

A FAIR GO FOR AUSTRALIA



NATIONAL PLATFORM

Welcome to Labor's National Platform

I am proud to introduce Labor's 48th ALP National Platform.

This National Platform outlines Labor's key policy priorities as we head into an election year.

These policies were developed and articulated through the work of our Shadow Ministry and the National Policy Forum (NPF).

I congratulate our NPF office bearers – particularly, Senator Deborah O'Neill and Senator Jennifer McAllister – and all of the members of the NPF elected from the branch membership, our affiliated unions and the FPLP.

This Platform is about showcasing Labor's preparedness for government and restoring Australians faith in the political process.

Bill Shorten and the Labor team are more than ready, they are a rare stable force in today's political climate.

As the Leader said in his opening speech to National Conference:

"...these gatherings witness a real passion, genuine debate and the decisions that we make here, define our party, they reflect our values."

Bill and the Labor team are ready to take on the challenges Australia faces, and are ready to implement a National Platform.

I would like to acknowledge and thank every rank and file member and union who contributed to the development of this platform, and commend it to the Party and to all Australians.



Noah Carroll
ALP National Secretary

National Platform

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Chapter 1: Labor's Enduring Values

1. We pay respect to the traditional owners of this ancient continent, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. We honour their continuing connection to country and their custodianship of the world's oldest living culture.
2. Alongside those words of respect, we re-dedicate ourselves to Closing the Gap in health and housing, in education and employment, in community safety and justice, so the First Australians live long lives of equal opportunity.
3. We understand that this can only be achieved by giving First Nations people a voice and a say in the decisions that govern their lives.
4. We renew this platform as a party of progress, not protest. We seek change through the power of parliamentary democracy and the timeless truth of solidarity. We work alongside the mighty trade union movement of Australia.
5. We believe government has a responsibility to keep the nation safe, to invest in all our people's potential, to reverse disadvantage and to care for the most vulnerable among us.
6. We share a common faith in Australia's oldest promise: a fair go all round. We respect that established tradition always and we pledge ourselves to that evolving mission today.
7. We salute our legends and we honour their achievements but we are not captives of our past or hostages to history. Our modern movement must rise to this moment with courage, imagination and new ideas.
8. Our greatest achievements have always come from broadening the meaning of the fair go to include more people in its benefits. A strong minimum wage, a fair day's work and a decent pension were once radical notions. Labor made them universal rights.
9. The fair go didn't mean much to Australians for whom getting sick meant going broke, until Labor created Medicare.
10. The fair go didn't mean much to people who worked hard all their lives only to retire poor, until Labor created universal superannuation.
11. The fair go didn't mean much to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples denied their place in this nation, until Labor delivered land rights, Native Title and the National Apology to the Stolen Generations.
12. The fair go didn't mean much to hundreds of thousands of Australians with disability and their carers exiled to second-class opportunity, until Labor built the National Disability Insurance Scheme.
13. The test for our movement in the decade ahead is to honour those achievements by building on them, to bring new meaning to our oldest ideal, to revere it and revitalise it.
14. Because fairness has never been a finite resource, equality is not a zero-sum game. The whole history of Labor tells the truth of this.

15. Every time we expand the definition of the fair go, we all gain from its deeper meaning. Every time we enlarge the circle of Australian fairness, we all gain new allies in our national success.
16. In a time of economic and technological change, the fair go means Australian workers finding secure jobs in safe workplaces for decent pay.
17. In an era of open markets and free trade, the fair go means Australian workers, Australian standards and Australian wages coming first.
18. We believe in the dignity of work. We know how important a good job is to an individual's sense of self and to the stability and health of their family.
19. We defend and extend these enduring values in partnership with the union movement, standing up for all those Australians who are exploited, unsafe or under-represented at work.
20. For modern Labor, the fair go also means a new type of economic reform: restoring the link between effort and reward, boosting wages and productivity and delivering a more equal share of national wealth for all those whose hard work helps create it.
21. We believe government has a duty to develop our nation's economic capacity and sovereignty, to make the investments and deliver the opportunities the market alone would not.
22. We share the Australian ideal that each generation leave our nation stronger for the next. Our policies are always aimed at delivering greater opportunities for young Australians, in everything from finding a job to buying a first home.
23. For Labor, the choice between prosperity and fairness will always be a false one. We know economic growth comes from extending opportunity and reducing inequality. We know building a more prosperous Australia means making sure no-one is left behind. This is the mission which defines the next Labor government.
24. We champion equality for the women of Australia: in pay, in opportunity, in leadership and in freedom from the fear of family violence.
25. We know the two-class tax system in this country favours the very wealthy with loopholes, denies ordinary people reward for hard work, and cannot properly fund our nation's needs.
26. We are steadfast in our determination to take real action on climate change and invest in the new jobs and industries powered by renewable energy. Labor is the party of the environment.
27. The generational contract demands we ensure our children can show their children the wonders of the Great Barrier Reef and share in the beauty of our national estate.
28. We celebrate longer lives. Let us strive to give older Australians the love and care they gave us, from security in retirement to leading the world in pursuit of a cure for dementia.
29. We rely on the luck Australia makes for itself: in the early years, in schools, skills, TAFE and university. We know top-quality education is the way we give every child, whatever their circumstances, hope for a great future.

