

THE REAL COST OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT

Conservative Research Department

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A FOREWORD FROM SAJID JAVID – CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

When we first came into government, the economy was on the brink. Spending was out of control. Public finances were a mess. And people were struggling to find jobs.

In fact, Labour summed it all up in a note they left for us – ‘I’m afraid there is no money’.

Since then we’ve had some tough times. But thanks to the hard work of the British people, we’ve cleaned up Labour’s mess – and together we’ve put the economy back on track.

We brought our public finances under control. We helped 3.6 million more people into work. We cut taxes for hardworking people. And our economy has grown every year we’ve been in government.

So we can afford to invest a little more in the country’s priorities.

That means protecting our NHS with an extra £33.9 billion. Making our streets safer with 20,000 new police officers. Improving our children’s education with more money for every single pupil. And getting Brexit done so we can focus on our priorities.

The country has come a long way since 2010. Unfortunately, Labour haven’t.

Jeremy Corbyn wants to put politicians in charge of our trains, water and energy. The same politicians who spent the last three years arguing about Brexit and getting nothing done.

He wants to raise taxes to the highest level we’ve ever seen in peacetime. He even voted against tax cuts for hardworking people.

He has committed to over £1.2 trillion of extra spending – without saying how he will pay for most of it. That means higher taxes for families that Labour aren’t being honest about.

So it’s the same old Labour. And we’ve got the evidence to prove it.

We’ve written this document to give you a better idea of what a Labour government would cost. We have been impartial – basing our analysis on Labour’s own numbers, independent reports and reasonable estimates where Labour failed to provide their own numbers.

The country faces a clear choice in this General Election.

We can go back to the years of high borrowing, high tax, and high unemployment. Or we can build on our progress – investing in the country’s priorities, keeping taxes low and growing our economy.

What choice will you make?

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "S. Javid".

Sajid Javid
Chancellor of the Exchequer

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Labour Party has committed to **at least £1.2 trillion of extra spending** over the next Parliament.

When taken over a five-year period – the expected length of the next Parliament – Labour’s 2017 Manifesto commitments added up to more than £600 billion. Since then, they’ve turned on the spending taps even more, adding another £590 billion to the total.

This is on top of what the Government already spends.

£1.2 trillion is more than the GDP of Denmark, Ireland and Austria combined.

It is 60 per cent of the UK’s total GDP.

That’s enough to fund the NHS for more than nine years.

Put another way, that’s £650 million more a day, and almost £5 billion of extra spending every single week.

This document outlines the spending commitments made by Labour in each current government department. They are split into resource, or day-to-day, spending, and capital investment. Where figures are annual, they have been multiplied over a five-year period.

In summary, Labour’s spending is broken down as follows:

	£ million
2017 Manifesto commitments	-611,208.0
Total new resource spending	-385,738.0
Total new capital spending	-201,133.5
TOTAL SPENDING	-1,198,079.5

This is not the full picture when it comes to Labour’s spending plans. They have made a number of commitments – not included in these figures – that would certainly come with a cost to the Exchequer, but these are not possible to adequately cost. These have been included in Annex 1, but not in the overall scorecard.

This document does not model the impact of Labour on the wider economy: the investment that would dry up, the businesses that would be damaged, and the resulting loss in tax take for the Treasury.

The cost of Labour is extreme. It will be paid for by hardworking families through higher taxes, or by our children, through levels of borrowing that would cripple this country for generations to come.

METHODOLOGY

Defining commitments

While this document includes Labour's spending commitments from their 2017 Manifesto, it is primarily concerned with those commitments made since the end of the 2017 campaign. In order to be as fair to Labour as possible, spending commitments are only included if they have been pledged by one of the following:

- A Shadow Secretary of State or Shadow Minister making a definitive statement in their official Shadow position.
- An official Labour press release, clearly stating that Labour would fund a particular commitment.
- An official Labour policy paper.
- Policy passed by Labour Party conference.

This document, therefore, does not include a whole raft of policies that Labour frontbenchers have endorsed in third party reports, or said they were considering but without a definitive commitment.

Conference policy

This document is consistent with Labour's own rules and determines that motions passed at Labour Party conference are official Party policy. Labour's 2019 Rule Book clearly states that policies agreed by conference become part of the Party's policy programme: 'Party conference shall decide from time to time what specific proposals of legislative, financial or administrative reform shall be included in the Party programme'.¹

Costings are over the course of a Parliament

All costings have been given for a five-year period, as this is the standard length of a Parliament. Where annual costs are multiplied over five-years, constant nominal prices are used. This means that the spending commitments will be understated due to inflationary impacts. The costings of each individual commitment have been rounded to the nearest £0.5 million.

Many of the costings contained with this document would also result in increases to the funding provided to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland as a result of the Barnett Formula. These increases have not been included in this document, but would add to the overall level of spending committed to by Labour.

Reasonableness test

All commitments have been subjected to a 'reasonableness test'. Any statement by a Labour frontbencher or in a policy paper that a voter would reasonably believe to be a promise to spend money is counted as a commitment. We have used Labour's own costing analysis wherever possible, and have given Labour the benefit of the doubt as much as possible when commitments are contradictory or unclear.

Uncostable commitments

Some commitments made – while passing the 'reasonableness test' – do not contain sufficient detail to properly cost. These have not been included in the total expenditure pledged by Labour, but have been included in Annex 1 for reference. It can be expected that the vast majority of these will have an additional cost to the taxpayer.

The large quantity of such commitments that have been made by the Labour Party means the net totals of spending commitments in this document are cautious ones – and would likely in fact be significantly higher if all pledges were kept.

SCORECARD

	£ million (over five years)
EXPENDITURE	
2017 Manifesto	
Labour's costing of their manifesto (day-to-day)	-243,000.0
Uncosted day-to-day spending	-22,731.0
Labour's costing of their manifesto (capital)	-125,000.0
Uncosted capital spending	-220,477.0
TOTAL 2017 SPENDING	-611,208.0
Post 2017 Manifesto	
NEW RESOURCE SPENDING	
Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government	
Tenants' unions	-20.0
Rough sleeping	-100.0
Housing grant for social rented homes	-50,000.0
Housing training scheme	-13.5
Department for Housing	-416.0
Office of Delivery	-10.0
Independent viability experts	-7.5
Chief Architect	-1.0
Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport	
TV licences for over 75s	-2,475.0
Ministry of Defence	
Exclude pensions from 2 per cent target	-3,092.0
Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy	
Car scrappage scheme	-800.0
Energy worker job guarantee	-1,748.0
Ministry for Employment Rights	-416.0
Department for Education	
School budgets	-2,300.0
A co-operative university	-200.0
Free ESOL courses	-704.5
Abolish private schools	-35,000.0
Free school meals for secondary school children	-6,818.0
Sure Start	-2,500.0
Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs	
Access to Food Fund	-6.0
Zoo inspectorate	-12.5

