the empowerment of people with disabilities; and
  - g. the global problem of violence against women and children.
42. 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 NGOs are held to high standards to promote accountability and aid effectiveness.

### Protecting Australians overseas

43. 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**

44. 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.
45. 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.
46. Labor will maintain a strong Reserve element as an important part of our force structure.
47. 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.
48. 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.
49. Labor supports a strong and bipartisan approach to military commemoration and education about the sacrifices previous and current generations have made to maintain the freedom of our country. 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**

50. 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.
51. 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.
52. Under the Refugee Convention, asylum seekers 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.
53. 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. 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. Explicitly exempt any category of natural persons from Australian laws and regulations, including applicable Australian workplace law, work safety law and relevant Australian licensing, regulation and certification standards laws and regulations Labor will legislate so that trade agreements signed by the Commonwealth.
9. Require skills assessments (including practical and theoretical testing) to be undertaken in Australia and not restrict such skills assessments for temporary visa holders.
10. Must include in any future bi-lateral trade agreement a labour chapter with enforceable internationally recognised labour standards.
11. Should seek to include a labour chapter with enforceable internationally recognised labour standards in any regional or multilateral trade agreements.
12. 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 usually only determines enabling legislation. Labor in Opposition will challenge agreements that do not meet the above criteria, but may vote for, or against enabling legislation.

13. 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 work to strengthen APEC’s role in mobilising support for the WTO’s Doha Round. Labor will also support India’s ambition to join APEC. Australia should engage in the emerging regional trade and investment architecture under the auspices of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and the proposed Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific.
14. Labor will work to:
  - a. Reinvigorate the World Trade Organisation's Doha Round, and work to bring it to a successful conclusion to bring certainty to the international trading system and progress for free trade, especially for developing economies;
  - b. Provide leadership to the Cairns Group and seek reductions in agricultural subsidies and protection;
  - c. Secure reciprocal new market access for all of Australia's economic sectors;
  - d. 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;
  - e. Reduce the costs to business of engaging in trade and taking part in global value chains through trade facilitation reforms;
  - f. 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
  - g. 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.
15. 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.
16. 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.
17. 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.
18. 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.

19. 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.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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.
23. 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.

24. 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 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.
25. 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 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.
26. 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.
27. Labor supported communities participating in the forestry, timber and forest products sector with legislation and regulations to prohibit the importation of illegally logged wood and forest products made from it, and by requiring due diligence by importers and processors to ensure they source only from forests which are legally harvested. Labor will ensure that importers comply with the Legislation and Regulations and by taking a risk-based approach to monitoring due diligence systems to ensure imported products are not derived from illegal sources. Labor has defeated attempts to weaken these laws by the Coalition government and vested interests. Labor will continue to oppose irresponsible 'deemed to comply' proposals which would weaken the due diligence requirements. Labor in Government will ensure that illegal logging laws and regulations are complied with through ensuring they are enforced.
28. 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.

29. 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.
30. 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.
31. 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.
32. 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).
33. 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.
34. 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.

35. 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.
36. 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.
37. 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.
38. Australian unions have a proud record of fighting to protect working people in partnership with those in our region. Labor will work to 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.
39. 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.
40. 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.
41. 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.
42. 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.
43. 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.
44. 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.
45. 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. Given the hazards and risks involved in the nuclear power cycle, Labor will allow the mining and export of uranium only under the most stringent conditions. In relation to mining and milling, Labor will ensure that:
  - a. the safety of workers in the uranium industry is given priority;
  - b. Australian uranium mining, milling and rehabilitation is based on world best practice;
  - c. 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 First Nations people 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.
2. 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.
3. 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.
4. 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. encouraging all nuclear states to join the NPT and revising the NPT to prevent countries from withdrawing from it;

- i. 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;
  - j. 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
  - k. seeking adequate international resourcing of the IAEA to ensure its effectiveness in undertaking its charter.
5. 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.
6. Labor will:
  - a. 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;
  - d. remain strongly opposed to the importation and storage of nuclear waste that is sourced from overseas in Australia; and
  - e. act in accordance with science and employ full transparency over the storage of radioactive waste related to medical treatment.

### **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.

### **Seafarers**

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. We will amend maritime laws to revitalise the Australian shipping industry with more effective regulatory arrangements, more contemporary foreign seafarer visa requirements, and improved corporate and seafarer tax incentives, regulatory and workforce development measures so Australian shipowners can compete fairly and employ more Australian seafarers.

### **Second Sydney airport**

1. 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.