30. We are the party that believes a university degree is an opportunity earned on merit, not a privilege conferred at birth – and we always fight for affordable, accessible higher education.
31. Just as we support and defend public TAFE, apprenticeships, training and re-training so all Australians can gain the skills they need for good jobs in a changing economy.
32. Australia’s cities can only survive with productivity-boosting public transport and Australia’s regions can only revive with new roads, rail and ports. Australia deserves broadband that connects small businesses around our nation with the markets of the world.
33. We are the architects and defenders of universal Medicare and we will continue to champion a health care system every Australian can count on when they are sick. The health of any one of us matters to all of us.
34. And in our pursuit of a strong economy and fair society we are guided always by our duty to protect the most vulnerable: alleviating poverty, combating homelessness, reversing disadvantage, bringing new resources to the scourges of addiction and ensuring national redress for the survivors of abuse.
35. Too many Australians are disengaged from their democracy and distrustful of their representatives; too many people suspect politicians are only in it for themselves – and too often they are right. In the years ahead, we seek to restore trust and faith in our democratic institutions.
36. In the Asian Century, we seek security in our region, not from it.
37. Let us compete and succeed in Asia on our own terms: not as a low-wage nation doing low-skill work but as a smart, high-wage home for agriculture and science, for industry, ideas and for advanced manufacturing, so ‘Made in Australia’ speaks for quality around the world.
38. Let Australia be a good international citizen, a faithful ally against terrorism and extremism, a leader for peace in our region and a generous friend of nations most in need.
39. And instead of borrowing a foreign crown from the other side of the globe, let us face the world as a proud Australian Republic with an Australian citizen as our head of state.
40. Let our confident and modern identity continue to find expression in the vibrancy of our arts, the diversity of our multicultural society and the strength and compassion of our community.
41. And let us recognise that harmony and unity are vital to preserving national security, while saluting and supporting the men and women whose courage keeps us safe.
42. This platform speaks with the voice of Labor’s greatest strength: our members, the people who keep the faith, even in difficult times.
43. With it we pledge ourselves to Labor’s enduring values, to our evolving mission and to a fair go for all Australians.

Chapter 2: A strong economy for all Australians

The contemporary challenge

1. Australia needs economic policy to foster investment across the entire economy and ongoing reform and economic management to increase productivity and create well paid and secure jobs. Reducing inequality, modernising infrastructure, improving housing affordability, managing the clean energy transition, investing in skills and innovation and making our tax system fairer are all necessary for Australia's economy to grow in all Australians' interests.
2. Australia received a permanent increase in our national income through the mining boom. But with the mining construction boom now over, we need to generate new sources of growth to create new jobs. Strong growth in employment will need to be generated in other sectors to realise our goal of full employment. Australians have benefited enormously from more than two decades of uninterrupted economic growth supported by reforming Labor governments. Labor's economic priority is to continue this good run of economic growth in an inclusive and sustainable way. Climate change is a significant risk to economic growth – while automation and technological disruption threatens rising inequality.

Labor values

3. Labor's mission is to create a more equal and inclusive society. We seek an active role for Government in pursuing a fairer distribution of political and economic power, wealth and income. We strive towards full employment; with good, secure and well paid jobs available to all who want to work. We aim to bring down barriers to full participation in economic and social life so that everyone shares in our prosperity, regardless of their background, social class, or the wealth of their parents.
4. Labor believes in economic growth, opportunity and fairness. Labor will ensure growth is inclusive and prosperity shared. Labor will not rely on "trickle-down" economics but will take an active role for Government, investing in human capital and expanding the nation's physical capital stock. With inequality rising around the world, Labor will implement policies to reduce inequality so families of all backgrounds can continue to contribute to Australia's prosperity. Excessive inequality detracts from economic growth and damages the social fabric. Economic growth should include all.
5. A modern Australian economy must be competitive internationally and open to the rest of the world, while ensuring the wealth generated from our openness is shared and people aren't left behind. Labor is best placed to guide the Australian economy through a time of rapid change and to support Australian families.
6. Labor rejects the arguments of those who do not believe in inclusive economic growth. This has always been essential to our agenda: from early Labor Governments' nation-building reforms and the creation of a genuinely national economy in wartime, to economic reform through the Hawke and Keating years and seeing Australia through the global financial crisis without recession.
7. Opportunity and fairness are essential to Labor's economic approach: economic policy should create opportunities and governments should spread these to all Australians. Your family's wealth should not determine your ability to grow to your full potential. A strong economy allows Labor to deliver programs and services Australians need, and to support the most vulnerable. The benefits of economic growth should be redistributed through the economy to those on low wages, out of

work or reliant on welfare. Government should ensure people from all backgrounds and circumstances can both contribute to economic growth and benefit from it.

8. Ideas have the power to transform our nation and build a richer, fairer and more sustainable future. Science includes knowledge of the world in all its forms. It is not confined to any one discipline. We turn to science and research to understand the world, and to help change it. Australia's unique situation – as a large country with a small population, as custodians of fragile ecosystems, and as a developed, responsible democracy – demands we invest in the science and research that will underpin Australia's wellbeing in the 21st century. We recognise the imperative of harnessing new ideas, processes and technologies for the benefit of all Australians.
9. Innovation, science and commercialising scientific advances are essential to sustainable economic growth. Companies, organisations and individuals are the driving force behind innovation but Governments can and should enable and facilitate. Australia's economy needs venture capital and angel investors, start-ups and the spirit of entrepreneurialism. Open markets, with a framework of pro-competitive rules, provide the best incentives for innovation, enterprise, investment and hard work.
10. Australia's openness to the global economy has made us more competitive, productive and prosperous. Australians have benefited through job creation and rising incomes, lower consumer prices and greater choice. Long-term prosperity depends on competing successfully in global markets. Australia must produce high quality goods and services the world wants to buy, and remove barriers to overseas markets. Labor will ensure skills development and training, infrastructure planning, tax and regulation frameworks neither hold businesses and workers back from achieving their full potential in global markets nor deny Australians a fair share of the benefits of growth.
11. Strong and sustainable public finances are essential to fund progressive policy in future. Every Australian should be able to contribute to and benefit from economic growth and wealth creation through a fair tax system, quality public services, equal educational opportunities and a decent social safety net. A commitment to maintaining an adequate revenue base, prudent budget management, and increased productivity will ensure universal access for future generations to vital health, education and social services. This is why Labor will return to the Budget to balance when economic circumstances allow.
12. Markets have helped foster growth and increases in living standards that were inconceivable to previous generations. All markets are structured by legal frameworks and underwritten by public investments in physical and human capital. Markets exist to serve communities, and government can and should take actively shape and complement markets to support a democratic, prosperous and inclusive society. The market will often create the most equal and efficient distributions of power, wealth and services, but markets sometimes fail. Labor supports an active role for governments in addressing market failure and improving equity, promoting equality and social justice through the full range of government policy instruments including expenditure, taxation, regulation, and the provision of goods and services. Strong regulatory frameworks in both the global and the Australian economies are important to ensure competitive markets operate with transparency and openness, to prevent and expose misconduct, and to counter monopoly power. Government should intervene to address market failures and the extremes of capitalism. Government should act to ensure the Australian economy becomes an increasingly diversified advanced economy – business by business and region by region – by providing world's best infrastructure, supporting strategic industries, promoting skills, overcoming barriers to growth and supporting science and innovation.