Animal Welfare Commissioner	-2.5
Department for Health and Social Care	
Emergency winter fund	-500.0
Additional GPs	-272.5
Alcohol care team	-67.5
Child Health Fund	-250.0
Healthy Start Programme	-27.0
Free personal care	-32,000.0
Public health	-16,000.0
Prescription charges	-3,725.0
Staff training and development	-1,650.0
Home Office	
Royal Commission into legalising drugs	-5.0
Visa fees	-2,500.0
Ministry of Justice	
Law centres	-20.0
Community lawyers	-18.0
Female offender strategy	-95.0
Early Legal Help	-36.0
Legal aid for housing	-45.0
Legal aid for benefit appeals	-90.0
Legal aid for deaths in state custody	-20.0
Department for Transport	
Free bus travel for under 25s	-7,000.0
HM Treasury	
Interest costs on loans for electric cars	-3,750.0
32 hour working week	-85,000.0
Public sector pay	-38,107.0
Working Time Commission	-4.0
Department for Work and Pensions	
Universal Credit	-16,347.0
Universal Basic Income Pilot	-4,466.5
Early retirement for women born in the 1950s	-67,100.0
TOTAL NEW RESOURCE SPENDING	
	-385,738.0
NEW CAPITAL SPENDING	
Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy	
Carbon capture and storage	-2,250.0
Electric vehicle chargepoint expansion	-3,600.0
Electric vehicles	-3,000.0
Renationalise Big Six	-124,000.0
Offshore wind farms	-6,200.0

Solar panels	-18.0
Warm Homes For All	-30,000.0
Swansea Tidal Lagoon	-1,300.0
Tidal power project in the Mersey	-3,500.0
Gigafactories	-2,300.0
Metal reprocessing plants	-500.0
Collection sites	-50.0
Catapult centres	-100.0
Research and Development	-1,300.0
Department for Education	
School buildings	-14,000.0
Department for Health and Social Care	
Primary Care Infrastructure Investment Fund	-500.0
NHS Forest	-77.0
150,000 solar panels	-34.5
New ambulances	-154.0
Department for Transport	
Bus Transformation Fund	-6,500.0
Midlands Connect	-1,750.0
TOTAL NEW CAPITAL SPENDING	
-201,133.5	
TOTAL NEW SPENDING SINCE 2017 MANIFESTO	
-586,871.5	
TOTAL SPENDING	
-1,198,079.5	

PREVIOUS LABOUR MANIFESTO SPENDING

Labour's 2017 General Election Manifesto contained pledges that amounted to £1 trillion spending over the next ten years – confirmed by Labour aides who worked on it.²

John McDonnell has regularly claimed that Labour's 2017 Manifesto was fully costed via the Party's 'Grey Book', saying: 'In last General Election we published a fully costed Manifesto'.³ In reality, Labour either grossly underestimated the costs of their policies, or, in many cases, chose not to cost policies at all, despite telling the British public otherwise.

The spending commitments within Labour's 2017 General Election Manifesto over the next five years are below:

Totals (£ million)	
Labour's own costing of their Manifesto (day-to-day)	-243,000
Uncosted day-to-day spending	-22,731.0
Labour's own costing of their Manifesto (capital)	-125,000
Uncosted capital spending	-220,477.0
TOTAL OVER FIVE YEARS	-611,208.0

The breakdown and methodology of each of these costings is contained within Annex 2. A number of their 2017 Manifesto spending commitments have been removed if these have since been matched or bettered by the Government. For example, the 2017 policy on broadband.

NEW SPENDING

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Tenants' unions	-20.0
Rough sleeping	-100.0
Housing grant for social rented homes	-50,000.0
Housing training scheme	-13.5
Department for Housing	-416.0
Office of Delivery	-10.0
Independent viability experts	-7.5
Chief Architect	-1.0
TOTAL:	-50,568.0

POLICY DETAIL:

Tenants' unions

- John Healey: ‘The next Labour Government will fund set-up costs for these unions across the country to support renters to defend their rights, and make the housing market fairer’.⁴

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Tenants' unions	-20.0

- Labour have pledged £20 million to set up tenants' unions across England.⁵

Rough sleeping

- Labour Conference 2019 passed this motion: ‘Making £100 million available to councils in year one to provide additional help for rough sleepers in cold weather’.⁶

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Rough sleeping	-100.0

- While it may be assumed that Labour would make this figure available every year over a Parliament, as the Conference motion only called for the funding to be made available in ‘year one’, this is the only cost that has been included.

Housing grant for social rented homes

- Labour Conference 2019 passed this motion: ‘Pledge at least £10 billion a year for housing grant, ring fenced for delivering 100,000 social rented council homes to be announced at the first Budget’.⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Housing grant for social rented homes	-50,000.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Housing training scheme

- Labour Party policy paper: ‘A national affordable housing training scheme for graduates along the lines of Teach First’.⁸

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Housing training scheme	-13.5

- Teach First’s resource expenditure was £1,847,273 within one of their first years of operation (2005). Using the *Bank of England*’s inflation calculator, this is equivalent to £2,709,561 in 2018 – or £13.5 million over five years.⁹

Department for Housing and Office of Delivery

- Labour Party policy paper: ‘Department for Housing – backed by a new OBR-style Office of Delivery to challenge Ministers at every step’.¹⁰

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Department for Housing	-416.0
Office of Delivery	-10.0

- The spending of the Department for Exiting the European Union, established in July 2016, was £80.2 million in its first full financial year of operation. The Department has an estimated number of 600 FTE staff. An assumption is made that the same amount of resource will be required for the Department for Housing. The Institute for Government estimates that it also costs an additional £15 million to establish a new department.¹¹
- The Office for Budget Responsibility’s expenditure was £2,569,000 in 2017-18. An assumption is made that a similar but smaller budget of £2,000,000 will be required for the Office of Delivery.¹²

Independent viability experts

- Labour Party policy paper: ‘Appointing a team of independent viability experts to back up councils who are in negotiations with developers over affordable housing’.¹³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Independent viability experts	-7.5

- A unit within a government department, compromising of 32 staff members, had a total salary cost of £1.5 million per year. It can be assumed that a similar-sized team would be required for independent viability experts.¹⁴

Chief Architect

- Labour Party policy paper: ‘We will appoint a Chief Architect for affordable housing to advise on new developments’.¹⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Chief Architect	-1.0

- The Chief Medical Officer is currently paid £210,000 a year. It is assumed that a chief architect would require a similar salary.¹⁶

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Resource spending	
TV licences for over 75s	-2,475.0
TOTAL:	-2,475.0

POLICY DETAIL:

TV licences for over 75s

- Tom Watson: ‘We’ll save free TV licences’.¹⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
TV licences for over 75s	-2,475.0