### **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 disparities that exist across the public service and support a single, unified Australian Public Service by addressing pay inequities through an agreed mechanism to achieve equal pay for work of equal value across the APS;
  - 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. Take active steps to eliminate and reverse anti-union cultures and practices which undermine employees' rights;
  - h. 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;

- i. Ensure that Government workplaces are safe workplaces by respecting and embodying best practice work health and safety, including supporting the role of workplace health and safety representatives and recognising the role of unions in health and safety;
- j. Take further active steps to deliver meaningful career development for people with a disability employed in the Australian Public Service;
- k. Establish and maintain agency funding levels commensurate with service delivery and policy development requirements;
- l. 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;
- m. Ensure secure, comprehensive, service-wide standards and classifications;
- n. Ensure secure superannuation arrangements in industrial instruments. Labor will maintain at least 15.4 per cent employer contribution to the superannuation of federal government employees, regardless of choice of fund;
- o. Emphasise training and career development;
- p. Enable public servants to balance work and family responsibilities;
- q. Ensure internal appeal and review right;
- r. Act as a model litigant in any proceedings before the Fair Work Commission;
- s. Increase the number of direct, permanent jobs in the public service, and reduce the use of contractors, casual, labour hire and non-ongoing positions;
- t. Enable employment mobility across the whole of the public service;
- u. Provide adequate agency funding across the whole of the APS;
- v. Provide centrally and fully fund measures to address pay inequities in low-paying public sector agencies with a high proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander staff;
- w. Take further active steps to increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people employed in the APS and ensuring they have access to meaningful career development and regularly reviewing the effectiveness of those measures in achieving that goal; and
- x. Increase the proportion of people with a disability employed in the APS, ensuring they have access to meaningful career development and regularly reviewing the effectiveness of those measures in achieving that goal.

### **National environment law**

1. The Australian government has an enduring responsibility to protect Australia's environment and natural resources. Labor has a proud history of national environmental protection laws. These have been instrumental in protecting Australia's greatest natural treasures for decades. Labor will not support handing approval powers under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Act 1999 to state and territory governments and will terminate any arrangements that give states these powers.
2. Australia needs new frameworks for truly national protection and management of Australia's natural resources to enshrine federal leadership in proactive and systemic protection of our

environment from threats such as climate change, and to protect the value of heritage sites: Labor will:

- a. Establish an Australian Environment Act within the first term of government;
  - b. Ensure the knowledge and rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are central in environment protection laws, programs and policies;
  - c. For the purposes of managing matters of national environmental significance, create strong, well resourced, science based institutions to administer the law: including a federal Environmental Protection Agency to conduct public inquiries, provide transparent and timely advice to the Minister within a clear decision-making framework and enforcement; and ensure there is the capacity in the public service to provide federal leadership on the environment;
  - d. Implement clear management, governance and decision making structures that are transparent, efficient and streamlined;
  - e. Improve regulation and streamline environmental assessment processes;
  - f. Manage Australia’s environment fairly and efficiently as a foundation for ecologically, socially and economically sustainable jobs;
  - g. Protect biodiversity and support resilience in the natural environment; and
  - h. Direct the Environment Department to establish National Environment Plans that set targets and approaches to proactively protect the environment.
3. Labor will deliver on our international obligations including Sustainable Development, to protect biodiversity, to protect heritage, restore landscapes, control plastic pollution and improve air quality and water quality to protect human health and productivity. Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. For development to be sustainable, it needs to meet the test of the triple bottom line: Social sustainability, ecological sustainability and economic sustainability. Environment institutions will have a remit to promote our international obligations including sustainable development.

4. Labor will create a land clearing trigger in the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Act 1999 and/or successor framework, in the context of a comprehensive response to land clearing and climate change. Labor will also consider a National Parks trigger to protect Australia’s system of National Parks. Labor will expand the water trigger to apply to shale or tight formation gas developments that impact on water resources.

### **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 affordability and poor service provision in many regional and rural areas.
2. Labor will work to improve sexual and reproductive health for all Australians and supports the rights of women to make decisions regarding reproductive health, particularly the right to choose appropriate contraceptives and termination, and 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; and
  - b. 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.

### **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. 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.
3. 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.
4. 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.
5. Labor will maintain these objectives to ensure all personal data including health, financial and employment details are equally protected.
6. 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.
7. 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:
  - a. Ensure an effective verification and enforcement architecture;
  - b. Ensure the interaction of the Ban Treaty with the longstanding Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty;
  - c. 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 by:
  - d. Working to create the conditions necessary to achieve a pathway to universal support for the Ban Treaty;
  - e. Advocating to the United States and Russia for the renewal of the New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) Treaty for the period beyond 2021;
  - f. Advocating to the United States that it actively negotiates with Russia, China and other nuclear armed states 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): a world free of nuclear weapons; and

- g. Seeking to work with partners and allies to build upon the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament and develop an initiative which proposes a way of working with states possessing nuclear weapons to realise the aspiration of Article VI of the NPT seeking to encourage transparency among all states with nuclear weapons over their doctrine and the composition of their arsenals, and continuing to strengthen non-proliferation goals in the Indo Pacific region.

### **A nation built on migration**

1. Migrants and refugees have made a 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 prevent exploited migrant workers from unwarranted deportation and protect migrant workers and 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 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.
32. 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 reinstate the Refugee Review Tribunal and abolish the Immigration Assessment Authority.
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 in an immigration detention centre 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.