13. Labor will work with economic and statistical agencies and the community to develop a broader suite of measures for economic performance and social progress to complement traditional measures such as GDP figures, to measure progress in societal well-being, as well as to measure economic, environmental, and social sustainability. Labor will also work to ensure that there is proper measurement of technological progress and economic activity generated online. An exaggerated focus on national averages can obscure measures of inequality, which have grown markedly over the past generation. Labor believes in growth that benefits the many, not just the few.
14. New technologies that automate work, disrupt industries and challenge existing laws must be made to work to benefit all Australians. Workers and tax payers should reap the benefit of these innovations through prioritising good and secure work, investigating shared ownership arrangements and tax rules that keep wealth in the Australian economy.
15. Labor encourages every Australian capable of working to do so. Automation and technological advances are good for society and the economy, but these changes need to be managed to minimise negative impacts on individuals, regions and industries.
16. Labor will establish an appropriately funded and resourced tripartite forum of employers, worker representatives, and the government, to aide government policy thinking in dealing with the twin challenges of automation and the future of work. The Future of Work Forum will be tasked with assessing best practice global models of productivity, taxation, training schemes and other measures to ensure displaced workers and young Australians are redeployed into jobs with similar pay and conditions and that those schemes are appropriately funded. The Forum will also help government respond to automation in a more timely fashion, acting as a communication mechanism for industry to inform the government and workers of plans to automate jobs.
17. As technology changes the economy, it also changes the way we work. We need to prepare Australians for this change, lifting skills and encouraging fair transition pathways. Workplace laws must keep pace with the growth of the gig-economy and other forms of on-demand work, to ensure that the jobs of the future are secure and well paid.
18. Workplaces and communities that support and value diversity and are free of discrimination are more productive. Discrimination in all forms harms the economy and society. Labor will ensure all Australians have the opportunity to live and work without discrimination and will implement strategies to lift workplace diversity. We acknowledge this must include people with family and caring responsibilities, both women and men (noting that many workplaces are highly gendered), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, people with disability, people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex and people from different religious, cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
19. Australia needs an education system producing skilled workers who can perform high-technology, high-skilled jobs of the future. Australia's innovation and education framework should foster and encourage the very best of Australian ingenuity, so Australia sets the pace of technological change. Australians with good ideas should not be forced to leave Australia to see their ideas developed. Entrepreneurs and innovators from around the world should be encouraged and invited to come to Australia to see their ideas developed, deployed and commercialised.
20. Labor recognises that the challenges of automation are not limited to the private sector. Where automation contributes to greater efficiency in public service delivery, Labor will endeavour to

maintain and redeploy existing workers to improve the service and standards enjoyed by the Australian public.

21. Labor believes in creating stability and confidence in the market, through stable policy settings, so businesses have the confidence to grow and create jobs, and consumers have the confidence to spend.
22. Full employment is the primary mechanism for enhancing individual well-being, improving social inclusion, eliminating poverty and maximising our human capital. Accordingly, Labor will deliver a mix of economic, industrial, social and educational policies that will seek to maximise employment opportunities for all of working age.
23. Labor is committed to a specific goal of reducing economic inequality while expanding economic growth. Reducing inequality is necessary for fairness, social cohesion and to ensure sufficient levels of demand in the economy. Activist government intervention is required to address growing inequality in Australia and ensure a prosperous economy. Labor notes with concern that inequality in Australia has risen over the past generation and that tax concessions and the privatisation of vital utilities can exacerbate this problem. This affects both the distribution of earnings and wealth in our society. While inequality is an economic problem, decisions to address it are made through political choice. Labor condemns the Turnbull government's policies which are aimed at hitting low and middle-income Australians the hardest, while leaving untouched the raft of tax concessions which accrue largely to higher income earners. Labor will pursue a range of positive measures to reduce inequality and will target expenditure towards creating jobs, opportunities and reversing disadvantage wherever it occurs.
24. Wage stagnation and falling levels of collective bargaining contribute to inequality. Labor will ensure Australia's workplace relations system is fair and balanced, so that workers have the capacity to bargain for better wages and conditions.
25. Labor believes that workers should have a strong, formal, and structured voice into the governance of the companies in which they are employed. Workers and their representatives bring a high level of industry specific knowledge and can assist companies innovate and grow to the benefit of all Australians.
26. Labor will look at global best practice to increase collaboration between employers and workers. Labor will consult with both unions and business about how worker engagement and participation with boards and senior management could be improved. Labor will examine measures that increase collaboration between employers and workers, including worker representation on boards, giving consideration to global models currently in operation and any practical pathways that could lead to their adoption.
27. Labor will develop a structural and institutional response to the cost of the damage that prejudice, discrimination and harassment wreak on productivity in particular and society generally, and will quantify the importance of participation and protection for equal opportunity on all attributes, LGBTI status expressly included.