- The BBC expect the cost of free licences to the over 75s will total £745 million a year by 2021-22. The BBC has already agreed to provide the concession for people receiving pension credit, which will cost them £250 million a year. The remaining £495 million would need to be covered by the taxpayer.
- At present, it is for the BBC to meet this cost, following negotiations with the Government during the passage of the Digital Economy Act. As the BBC have declined to meet their obligations, Labour would either need to subside the corporation for the cost of the licences, or bring responsibility for providing the concession in-house.¹⁸

Ministry of Defence

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Resource spending	
Exclude pensions from two per cent target	-3,092.0
TOTAL:	-3,092.0

POLICY DETAIL:

Exclude pensions from two per cent target

- Nia Griffith: ‘Indeed they can only claim to be doing so by counting items, such as pensions, that do not contribute to our defence capabilities and which Labour did not include when in government. Labour is fully committed to spending at least two per cent of GDP on defence as we consistently did when in government’.¹⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Exclude pensions from two per cent target	-3,092.0

- The House of Commons Library states that if pensions were removed from counting towards the NATO 2 per cent target (even though this is allowed by NATO rules), the UK’s actual defence spending would be 1.97 per cent of GDP. Labour would therefore need to make up this difference, adding 0.03 per cent of GDP to the total. This is currently £618,422,400, which we have multiplied over 5 years.²⁰

Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Resource spending	
Car scrappage scheme	-800.0
Energy worker job guarantee	-1,748.0
Ministry for Employment Rights	-416.0
Capital spending	
Carbon capture and storage	-2,250.0
Electric vehicle chargepoint expansion	-3,600.0

Electric vehicles	-3,000.0
Renationalise Big Six	-124,000.0
Offshore wind farms	-6,200.0
Solar panels	-18.0
Warm Homes For All	-30,000.0
Swansea Tidal Lagoon	-1,300.0
Tidal power project in the Mersey	-3,500.0
Gigafactories	-2,300.0
Metal reprocessing plants	-500.0
Collection sites	-50.0
Catapult centres	-100.0
Research and development	-1,300.0
TOTAL:	-181,082.0

POLICY DETAIL:

Carbon capture and storage

- Labour Party Industrial Strategy: 'A Labour government will commit £2.25 billion capital investment in CCS over the Parliament'.²¹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Carbon capture and storage	-2,250.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Electric vehicle chargepoint expansion

- Labour press release: 'In order to jumpstart the transition to electric cars and tackle the climate emergency Labour will invest £3.6 billion into a mammoth expansion of the UK's electric vehicle charging networks'.²²

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Electric vehicle chargepoint expansion	-3,600.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Electric vehicles

- Labour press release: 'Labour will make £3 billion available to invest in new electric car models and technology, to enable vehicle manufacturers to bring new electric car models into production'.²³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Electric vehicles	-3,000.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Car scrappage scheme

- Labour press release: 'The Party plans to launch a scrappage scheme to replace cars driven on fossil fuels over ten years old with new electric cars, saving buyers an estimated £2,000. The scrappage scheme will initially be available for one year and will aim to replace 400,000 of the most polluting cars with new low carbon electric cars'.²⁴

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Car scrappage scheme	-800.0

- These figures are based on those provided by Labour as above – by multiplying 400,000 cars by £2,000.

Renationalise the Big Six

- Labour conference passed this motion: ‘Oversee a just transition, increasing the number of well-paid, unionized green jobs in the UK through... public ownership of the Big Six’.²⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Renationalise Big Six	-124,000.0

- The Big Six currently have a combined market cap of £131 billion. However, Investment bank Jefferies calculated that it would cost at least £124 billion to renationalise the Big Six, so we have used the lower figure.²⁶

Energy worker job guarantee

- Jeremy Corbyn: ‘The next Labour Government will guarantee that all energy workers are offered retraining, a new job on equivalent terms and conditions, covered by collective agreements and fully supported in their housing and income needs through transition’.²⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Energy worker job guarantee	-1,748.0

- Labour are targeting Net Zero emissions by 2030 – meaning a shift away from fossil fuel industries in the next ten years. This puts people working in those industries at the highest risk of losing their jobs thanks to Labour’s plans, and who would need to be covered by Labour’s jobs guarantee. Rebecca Long-Bailey has specifically referenced workers in the oil and gas industry as needing to be retrained in different industries and thus falling under this scheme. There are currently 36,800 people directly employed by the oil and gas industry, on an average salary of £47,500. We have assumed the Government would only need to cover the cost of these salaries for one year, at a cost of £1.7 billion.²⁸

Offshore wind farms

- Labour press release: ‘Labour’s 10 year plan will cause a dramatic fivefold increase in the UK’s offshore wind capacity, with 37 new wind farms, as part of a Green Industrial Revolution’.²⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Offshore wind farms	-6,200.0

- Labour are proposing to build 37 windfarms, costing £83 billion total. Their press release explains that Labour would provide £12.4 billion of funding through Regional Energy Agency’s and the National Transformation Fund (despite this already being maxed out), while the private sector would provide £12.5 billion. Labour would take a 51 per cent stake. The remaining £58 billion would be provided via limited-recourse project finance, which is borrowing that is kept off the books as it is expected the cash flow generated by the projects is used to cover the cost of the borrowing. Using this model and assuming a flat expenditure over 10 years, it would cost the Exchequer £1.24 billion a year.³⁰
- We have given Labour the benefit of the doubt by using their costings and financing method to arrive at these figures. In reality, it is not clear that Labour would be able to keep £58 billion of borrowing off the Government’s books, as there is no evidence enough money would be generated from Labour’s 51 per cent stake in the windfarms to cover either the original borrowing or the interest accrued on it.

Solar panels

- Rebecca Long-Bailey said Labour ‘brought forward plans for ... almost tripling solar power’.³¹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Solar panels	-18.0

- There is currently 13.3GW of installed solar PV capacity in the UK. As Labour said ‘almost’ tripling, we have decided to multiply this by 2.5, rather than the full threefold increase. They will therefore aim for at least 33.3GW of installed capacity, by 2030. In 2018-19, the average cost per KW of PV was £1,816. One GW is equivalent to 1,000,000 KW. It would therefore cost £36.3 million over ten years, or £18.2 million over five, to provide the remaining 20GW.³²

Warm Homes For All

- Labour press release: ‘The largest scale upgrade of UK housing since post-war reconstruction. By 2030, Labour will create 450,000 jobs by installing energy saving measures such as loft insulation and double glazing, renewable and low carbon technologies in almost all of the UK’s 27 million homes’.³³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Warm Homes For All	-30,000.0

- Labour said they will provide £60 billion of direct public subsidy for the programme until 2030 – so this funding has been halved for a five-year period. It is assumed that this overrides Labour’s 2017 manifesto commitments to upgrade the insulation in 4 million homes, and the homes of injured veterans. Those spending commitments are therefore not included in Labour’s 2017 total.³⁴