Labor priorities

First Nations Economies

28. Labor recognizes the presence and importance of First Nations economies over millennia.

29. Today First Nations people are using their cultural values and land management skills to develop sustainable businesses and stimulate economic growth for First Nations people, including in remote communities, ignite social change and enrich ecological biodiversity.
30. Labor will support cultural enterprises founded on the core principle that looking after country and the protection of Indigenous cultural values has significant economic value.
31. First Nations people should be in a strong position to manage their native title lands to achieve positive economic outcomes when negotiating across their country.
32. Labor will help develop cultural enterprise economies based on recognition, cultural governance, sustainable enterprise and conservation, to create meaningful jobs and generate income.
33. Cultural enterprise economy, Indigenous culture and knowledge does not conflict with modern economic principles but complements and enhances business development opportunities.
34. Empowering Aboriginal people to manage their country is also proving to be a solution to reduce entrenched, socio-economic disadvantage and welfare dependence, political marginalisation and poverty.
35. Labor will support First Nations people implementing and operating cultural enterprises including environmental management services, carbon abatement businesses, Indigenous Protected Areas, research projects, data recording and management, and cultural immersion experiences.

Responsible Fiscal Policy

36. Labor will deliver sound public finances by adhering to a fiscal strategy that achieves a balanced budget on average over the economic cycle. This provides the flexibility for the budget to vary with changing economic conditions to support economic stability, while ensuring public finances remain strong over time. Achieving a balanced budget is not an end in itself, but it is an appropriate medium-term objective, as part of sound fiscal policy and economic management which takes the economic cycle into account.
37. Fiscal policy has a short- and long-term economic and social role. Labor will strengthen government finances while supporting jobs and growth and investing in future prosperity. Fiscal support for the Australian economy during the global recession saved hundreds of thousands of jobs and tens of thousands of businesses.
38. Labor's fiscal strategy will be guided by these principles:
 - As a consequence of the decisions made by the last Labor Government Australia's public finances are stronger than comparable developed countries;
 - Fiscal policy should support growth and employment when growth is below trend and unemployment is above trend, and should accumulate surpluses and pay down debt when growth is above trend;
 - There are long-term revenue challenges, including because people are living longer;
 - The Budget should be constantly reviewed and refined on both the expenditure and revenue sides, in the context of Labor's values and the need to address longer term challenges; and
 - The tax system requires reform based on efficiency, equity and fairness.

39. Labor will be a responsible and careful steward of the nation's finances, supporting equity, opportunity and growth while paying for the activities of Government as fairly and efficiently as possible.

Stable Monetary Policy

40. Labor wants to lift sustainable economic growth, consistent with maintaining low and stable inflation. The Reserve Bank should remain independent and fulfil each of its charter objectives of currency stability, employment and general economic welfare. The independent conduct of monetary policy by the Reserve Bank should continue and its medium-term inflation target of an average of two to three per cent over the course of the economic cycle should remain.
41. Labor will invest in the long-term drivers of growth and productivity to maintain growth with low inflation.

Retirement Incomes and Superannuation

42. Labor Governments established universal, compulsory superannuation creating a world-class retirement income system for Australia. There is now over \$2 ½ trillion in our national savings pool. This gives working Australians the opportunity to maintain their living standards in retirement and takes pressure off pension payments. Our national savings pool was also an important factor in ensuring Australia's banking system was well capitalised during the global financial crisis.
43. Labor will ensure the sustainability and fairness of Australia's retirement income system. Labor increased the Superannuation Guarantee from 9 to 12 per cent, introduced low-cost MySuper accounts and the superannuation tax concession for low income earners.
44. Labor will protect and grow superannuation to provide a comfortable retirement for all Australians. Labor will urgently prioritise this objective by ending the freeze and increasing the Superannuation Guarantee to 12 per cent as soon as practicable. Once the important goal of 12 per cent has been achieved Labor will set out the pathway to its original objective of 15 per cent to further enhance retirement income adequacy for workers.
45. In making any changes to superannuation, a future Labor Governments primary objective will be to place members' interests first. Labor will not tolerate misconduct in the superannuation sector. The Hayne Royal Commission has uncovered appalling misconduct by retail superannuation funds which is completely at odds with members interests. In particular, the Royal Commission has highlighted the inherent conflict in for-profit funds owing a legal duty to both shareholders and fund members. Labor will not accept any such conflict of interest in the provision of superannuation. Labor believes that superannuation funds should be governed solely in members' best interests. This principle will be at the centre of decisions to determine default funds.
46. Underperforming funds are leaving workers worse off in retirement. Underperforming super funds are not protecting members' best interests, and workers should not be defaulted into those funds. A future Labor Government will take action to ensure the savings of Australian workers are appropriately protected, and safeguard workers capital by ensuring that workers are defaulted into quality funds. A future Labor Government will take action to ensure the savings of Australian workers are appropriately protected, including by ensuring the Superannuation Guarantee is legislated to become part of the national minimum employment standard (NES) so that it is enforceable as an industrial entitlement. Superannuation is a key part of Australia's workplace

system. Workers and their unions must have the right to ensure that superannuation is being paid in full and on time.

47. A critical issue in superannuation is the existence of unintended multiple accounts. The Productivity Commission recently found that one third of accounts (about 10 million) are unintended multiple accounts. These erode workers superannuation balances by an estimated \$2.6 billion a year, leaving workers significantly worse-off in retirement. A Labor Government will prioritise the urgent consolidation of unintended multiple accounts.
48. Labor is committed to a strong, industrial, default contribution system and fund governance arrangements that are in the best interests of members. This includes maintaining the ability of funds to have equal representation governance models.
49. Labor will work to ensure Australia has a sustainable and fair retirement income system. Labor will lower the annual non-concessional contributions cap to \$75,000 and lower the High Income Superannuation Contribution threshold to \$200,000. Labor will also remove the catch-up concessional contributions and tax deductibility for personal superannuation contributions introduced by the Coalition.
50. Labor will ensure superannuation works more effectively for people on lower incomes, women, young people and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.
51. Labor will maintain a low income superannuation tax concession (currently called the LISTO) and will further support low income earners to save for their retirement. Labor will review the interaction between the age pension and superannuation.
52. In recognition of the life expectancy gap between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, Labor supports exploring the introduction of early access to preserved superannuation accounts, retirement and aged pensions for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.
53. Labor will implement policies that work towards closing the significant gender gap in superannuation savings, including eliminating the \$450 minimum threshold for compulsory employer contributions and paying superannuation on the Federal Government paid parental leave scheme. Further, Labor will, within the first 6 months of taking office, initiate an expert review to examine the adequacy of mechanisms to strengthen the superannuation balances of women, including options for government contributions to account balances where the account balance is very low, and the optimal timing and nature of such contributions. Labor will work with unions and employers to make the structural changes necessary to repair the diverging accumulation pathways of men and women's superannuation balances.
54. We understand the particular challenge for millions of Australians who for parts of their career are primary carers, including those women on parental leave without pay, and the shortfalls they may experience in generating appropriate retirement income levels. Labor will legislate to provide superannuation contributions on the Government paid parental leave scheme.
55. Labor recognises that too many workers are not receiving the superannuation that they are entitled to. Labor will pursue policies that seek to reduce the extent of unpaid superannuation in Australia, and improve the ability of workers to recover their unpaid superannuation as an industrial right.