Swansea Tidal Lagoon

- Labour press release: ‘Labour would approve the Swansea Tidal Lagoon’.³⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Swansea Tidal Lagoon	-1,300.0

- The Swansea Tidal Lagoon was forecast by the Government to cost £1.3 billion to build.³⁶

Tidal power project in the Mersey

- Labour press release: Jeremy Corbyn will ‘announce major plans for a £3.5 billion investment in the Mersey Tidal Power Project as part of Labour’s Green Industrial Revolution to address the climate emergency and boost investment in the North of England’.³⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Tidal power project in the Mersey	-3,500.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Gigafactories

- Labour press release: ‘£2.3 billion will be allocated for investment into three new gigafactories, modelled on contributing 51 per cent of the costs of each factory – costed at £1.5-£1.7 billion each’.³⁸

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Gigafactories	-2,300.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Metal reprocessing plants

- Labour press release: ‘Labour will invest £500 million into four metal reprocessing plants to reprocess cobalt and rare earth minerals used in batteries’.³⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Metal reprocessing plants	-500.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Collection sites

- Labour press release: 'Labour will invest... £50 million into local authority-run collection sites'.⁴⁰

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Collection sites	-50.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Ministry for Employment Rights

- Laura Pidcock: 'A Labour government will establish a Ministry for Employment Rights'.⁴¹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Ministry for Employment Rights	-416.0

- The spending of the Department for Exiting the European Union, established in July 2016, was £80.2 million in its first full financial year of operation. The department has an estimated number of 600 FTE staff. An assumption is made that the same amount of resource will be required for the Ministry for Employment Rights and that this is a flat cost for each of the five years. The Institute for Government estimates that it also costs an additional £15 million to establish a new department.⁴²

Catapult centres

- Labour Party Industrial Strategy: 'establish a new retail Catapult Centre' and also 'a new Materials and Metals Catapult Centre in Teesside'.⁴³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Catapult centres	-100.0

- The Government has committed £50 million to the Compound Semi-Conductor Applications Catapult Centre in South Wales, so it can be reasonably assumed two similar centres would cost £100 million combined.⁴⁴

Research and Development

- Labour Party Industrial Strategy: 'Raising Research and Development spending to 1.85 per cent of GDP, by committing to an additional £1.3 billion of public investment in our first two years in office'.⁴⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Research and Development	-1,300.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above. As part of this Labour have committed to 'a further £500 million' for R&D into electric vehicles – it is not clear whether this is in addition to the £1.3 billion, but we have given Labour the benefit of the doubt and counted it as part of overall R&D spend.⁴⁶

Department for Education

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Resource spending	
School budgets	-2,300.0
A co-operative university	-200.0
Free ESOL courses	-704.5
Abolish private schools	-35,000.0
Free school meals for secondary school children	-6,818.0
Sure Start	-2,500.0

Capital spending	
School buildings	-14,000.0
TOTAL:	-61,522.5

POLICY DETAIL:

School budgets

- Angela Rayner: ‘Only a Labour government will fully reverse these Tory cuts, and give our schools the funding they need’.⁴⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
School budgets	-2,300.0

- In the notes of Labour’s press release, they cite an IFS report that claims ‘Fully closing this gap would cost an additional £300 million (2019-20 prices) over and above existing plans’ each year. Assuming the school budget is taken to this level in its baseline year – and then assuming it is uprated with inflation in subsequent year – this would cost £2,300 million over five years.⁴⁸

School buildings

- Angela Rayner: ‘I am proud to say that we will invest the full £14 billion that is needed to bring all school buildings up to standard’.⁴⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
School buildings	-14,000.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

A co-operative university

- Angela Rayner: ‘We will establish a comprehensive, and co-operative, university’.⁵⁰

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
A co-operative university	-200.0

- The cost of running Open University is £40 million and this costing assumes a co-operative university will require similar resources.⁵¹

Abolish private schools

- Labour conference passed this motion: ‘A commitment to integrate all private schools into the state sector’.⁵²

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Abolish private schools	-35,000.0

- Oxford Economics found that independent schools directly save the taxpayer £3.5 billion a year by keeping almost 600,000 pupils out of state education spending, and they also generate £3.5 billion in tax revenue. This combined total of £7 billion would be the annual cost to the taxpayer.⁵³

Free ESOL courses

- Jeremy Corbyn: ‘We will also restore free ESOL courses so that people who come here whether as migrants or refugees can learn English’.⁵⁴

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Free ESOL courses	-704.5

- The amount of money spent on ESOL delivery through the Adult Education Budget was frozen in real terms at 2008-09

levels. Refugee Action claim that instead of the £245.9 million they would have expected to be available for ESOL provision in 2017-18, only £105 million was actually made available to fund English language provision, leaving a gap of £140.9 million that Labour would find every year.⁵⁵

Free school meals for secondary school children

- Sharon Hodgson: ‘If it’s right for primary school children, then it’s right for secondary school children, and we should look to do that at our earliest possible opportunity’.⁵⁶

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Free school meals for secondary school children	-6,818.0

- Labour’s Manifesto includes a commitment to provide free school meals for primary school children but they have since taken this further. There are currently an estimated 3,567,993 children in secondary schools, of which 468,780 children are already claiming free school meals.
- Funding allocated per child eligible for free school meals is currently £440 per school year. Extending this to all secondary school pupils would cost £1,363.5 million per annum.⁵⁷

Sure Start

- Angela Rayner: ‘I am proud to say that we will give £500 million a year directly to Sure Start’.⁵⁸

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Sure Start	-2,500.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Access to Food Fund	-6.0
Zoo inspectorate	-12.5
Animal Welfare Commissioner	-2.5
TOTAL:	-21.0

POLICY DETAIL:

Access to Food Fund

- Sue Hayman: ‘We will kick start our efforts to build secure, community-based local food system with a £6 million Access to Food Fund’.⁵⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Access to Food Fund	-6.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Zoo inspectorate

- Labour Animal Welfare Manifesto: ‘Establish a full-time, independent zoo inspectorate to draw up revised standards of animal welfare in the UK’s zoos to ensure consistency in licensing and inspection’.⁶⁰

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Zoo inspectorate	-12.5

- The Drinking Water Inspectorate has an annual budget of £2.5 million excluding overheads. Assuming a similar number of resources are required for an independent zoo inspectorate, this would cost £12.5 million.⁶¹

Animal Welfare Commissioner

- Labour Party Animal Welfare Manifesto: ‘One of our key proposals is the appointment of an Animal Welfare Commissioner to ensure that government policy across Whitehall is continually informed and underpinned by the latest scientific evidence on animal sentience and best practice in animal welfare’.⁶²

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Animal Welfare Commissioner	-2.5

- The Victims’ Commissioner office, which is a body of a comparable size and staffing, has a budget of £496,000 a year.⁶³