56. Labor notes that the fragmentation of work is placing pressure on the superannuation guarantee in particular where employment relationships are displaced by contracting arrangements. Labor will pursue reforms to ensure the superannuation system continues to fulfil its purpose, allowing all workers, regardless of how they're engaged, to accumulate superannuation on every dollar earned during their working years, and improving the standard of living in retirement for all Australians.
57. Labor will establish a national objective for the Australian retirement income and superannuation system. Labor's vision is for the vast majority of the workforce to be able to maintain their working life standard of living in retirement, financed through a combination of adequate superannuation savings, private savings and the age pension.
58. Labor will create a regulatory framework that facilitates the offering of better retirement income stream products for those entering retirement.
59. Labor will work with the Superannuation industry to streamline processes for consolidating multiple superannuation accounts to maximise the retirement savings of Australians.
60. Labor will work with the Superannuation industry to deliver fee relief for workers on unpaid carers leave to ensure that superannuation products are not adversely impacting workers with caring responsibilities

A Strong and Vibrant Small Business Sector

61. Labor believes in a strong small business sector to support jobs, growth and the Labor principles of fairness and equity. Small business employs close to 5 million Australians and contributes more than \$330 billion annually to the national economy.
62. Small business is vitally important to regional economies with around 35 per cent of small businesses in each state located in regional areas, compared to 20 per cent for large firms. Over 95% of the businesses in Australia are small businesses; almost two-thirds have no employees and a further one quarter have only four or fewer employees. This means only 10 per cent of small businesses have more than 4 employees.
63. The strength and diversity of our micro, small and medium enterprises will determine Australia's prosperity over the next half decade. Small and medium businesses make a significant contribution to the economy through innovation, with over 85 per cent of the businesses in Australia engaged in innovation being small businesses.
64. Labor will pursue four essential policies to help small business: tax assistance and simplification, lower regulatory burdens (including national harmonisation), competition laws with tougher penalties and better access to justice, and better access to finance.
65. Labor will deliver preferential taxation assistance measures consistent with recommendations from the Henry Tax Review. Labor introduced numerous tax measures designed to assist small business with cash-flow to counter the effects of the global financial crisis. These measures included the instant asset write-off, tax loss carry-back, special depreciation for motor vehicles and the research and development tax incentive, which, when combined, were worth in excess of \$7 billion of direct assistance to small business. Labor supports company tax cuts for small businesses.

66. The Council of Australian Governments should deliver national reforms to reduce red tape and lower the costs of doing business across jurisdictions to benefit small business. Labor’s record includes:
- Establishing the Small Business Superannuation Clearing House enabling small businesses to pay their employees’ superannuation contributions to a single location;
 - Establishing the National Business Names registration service for a single online service, removing the requirement for a small business to register in multiple jurisdictions;
 - Introducing Standard Business Reporting through the use of the online standard business reporting; and
 - Worked through the Council of Australian Governments to deliver regulation and competition reforms under the Seamless National Economy framework.
67. Market concentration poses a direct threat to the competitiveness of small business, and the ability for new entrants to break into a market. Labor recognises that competition law should reflect the power imbalance between large firms in concentrated markets, and small businesses. Small businesses are often the generators of innovative goods and services, creating jobs, and increasing consumer welfare.
68. Labor will ensure small businesses have appropriate channels to access to justice on the misuse of market power by larger firms. This requires the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission to have an adequate litigation budget, and complementary avenues such as facilitating litigation in the public interest.
69. Labor recognises that small businesses, including tradies and subcontractors, are often the hardest hit by late or defaulted payments, particularly by the actions of dishonest company directors. Labor will ensure regulatory oversight to stop pernicious fraudulent phoenix activity to protect small business creditors.
70. High energy prices and poor service from the NBN harm small businesses. Small businesses need to be paid on time and to be treated fairly by the banks. The digital economy means the nature of small business is changing and Labor will adopt policies to make the most of this. Labor is committed to access to justice for small businesses and will help small businesses to take cases of anti-competitive conduct to court.
71. Labor will help small business to compete for government and private contracts, and promote industry networking between small- and medium-sized enterprises.
72. Small businesses will be significant drivers of future economic growth. Small businesses are often the first to recognise new technologies; apply the energy, passion and entrepreneurial skill required to grow their business; and find new ways to work in an ever more connected world. Strong local small businesses support community cohesion: through the mum and dad businesses, fruit shops, butchers, dry cleaners, farm and rural businesses that contribute to the fabric of our community, satisfy local need, create relationships, support other local business and contribute to our sense of place and identity.
73. Micro and small businesses are variable and adaptable, and have the proximity and flexibility for Australians to arrange work around their life priorities. Labor will support micro, small and medium enterprises to do the things the nation needs to remain a competitive and cohesive nation: develop

new ideas, explore new opportunities, transform themselves into viable thriving businesses, and provide the relationships and local servicing that supports community.