Department for Health and Social Care

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Emergency winter fund	-500.0
Additional GPs	-272.5
Alcohol care team	-67.5
Healthy Start Programme	-27.0
Child Health Fund	-250.0
Free personal care	-32,000.0
Public health	-16,000.0
Prescription charges	-3,725.0
Staff training and development	-1,650.0
<i>Capital spending</i>	
Primary Care Infrastructure Investment Fund	-500.0
NHS Forest	-77.0
150,000 solar panels	-34.5
New ambulances	-154.0
TOTAL:	-55,257.5

POLICY DETAIL:

Emergency winter fund

- Jonathan Ashworth: ‘We would establish a half billion pound emergency winter fund’.⁶⁴

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Emergency winter fund	-500.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Additional GPs

- Jonathan Ashworth: ‘Labour will expand GP training places by 1,500’.⁶⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Additional GPs	-272.5

- Labour said this policy would cost £272.6 million across the three years of training for GPs.⁶⁶

Alcohol care team

- Jonathan Ashworth: ‘Labour is today pledging to invest an additional £13.5 million to ensure all 191 district general hospitals in England have Alcohol Care Teams containing at least 3 staff’.⁶⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Alcohol care team	-67.5

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Primary Care Infrastructure Investment Fund

- Labour press release: ‘A new commitment to increase the share of NHS funding that goes to primary care including a new £500 million Primary Care Infrastructure Investment Fund’.⁶⁸

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Primary Care Infrastructure Investment Fund	-500.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Healthy Start Programme

- Labour press release: ‘Labour’s Shadow Health and Social Care Secretary will today commit £26.8 million to the “Healthy Start” programme to help provide children in the most deprived areas of the country with fresh fruit and vegetables’.⁶⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Healthy Start Programme	-27.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above, and rounded to the nearest £0.5 million.

Free personal care

- John McDonnell: ‘The next Labour Government will introduce personal care free at the point of use in England’.⁷⁰

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Free personal care	-32,000.0

- Labour’s figures estimate this would cost £6 billion in 2020-21 and £8 billion by 2030-31. An incremental increase of £0.2 billion each year would therefore cost a total of £32 billion by 2024-25.⁷¹

N.B. Labour state that the funding for social care committed in their 2017 Manifesto is to ‘address the immediate funding crisis’ – they say it will be spent on providing a living wage and implementing the Ethical Care Charter. Hence it is assumed free personal care is an additional cost on top of this.

Public health

- Labour dossier: ‘The Health Foundation calculate that an additional £3.2 billion a year is needed [for] public health services’.⁷²

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Public health	-16,000.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Child Health Fund

- Labour press release: ‘We will ring fence and expand public health budgets including creating a new £500 million child health fund to invest in our ambitions to improve the health and well-being of every child’.⁷³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Child Health Fund	-250.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above. However, £250 million of this was included in their 2017 Manifesto.

Prescription charges

- Jonathan Ashworth: ‘In Government, Labour will simply make all prescriptions free of charge’.⁷⁴

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Prescription charges	-3,725.0

- Labour have costed this at £745 million per year.⁷⁵

Green NHS

- Labour press release: ‘Creating an ‘NHS Forest’ with a 1 million trees planted across the NHS estate’.⁷⁶
- Labour press release: ‘Installing more than 150,000 solar panels’.⁷⁷
- Labour press release: ‘Replacing polluting NHS vehicles with the procurement of low emission vehicles’.⁷⁸

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
NHS Forest	-77.0
150,000 solar panels	-34.5
New ambulances	-154.0

- The Department for Environment, Food and Rural affairs announced £10 million to plant 130,000 trees. Scaling this up to 1 million trees would cost £77 million.⁷⁹
- The retail price of a 320-watt solar panel is £230, which is multiplied for 150,000 solar panels. This costing does not include the installation fee.⁸⁰
- In 2018, the Government provided £3.85 million to London Ambulance Service for 25 double-crewed ambulances, working out at £154,000 per ambulance. The ambulance fleet in England is currently 5,000 vehicles, so, assuming Labour upgrade just 20 per cent of this over five years, the cost of 1,000 new vehicles would be £154 million.⁸¹

Staff training and development

- Labour press release: ‘Restoring Continuing Professional Development Budgets to 2013-14 levels – an investment of approximately £330 million in 2023-24’.⁸²

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Staff training and development	-1,650.0

- This costing assumes the same nominal value over the course of five years.

Home Office

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Royal Commission into legalising drugs	-5.0
Visa fees	-2,500.0
TOTAL:	-2,505.0

POLICY DETAIL:

Royal Commission into drugs legislation

- Diane Abbott: ‘We will establish a Royal Commission to review independently all drugs legislation and policy to address related issues of public health’.⁸³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Royal Commission into drugs legislation	-5.0

- The scope and cost of Royal Commissions are set by the Government, but they are ‘typically constituted with a panel of 12 to 16 eminent experts and other senior figures, and intent on deep analysis, they routinely take years to produce their findings’. There has not been a Royal Commission in the UK since 2000. Based on a range of inquiry costs and on the assumption that this Commission would have a relatively short timescale (1-2 years) but a wide scope, a reasonable expectation of the cost is £5 million.⁸⁴

Visa fees

- Diane Abbott: ‘Exorbitant charges hit the poor and those with larger families the hardest. It is discriminatory and unjustifiable. As people come here to work, they pay taxes. They already make a contribution, adding value and contributing to our public services. They should not be double-charged. Labour will end this rip-off. Charges will be reviewed so that they closer reflect the actual cost’.⁸⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Visa Fees	-2,500.0

- It was reported that in 2018, the Home Office had a £500 million surplus from immigration fees.⁸⁶

Ministry of Justice

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Law centres	-20.0
Community lawyers	-18.0
Early Legal Help	-36.0
Legal aid for housing	-45.0
Legal aid for benefit appeals	-90.0
Legal aid for deaths in state custody	-20.0
Female offender strategy	-95.0
TOTAL:	-324.0

POLICY DETAIL:

Law centres

- Richard Burgen: ‘That’s why I’m announcing that a Labour government will launch a brand new £20 million fund to create a Golden Era of Law Centres’.⁸⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Law centres	-20.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Community lawyers

- Labour press release: ‘The Labour Party will provide £18 million for a scheme supporting the next generation of social welfare lawyers who will help deliver justice in hard-hit communities’.⁸⁸

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Community lawyers	-18.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Early Legal Help

- Richard Burgen: ‘I commit that within the first 100 days of a Jeremy Corbyn led government, Labour will reverse all the Conservative cuts to legal aid-funded Early Legal Help’.⁸⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Early Legal Help	-36.0

- Labour estimate this will cost £36 million.⁹⁰

Legal aid for housing

- Richard Burgen: ‘Restoring this legal aid for housing advice will help tens of thousands of people resolve their housing issues’.⁹¹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Legal aid for housing	-45.0