74. Labor understands that small businesses can take a variety of forms, and that social enterprises as well as member or worker-owned firms such as cooperatives are less understood than other forms. Labor will advance its Inclusive Ownership, Inclusive Growth agenda by putting cooperatives on a level playing field, including greater access to capital, government grants, and creating a better understanding of cooperatives and mutuals in public and commercial life.
75. Cooperatives are a flexible structure with the potential to not only create economic value, but also to foster community. There is also some evidence that employees in worker-owned firms are more productive and more satisfied, and that such firms have less turnover and enjoy greater staff loyalty.
76. Labor will encourage genuine small business activity and will ensure ABNs are not simply a means to transfer workers into insecure work with lower wages and conditions.

A Professional Financial Services Industry

77. Australia's financial services sector is now the largest employing sector in our economy providing significant employment and career opportunities for many Australians now and into the future. Australian business and the community in general is compelled to participate daily in our financial services sector; a comprehensive, professional, efficient and competitive industry is essential to allocating capital in the economy and delivering essential services such as banking, insurance and superannuation.
78. It is in the national interest for Australia's finance industry to have comprehensive local capability to meet the needs of both the domestic and global economies. A strong regulatory regime, effective competition policy and consumer protections will ensure the sector contributes to national wellbeing and is a platform for growth in the export of financial services. We want Australia to become a financial services centre in the region – so we need to foster a professional, efficient, ethical and innovative marketplace for financial services and investment in employment, technology and skill development across the sector.
79. Labor's advocacy led to the Royal Commission into the banking and financial services sector. A Royal Commission is the only way to get to the bottom of the systemic failures and cultural issues within financial services sector, to ensure that consumers are protected from the rip-offs and scandals of the past and that Australians banking and financial system remains strong, profitable and well led. Labor will ensure that the Royal Commission is given enough time to consider all the injustices suffered by victims of the banking and financial services sector and that it delivers restorative justice to those wronged. Labor will implement recommendations from the Royal Commission which benefit and protect everyday Australians and prevent wrongdoing from taking place again.
80. Labor believes that shareholders are entitled to better rights, disclosure and transparency of their assets. Australia's largest companies should be able to be held to account by their shareholders for actions, decisions and behaviour which may negatively impact their investment, and required to inform shareholders of risks which shareholders deem relevant.

Financial Services Industry Plan

81. Australia needs a financial services industry plan that focuses on innovation and on identifying capabilities in the Australian economy for developing a globally competitive and traded financial services sector with appropriate consumer protection safeguards. This industry plan should include strategies to:
- Develop stronger links between universities, business and industry bodies, training institutions, unions, and the federal and state governments;
 - Improve skills through training and education, especially through an expanded and restored TAFE sector, and other relevant skills development initiatives;
 - Encourage leaders who are capable of building a globally competitive and productive sector;
 - Invest in infrastructure that will allow Australian industry to be globally competitive;
 - Leverage the roll out of the NBN to build competitiveness and productivity and to strengthen the regional job market;
 - Increase capabilities in data management;
 - Extend market links to the global financial services sector;
 - Attract investment by companies that can build an international presence for Australia;
 - Promote Australia's key capabilities in the financial services sector; and
 - Develop schemes to protect customers from negligent and fraudulent financial services providers.
82. Off-shoring of financial service sector jobs has been emerging as an important issue impacting employees and communities for a number of years. Despite prolonged periods of record profit growth, our largest and strongest banks have been off-shoring jobs as a way of reducing labour costs.
83. Independent research assesses that at present rates, one in four Australian financial service sector workers will be at risk of losing their job to the offshoring initiatives of their employers. All Australian financial service sector employers have a responsibility to support and promote new and better Australian jobs, creating opportunities for local employment. Labor supports policies to promote Australia as a financial services centre and supports those Australian financial services businesses who create and promote Australian jobs. Offshoring financial services sector jobs undermines our capacity to develop and maintain an efficient, comprehensive, sustainable and internationally competitive local industry and therefore offshoring is not in the national interest.

Competitive and sustainable banking system

84. Labor promotes a competitive and sustainable banking system for all. Australians are compelled to participate in the finance sector and as such the industry bears national economic and social significance. The banking industry must provide its products and services transparently and responsibly, balancing the needs of consumers, employees, shareholders and the economy. Our banks are highly profitable compared to their overseas counterparts, and Labor expects them to continue supporting the communities in which they operate.

85. Labor continues to support the four pillar policy. The four big banks continue to dominate our domestic banking environment and any move to merge these entities would severely compromise competition and be detrimental for consumers, local jobs, services and the economy.
86. We believe vigorous competition underpinned by ethical practices, prudent supervision, consumer protection and transparency is the best way to get a better deal for families and create a system that offers real choice for consumers and businesses. Combined with a strong prudential supervision and other regulation, this approach will continue to greatly benefit both the financial services sector and the consumers, and ensure that important reforms such as the Future of Financial Advice are pursued to the benefit of all Australians.
87. Labor recognises the structural changes in the finance sector arising from the digitalisation, artificial intelligence and automation. Labor notes the speed and scale of these changes, and their impact on employees.
88. Labor supports the establishment of a tripartite (Government, employer, employee) Finance Skills Taskforce to establish and oversee training and accreditation in the finance sector, in order to position workers for the finance jobs of the future. This Taskforce will emphasise:
- Skills accreditation;
 - The portability of skills and qualifications;
 - a scalable, pathways-based approach to training; and
 - The importance of ethics training for all levels of staff to nurture public confidence in the sector.