- Labour estimates its housing advice pledge would cost £9 million a year.⁹²

Legal aid for benefit appeals

- Labour press release: ‘The next Labour Government will restore legal aid for social security benefit appeals’.⁹³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Legal aid for benefit appeals	-90.0

- Labour estimates that to restore early legal advice for benefits cases would cost £18 million a year.⁹⁴

Legal aid for deaths in state custody

- Richard Burgen: ‘As Justice Secretary, I would not be able to look myself in the mirror, bereaved families in the eye or our justice system with pride if we do not provide proper legal support to those who have been the victims of deaths in custody with legal aid representation’.⁹⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Legal aid for deaths in state custody	-20.0

- Labour estimates that this would cost £4 million per year.⁹⁶

Female offender strategy

- Labour press release: ‘A Labour government will also immediately provide the significant boost that women’s justice campaigners have been calling for to plug the current funding gaps in the female offender strategy. Members of the Government’s own Advisory Board on Female Offenders expressed their frustration at its underfunding, stating that at least £20 million is required annually for community provision. However, the Government only provided a one-off two-year grant of £5 million to fund the strategy’.⁹⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Female offender strategy	-95.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Department for Transport

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Free bus travel for under 25s	-7,000.0
<i>Capital spending</i>	
Bus Transformation Fund	-6,500.0
Midlands Connect	-1,750.0
TOTAL:	-15,250.0

POLICY DETAILS:

Transformation Fund

- Labour press release: ‘Labour is today announcing new funding of £1.3 billion per year to reverse cuts made to 3,000 bus routes by the Tories since 2010 and to fund the expansion of new bus services’.⁹⁸

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Bus Transformation Fund	-6,500.0

- These figures are provided by Labour as above.

Free bus travel for under 25s

- Labour press release: ‘Labour is announcing a new policy to fund free bus travel for under 25 year olds across the country’.⁹⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Free bus travel for under 25s	-7,000.0

- Labour estimate this will cost £1.4 billion a year.¹⁰⁰

Midlands Connect

- Labour Party policy paper: ‘Labour would take measures to upgrade our transport system across our regions and nations including... delivering the funding for Midlands Connect’.¹⁰¹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Midlands Connect	-1,750.0

- The Department for Transport estimates that the cost of delivering Midlands Rail Hub – the flagship project of Midlands Connect – in its entirety will be between £1.5 billion and £2 billion. This figure does not take into account the other projects that fall under Midlands Connect, so is an underestimate.¹⁰²

HM Treasury

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Interest costs on loans for electric cars	-3,750.0
32 hour working week	-85,000.0
Public sector pay	-38,107.0
Working Time Commission	-4.0
TOTAL:	-126,861.0

POLICY DETAILS:

Interest costs on loans for electric cars

- Labour press release: ‘Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell announced that Labour will introduce 2.5 million interest free loans for the purchase of electric cars. The loans of up to £33,000 will allow low to income households, those living in rural areas and independent contractors and SMEs middle to save on new electric cars. The Government will cover the £1,500 cost of interest on a loan, with individuals saving up to £5,000 over time’.¹⁰³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Interest costs on loans for electric cars	-3,750.0

- Labour’s press release states that it will make 500,000 loans available a year, and cover the £1,500 interest on each loan.¹⁰⁴

32 hour working week

- John McDonnell: ‘So I can tell you today that the next Labour Government will reduce the average full time working week to 32 hours within a decade. A shorter working week with no loss of pay’.¹⁰⁵

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
32 hour working week	-85,000.0

- The Centre for Policy Studies estimated the cost to the public sector wage bill to be between £17 billion and £45 billion a year. The lower estimate is used for each year.¹⁰⁶

Public sector pay

- Jeremy Corbyn: ‘On the public sector pay cap, the Government has said it’s going to lift the pay cap the reality is that they’re lifting the pay cap it’s going to be an increase that’s below the rate of inflation and it’s going to be about 0.8 per cent below it and the unions have said 5 per cent is what is needed for it and we support that’.¹⁰⁷

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Public sector pay	-58,107.0
Labour Manifesto pledge	+20,000.0
Total	-38,107.0

- Assuming that the current Government uplifts pay by 2 per cent each year, a 5 per cent uplift each year would leave the total five year pay bill increasing by £3,600 million in the first year, and by £7,345 million, £11,348 million, £15,625 million and £20,189 million in the following four years.¹⁰⁸
- Labour's Manifesto pledged to lift the public sector pay cap at a £4,000 million cost per annum, so this has been taken out of the costing.
- 2 per cent is used as a baseline – this is the Bank of England target inflation rate. Public sector wage growth tends to be higher than the average rate of uplift, caused in part by career advancement uplift, bonuses and changes to the composition of the workforce. The analysis does not account for a change in headcount – partially driven by the 32-hour week – nor does it take into account any future changes to the National Living Wage.¹⁰⁹

Working Time Commission

- John McDonnell: 'And we'll set up a Working Time Commission with the power to recommend to government on increasing statutory leave entitlements as quickly as possible without increasing unemployment'.¹¹⁰

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Working Time Commission	-4.0

- The Low Pay Commission has an annual budget of £834,000. Assuming the Working Time Commission would require similar resources, the would cost £4.2 million over five years.¹¹¹

Department for Work and Pensions

SCORECARD:

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
<i>Resource spending</i>	
Universal Credit	-16,347.0
Universal Basic Income Pilot	-4,466.5
Early retirement for women born in the 1950s	-67,100.0
TOTAL:	-87,913.5

POLICY DETAIL:

End Universal Credit

- Jeremy Corbyn: 'So today I can tell you that Labour will scrap Universal Credit'.¹¹²
- Labour press release: 'Ending the benefit cap and the two child limit. Ending Universal Credit's "digital only" requirement and recruiting 5,000 additional advisors to deliver this change'.¹¹³

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Infrastructure costs of UC	-2,000.0
Ending the benefit cap	-950.0
Ending the two child limit	-14,750.0
5,000 additional advisers	-647.0
Labour Manifesto pledge	+2,000.0
Total	-16,347.0

- The DWP classifies Universal Credit as a £2 billion infrastructure project. Labour would need to replace the infrastructure (computer systems, etc.) to fit a new system.¹¹⁴
- The benefit cap has saved £190 million a year, so it can be reasonably expected to cost £950 million over five years.¹¹⁵

- The two child limit was estimated to have saved £3,000 million a year, but the Department of Work and Pensions has since made changes to the limit (January 2019) at a cost of £250 million, meaning revised savings of £14,750 million over five years.¹¹⁶
- The cost of recruitment of 5,000 additional advisers to end the ‘digital only’ requirement is based on ONS figures for the UK average public sector salary of £25,889 per year.¹¹⁷
- Labour’s Manifesto pledged £2 billion ‘of additional funding for Universal Credit for review of cuts and how best to reverse them’, so this has been taken out of the costing here to avoid double counting.¹¹⁸

Universal Basic Income Pilot

- John McDonnell: ‘We’ll look at options, run the pilots and see if we can roll it out… I’d like to see a Northern and Midlands town in the pilot so we have a spread. I would like Liverpool – of course I would, I’m a Scouser. But Sheffield have really worked hard. I’ve been involved in their anti-poverty campaign and they’ve done a lot round the real living wage. I think those two cities would be ideal and somewhere in the Midlands’.¹¹⁹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Universal Basic Income Pilot	-4,466.5

- John McDonnell backed a report that suggested a pilot for a year, with £50 to be given to every adult per week as a supplement to their existing state benefits. Defining adults over the age of 18, there are 399,912 adults in Liverpool, 465,009 adults in Sheffield and 852,986 adults in Birmingham (a total of 1,717,907 adults). Providing these adults with £50 a week for a year would cost £4,466.5 million.¹²⁰
- Offering a free cash handout to large numbers of people is also likely to have an inflationary impact, which would, in turn, negatively impact on the economy.

Early retirement for women born in the 1950s

- Labour press release: ‘A Labour government in power now, would allow these women to retire up to two years early’.¹²¹

Policy	Fiscal impact over five years (£ million)
Early retirement for women born in the 1950s	-67,100.0

- This analysis is based on the average value of the State Pension for women in 2018-19 and multiplied by the difference between the current and the estimated number of people receiving State Pension two years earlier from 2010 to 2026 (with the floor of 60 years of age for women). This calculation includes back-payments for women who have reached Labour’s proposed State Pension age from 2010.¹²²
- This costing does not take into account lost revenue from income tax receipts over these two years. It also does not take into account the Equalities Act which would require the same treatment for men.¹²³

ANNEX 1: Additional Labour spending commitments

This Annex sets out spending commitments that Labour have mentioned which do not have enough detail to cost. It should go without saying that a number of these policies, in addition to the direct financial cost to the Treasury, would also have significant costs to businesses. This would deter investment and growth, and lower tax take, as well as damaging the wider economy.

Cabinet Office

- **End outsourcing.** Labour press release: ‘Labour today outlines new guidelines for central and local government managing contracts for services which come into contact with ‘at risk’ people and exercise coercive state powers. These kinds of services include assessments for sick and disabled people claiming social security, NHS care, the treatment of people in detention centres and prisons, and failures over recruitment and substandard housing for our Armed Forces’.¹²⁴

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport

- **Free Wi-Fi in town centres.** ‘Deliver free public Wi-Fi in town centres’.¹²⁵

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government

- **Further funding for Homes England.** ‘Strengthen Homes England in the regions’.¹²⁶
- **Increase the New Homes Bonus affordable homes premium.** ‘We will consult on new accountability mechanisms to support councils to achieve this, including an increase in the New Homes Bonus affordable homes premium’.¹²⁷
- **Consider introducing an enabling grant for councils to build.** ‘We will consider an enabling grant to allow councils with no or limited current capacity to build’.¹²⁸
- **Funding for local materials.** ‘We will consider a funding uplift for bids that use local materials’.¹²⁹
- **Provide more funding for smaller housing associations.** ‘We will support smaller housing associations who want to develop their housebuilding capacity, including considering additional advice, support and funding’.¹³⁰
- **Return Right-to-Buy funding to councils.** ‘Labour will consider kick-starting council house building by returning in full the previous year’s share of right to buy receipts which councils are currently forced to forfeit’.¹³¹
- **Enabling grants for councils.** ‘We will consider an enabling grant to allow councils with no or limited current capacity to build’.¹³²
- **Community housing fund.** ‘Labour will provide long-term support to community housing through the Community Housing Fund’.¹³³

Department for Education

- **Price controls on children’s clothing.** ‘And we will also protect that right by ending the spiralling cost of school uniforms and equipment. Parents forced into debt. Children in clothes that don’t fit. And the Tories failing for four years to keep their promise to act. So we will set a clear price cap, and stop the scandal of children priced out of school’.¹³⁴

Department for Transport

- **Establish a Port Improvement Fund.** Labour would ‘establish a Port Improvement Fund’.¹³⁵

Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy

- **Stop Post Office branch closures.** Rebecca Long-Bailey: ‘The next Labour Government will... stop Post Office closures’.¹³⁶
- **Allow workers to go on strike in ‘sympathy’ with striking workers abroad.** John McDonnell: ‘When we go back into government we will restore trade union rights, and that will enable workers to take similar sympathy action on the basis of supporting fellow workers internationally’.¹³⁷

HM Treasury

- **Reintroduce the Support for Mortgage Interest scheme.** John Healey said: ‘George Osborne announced the end of SMI payments in 2015, Labour have challenged this cut in help for homeowners and pressed ministers to rethink’.¹³⁸

Department for Work and Pensions

- **End in-work poverty in their first term in office.** ‘So I commit today that within our first term of office Labour will end in-work poverty. That means completely transforming the way our economy works’.¹³⁹

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport

- **Set up a Communities Innovation Fund to revolutionise community ownership and public participation.** ‘Community led activities and initiatives need ongoing funding, so Labour will set up a Communities Innovation Fund using funding from dormant assets and philanthropic giving’.¹⁴⁰
- **Create a new Youth Service.** ‘Soon we will soon be announcing details of an entirely new Youth Service to address the issues of: educational exclusion; a lack of role models: inequality and deprivation among our young people. My brilliant colleague the Shadow Minister Cat Smith will be leading on this’.¹⁴¹

Department for Health and Social Care

- **Mental health workforce.** ‘Ministers pledged to deliver the biggest mental health expansion in Europe and recruit twenty thousand staff but more than a year later the workforce has increased by less than a thousand – just half a per cent. More than one in ten mental health posts are vacant and nearly twenty five thousand staff – one in eight – have flooded out of the NHS in the space of just a year… A Labour government would invest in the mental health workforce’.¹⁴²

Ministry of Justice

- **End prison privatisation.** Richard Burdon: ‘Labour in office will put an end to the scandal of our prisons being run for private profit’.¹⁴³

Home Office

- **Unemployment benefits for migrants.** Diane Abbott: ‘If workers legally here should find themselves unemployed through no fault of their own, one of the quickest ways to drive down pay and conditions for all is to deny them the subsistence levels of unemployment and other benefits’.¹⁴⁴

ANNEX 2: Labour's 2017 Manifesto

Resource spending

Day-to-day spending not covered in Labour's costing document (£ million over five years)	
Training new prison officers (one off cost)	-120.0
Extend 30 hours free childcare to all two year olds	-13,500.0
Additional local authority budgets	-7,500.0
Recreating government offices for the regions	-525.0
Inquiries into injustices (one off cost)	-11.0
Capping class sizes	-900.0
Migrant Impact Fund	-175.0
TOTAL:	-22,731.0

Training new prison officers

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will recruit 3,000 more prison officers and review the training and professional development available’.¹⁴⁵
- **Estimated cost:** The Ministry of Justice has previously stated 2,500 officers would cost £100 million, so scaling up to 3,000 additional, the estimated cost would be roughly £120 million.¹⁴⁶

Extend 30 hours free childcare to all two year-olds

- **Spending commitment:** ‘Extend the 30 free hours to all two year-olds’.¹⁴⁷
- **Estimated cost:** An extra £2.7 billion per year. The Labour Party Manifesto claimed the policy would cost £4.8 billion per year, but independent research has estimated it would cost £7.5 billion.¹⁴⁸

Additional local authority budgets

- **Spending commitment:** ‘A Labour government will give local government £1.5 billion of extra funding for next year (2018-19) and initiate a review into reforming council tax and business rates and consider new options, such as a land value tax, to ensure local government has sustainable funding for the long term’.¹⁴⁹
- **Estimated cost:** £7.5 billion in total, based on Labour’s figures and assuming they continue to provide similar levels of funding every year.