Regulation of banking and finance

89. A well-regulated and comprehensive local banking and finance sector has been of paramount importance to Australia’s economic and social progress. Australia’s system of financial regulation overseen by the Australian Securities and Investments Commission, the Australian Prudential Regulatory Authority and the Reserve Bank of Australia is strong. Labor will adequately resource Australia’s regulators to continue their work.
90. All Australians should have access to information about key elements of our financial system. We will ensure our financial regulations continue to publish information about the size, nature and structure of our financial institutions, and work to ensure that information about the levels of prices and fees in the market continues to be available.
91. Labor will promote an accessible, affordable and fair Australian finance sector by ensuring our financial institutions are:
- Regulated appropriately and professionally, including appropriate oversight for our financial regulators;
 - Governed in a transparent and accountable manner;
 - Staffed by appropriately trained and resourced professionals;
 - Required to compete ethically and in the interests of all Australians;
 - Operating free of conflicts of interest; and

- Investing in domestic jobs and skills development.
92. Australia should be a strong voice in international efforts to address weaknesses in the regulatory and supervisory framework and ensure greater future stability in the global economy.
 93. Labor believes in the consumer protection principles underpinning the Future of Financial Advice laws (including consumer best interest duty and removal of conflicted remuneration). All financial product and service providers must be required to act in the best interests of their customers and clients at all times. We will consult with industry, unions, consumer and retiree groups about the detailed implementation of financial regulation applying to all financial services (including insurance and banking).
 94. Labor will continue to work with the industry and unions to remove remaining conflicted remuneration practices and structures throughout the financial sector and we ensure more appropriate remuneration systems, including for industry executives.
 95. Labor believes that the nation's pool of superannuation savings should be invested responsibly and in ways which benefit all Australians while delivering good retirement outcomes for fund members. Savings should be invested in projects which create good jobs and conform to internationally recognised environmental, social and governance frameworks.
 96. Labor believes that superannuation is one the most important sectors in Australia's economy, and must be regulated and legislated in the best interest of members. Labor will create a Council of Superannuation Custodians, independent of Government, to provide advice on superannuation policy. The Council will be formed based on best-practice industry fund model comprised of eminent Australians with deep experience in the superannuation sector, including Trade Union representatives.
 97. Labor is committed to ensuring the governance, standards, and integrity of this critical sector is adequately regulated. The Royal Commission has highlighted significant failings by for-profit superannuation providers. Labor will carefully consider any recommendations from the Royal Commission to strengthen oversight of superannuation.
 98. Labor believes that superannuation funds have a special obligation to their members to ensure they are true to their objective and invest in companies and projects which generate good returns but also operate in the best interests of members. Fund should have policies to ensure they are invested in assets which are in accordance with internationally recognised environmental, social and governance standards.
 99. Labor will ensure that public companies are governed to international best practice standards, and that they are required to be transparent to shareholders and the Australian people. Companies in Australia should comply with reporting standards that take into account their environmental, social and governance risks.
 100. Australian workers benefit from the provision of affordable and appropriate default group insurance provided by their superannuation trustees. Labor believes workers should be able to access to default insurance through their superannuation, regardless of age, earnings, or balance. Labor will also work to ensure that default insurance arrangements through MySuper products are affordable and appropriate for all members. Affordable insurance in superannuation is part of the fundamental promise of the superannuation guarantee which Labor introduced.

101. Labor will investigate the establishment of portable default group insurance through superannuation funds so that workers maintain a continuous and appropriate level of coverage through their working life. Workers benefit from the provision of affordable default group insurance provided by superannuation trustees, but sometimes unknowingly hold multiple policies. Making insurance portable may be one way of ensuring that workers are covered appropriately while eliminating the ability for insurers to charge for multiple policies.
102. Labor will re-establish the Corporations and Markets Advisory Committee (CAMAC) or similar body. A Labor Government will ask such a body to consider and report on whether the Corporations Act should be revised to clarify the extent to which directors may take into account the interests of specific classes of stakeholders or the broader community when making corporate decisions, and whether companies should be required to report on the social and environmental impact of their activities.

Trading with the World

103. 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.
104. 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.
105. 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.
106. 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.
107. 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.

108. 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.

109. Labor will prohibit through legislation the Commonwealth signing trade agreements that:

- 1) Waive labour market testing;
- 2) Include investor state dispute settlement provisions;
- 3) Include provisions that require the privatisation of any public services;
- 4) Include provisions that undermine the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme;
- 5) Include provisions that undermine any law of the Commonwealth, a State or a Territory relating to anti-dumping;
- 6) Include provisions that limit the right of the Commonwealth to regulate in the interests of public welfare or in relation to safe products.
- 7) Include provisions that have the effect of restricting the Commonwealth's procurement arrangements from any form of preference for the purpose of:
 - a. Protecting Australia's essential security interests;
 - b. Benefiting local small and medium enterprises;
 - c. Protecting national treasures;
 - d. Implementing measures for the health, welfare and economic and social advancement of Indigenous people;
 - e. Promoting ethical standards and sustainable development through ethical procurement;
 - f. 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
 - g. 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

Labor in Opposition will oppose agreements which do not comply with points 1-11, nor will most favoured nation status be used to undermine them. If prior to an election of a Labor government

trade agreements are signed which are not consistent with the above, Labor in government will renegotiate the agreement to ensure it is consistent with the above points before bringing any enabling legislation before the Parliament.

110. 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.
111. Labor will work to:
- 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;
 - Provide leadership to the Cairns Group and seek reductions in agricultural subsidies and protection;
 - Secure reciprocal new market access for all of Australia's economic sectors;
 - 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;
 - Reduce the costs to business of engaging in trade and taking part in global value chains through trade facilitation reforms; an
 - 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.
112. 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.
113. 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.
114. 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.
115. Labor will legislate to ensure transparency in trade through:
- 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;

- 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;
- 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;
- 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;
- Independent evaluation of free trade agreements takes place ten years after ratification to determine the impact of any agreement; and
- 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.

116. Labor will ensure:

- 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;
- 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;
- 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;
- 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
- World Trade Organisation rule changes are advanced to ensure immediate publication of dispute settlement decisions, together with short, plain language explanations.

117. 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.

118. 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.
119. 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.
120. 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.
121. 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.
122. 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.
123. 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.

124. 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.
125. 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.
126. 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.
127. 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.
128. 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.
129. 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.

130. 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).
131. 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.
132. 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.
133. 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.
134. 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.
135. 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.