Recreating Government Offices for the Regions

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will restore regional offices to increase contact between central and local government on the ground’.¹⁵⁰
- **Estimated cost:** £105 million a year. The abolition of the Government Offices for the Regions saved a net £420 million over the 2011-15 Spending Review period, equivalent to £105 million a year.¹⁵¹

Inquiries into injustices

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will hold public inquiries into historic injustices – into Orgreave, into blacklisting’.¹⁵²
- **Estimated cost:** £11 million. Part 1 of the Leveson Inquiry cost the Government £5.4 million over a year. Diane Abbott has mentioned two historic injustices which will need public inquiries, which are included in the costing and rounded to the nearest £0.5 million. However, there could be more inquiries and these could take longer than a year.¹⁵³

Capping class sizes

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will reduce class sizes to less than 30 for all five-, six-, and seven year-olds, and seek to extend that as resources allow’.¹⁵⁴
- **Estimated cost:** £900 million over five years. In 2015, Labour said this would cost £180 million per year.¹⁵⁵

Migrant Impact Fund

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will reinstate the Migrant Impact Fund’.¹⁵⁶
- **Estimated cost:** £175 million over five years. The Migrant Impact Fund was worth £35 million each year.¹⁵⁷

Capital spending

Capital spending (£ million)	
Renationalising the railways, energy supply, water and postal services	-196,000.0
Crossrail 2	-30,000.0
Rail electrification	-9,400.0
Crossrail for the North	-10,000.0
Brighton Main Line	-1,500.0
National Investment Bank	-20,000.0
End cuts to local authority budgets	-1,500.0
Expand HS2	-43,000.0
NHS capital funding	-10,000.0
4G coverage	-6,000.0
Post Bank	-2,000.0
Build a million new homes	-15,000.0
Cultural Capital Fund	-1,000.0
Million trees	-77.0
Total capital spend	-345,477.0

N.B. Labour claimed that their capital spending would average £25 billion a year, or £125 billion over five years. However, as these figures show, this estimate was at least £220 billion short of what the policies would cost in reality.

Renationalising the railways, energy supply, water and postal services

- **Spending commitment:** Labour’s Manifesto contained commitments to renationalise private rail companies, energy supply networks, water companies and ‘reverse the privatisation’ of the Royal Mail.¹⁵⁸
- **Estimated cost:** The CBI said Labour’s renationalisation plans would cost £196 billion.¹⁵⁹

Crossrail 2

- **Spending commitment:** ‘In London, to ensure our capital continues to prosper, we will build Crossrail 2’.¹⁶⁰
- **Estimated cost:** A total cost of £30 billion. ‘We estimate that Crossrail 2 would cost around £30 billion in 2014 prices including the cost of new trains and Network Rail works. This also includes some costs for national rail improvements which would be required regardless of Crossrail 2’.¹⁶¹

Crossrail for the North

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will link HS2 with other rail investments, such as Crossrail of the North (tying together our great Northern cities)’.¹⁶²
- **Estimated cost:** £10 billion as set out by Labour.¹⁶³

Brighton Main Line

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will build a new Brighton Main Line for the South East’.¹⁶⁴
- **Estimated cost:** According to an assessment from the Department for Transport, the estimated capital cost is £1.5 billion.¹⁶⁵

National Investment Bank

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will establish a National Investment Bank that will bring in private capital finance to deliver £250 billion of lending power’.¹⁶⁶
- **Estimated cost:** A one-off cost of £20 billion, as set out by Labour.¹⁶⁷

Expand HS2

- **Spending commitment:** ‘A Labour government will complete the HS2 high-speed rail line from London through Birmingham to Leeds and Manchester and then into Scotland’.¹⁶⁸
- **Estimated cost:** A research briefing for the House of Commons Library said extending HS2 to Scotland could cost up to £43 billion.¹⁶⁹

Over a million new homes

- **Spending commitment:** ‘Labour will invest to build over a million new homes’.¹⁷⁰
- **Estimated cost:** Policy papers released by Jeremy Corbyn’s team showed that Labour planned to borrow at least £15 billion to build the homes each year.¹⁷¹

NHS

- **Spending commitment:** ‘Labour will boost capital funding for the NHS, to ensure that patients are cared for in buildings and using equipment that are fit for the 21st century’.¹⁷²
- **Estimated cost:** Jeremy Corbyn: ‘Today we are pledging... £10 billion of capital funding to make sure that NHS buildings and IT systems are fit for the modern day’ [over course of the Parliament].¹⁷³

4G

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will improve 4G coverage and invest to ensure all urban areas, as well as major roads and railways, have uninterrupted 5G coverage’.¹⁷⁴
- **Estimated cost:** £6 billion [one off cost] to provide good mobile coverage across virtually all of the UK landmass.¹⁷⁵

Post Bank

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will also set up a commission to establish a Post Bank, owned by the Post Office and providing a full range of banking services in every community’.¹⁷⁶
- **Estimated cost:** £2 billion. ‘We estimate that the initial equity should be in the region of £2 billion’.¹⁷⁷

Rail electrification and expansion across the whole country, including in Wales and the South West

- **Spending commitment:** ‘And we will deliver rail electrification and expansion across the whole country, including in Wales and the South West’.¹⁷⁸
- **Estimated cost:** £9.4 billion. It costs at least £1 million per track KM to electrify a railway. There are 16,241 km of track in the UK, of which 58 per cent are not electrified.¹⁷⁹

Cultural Capital Fund

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will introduce a £1 billion Cultural Capital Fund’.¹⁸⁰
- **Estimated cost:** £1 billion, as set out by Labour.¹⁸¹

One million trees

- **Spending commitment:** ‘We will work with farmers and foresters to plant a million trees of native species’.¹⁸²
- **Estimated cost:** £77 million. The Department for Environment, Food and Rural affairs announced £10 million to plant 130,000 trees. Scaling this up to 1 million trees would cost £77 million.¹⁸³

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