136. 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:
- Promote and support core ILO rights, including freedom of association, collective bargaining, elimination of forced, compulsory and child labour and the elimination of discrimination;
 - Capacity build, deliver education and enhance leader development for unions and organisations working abroad;
 - Advocate to raise awareness and build platforms for change on global issues impacting working people;
 - Promote worker to worker links within multi-national corporations and their supply chains;
 - Monitor and assist in the enforcement of clauses in labour chapters in trade agreements (where they exist);
 - Engage with temporary foreign workers, including pre-departure to Australia wherever feasible;
 - To conduct compliance work regarding labour standards in supply chains; and
 - Work with other nations and domestic unions to strengthen labour standards, workers' rights, occupational health and safety standards and gender equality.

137. Labor will:
- 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;
 - Work with other nations to strengthen institutions to protect labour standards, workers' rights, occupational health and safety standards and gender equality; and
 - 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.

138. 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.
139. 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.
140. 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.

141. 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.
142. 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.
143. 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.

Skilled Migration

144. Labor will adopt a long-term approach when setting annual immigration levels. Australia operates in a global economy with an increasing number of skilled and other workers wishing to migrate to Australia. We will engage with the Australian diaspora to strengthen economic and social ties with other nations.
145. Labor is committed to lift workforce participation and the qualification level of the workforce in response to people living longer and the demand for higher levels of skill and mobility. Falling workforce participation could pose a serious capacity constraint on economic growth, and Labor will use Australia's skilled migration program as an important part of the policy response to this challenge.
146. Labor's immigration planning framework will take into account net overseas migration, its positive and negative impacts on employment and training opportunities for Australian residents, demographic trends and other factors, while responding to current and longer-term economic needs.
147. Labor's skilled migration policies will:
 - Ensure, as far as possible, skilled vacancies are filled by local workers first;
 - Be informed by ongoing consultation with industry, unions, the education sector and state and territory governments; and
 - Identify emerging skill shortages in particular sectors and complement domestic training policies to fill those shortages.
148. Labor will administer a skilled migration program to:
 - Supplement domestic training policies, targeting skills shortages that cannot be filled locally;

- Balance the temporary and permanent skilled visa programs, recognising the increasing numbers of permanent visas granted onshore;
- Meet demand, with greater emphasis on migrants sponsored by employers into jobs where there are demonstrated skills shortages;
- Recognise particular skill needs across and within states and territories and metropolitan, regional and rural communities;
- Encourage skilled migrants to take up jobs in rural and regional locations where there are identified skills gaps;
- Allow Australia to compete internationally for skilled labour;
- Include the necessary tests and checks, and resources, to ensure the integrity of the system by addressing gaps in the skills migration program and recognise the primary right of Australian workers to Australian jobs;
- Ensure that where unions have existing rights to assess applications for imported workers those rights should be retained;
- Include rigorous safeguards to ensure employers have made all possible efforts to fill positions locally in order to protect the primary rights of Australian workers to Australian jobs and ensure migrants are not filling jobs Australians could be undertaking; and
- Protect temporary overseas skilled workers from exploitation.

149. Both permanent and temporary skilled migration are important to sustainable economic growth. Labor prefers permanent skilled migration to temporary skilled migration. Permanent migrants provide a stable, effective and targeted source of skilled workers. They have a greater stake in Australia's future and in integrating into all aspects of Australian community life. Permanent migrants are less susceptible to exploitation and are more secure in their jobs, so permanent migration is less likely to generate negative impacts on all workers (whether local or migrant), in terms of wages, employment conditions and job and training opportunities.

150. Labor will require temporary visa holders to be paid wages into an Australian bank account and work to ensure that all workers on temporary visa are paid in accordance with Australian awards or enterprise agreements and are protected by Australian workplace laws.

151. Labor will ensure that no migrant is 'permanently temporary'. Many permanent migrants begin their time in Australia as temporary migrants.

152. The skilled migration program should:

- Encourage a balanced approach between independent, government-sponsored and employer-sponsored migration;
- Provide information, including on workplace rights and responsibilities, on arrival to Australia;
- Have the necessary checks to ensure that migrants have the competencies and qualifications claimed;
- Recognise the importance of English language skills for successful economic and social integration;
- Ensure skilled migrants are paid genuine market rates and have the same conditions as Australian workers; and

- Ensure skilled migrants, if dismissed from their employment, can remain in Australia while any legal challenge to the dismissal is considered.
153. Labor will ensure all categories of temporary workers are not exploited through sham contracting or unethical labour hire practices.
 154. Labor will ensure skilled migrants and temporary visa holders who are exploited have ‘whistle-blower’ status.
 155. Labor will consider further protections and visa categories for workers who are exploited.
 156. Skilled migrants will bring their families to Australia and Labor will ensure that they are able to fully participate in Australian life. This includes access to free public education for children, English language support and work rights for dependents.
 157. Labor will establish an independent Australian Skills Authority in legislation. The Authority will include representatives of government, unions and employers, should report to government on skilled migration issues. The Australian Skills Authority will:
 - Ensure skilled migration programs provide a benefit to Australia, reflect local labour market needs and provide advice to Government on current skills shortages;
 - Project Australia’s future skills shortages;
 - Identify circumstances preventing local workers from meeting Australia’s skills needs and provide advice on skill bottle-necks;
 - Regularly review the skills shortage lists to add or remove occupations in response to changes in Australia’s skills, job market and regions; and
 - Be supported by a dedicated independent labour market analysis resource.
 158. Significant numbers of permanent visas are granted to temporary visa holders already working in Australia. Transition to permanent residency status helps move an individual overseas worker onto a more secure footing. Labor will align the permanent and temporary migration programs to facilitate the conversion of temporary visa holders on to permanent visas and citizenship. Labor will strongly encourage employers to sponsor temporary visa holders for permanent residency where the visa holders are working under successful arrangements and have priority skills which are in shortage in Australia.
 159. Labor will regulate all Australian employment and industries under Australian law, including those located on the landward side of the outer limits of the territorial sea of Australia, in the Exclusive Economic Zone, or in the waters above the continental shelf. Labor will review the Migration Act with a view to ensuring the definition of the ‘Migration Zone’ encapsulates all offshore Australian employment and industries.
 160. Labor will consider the merits of introducing a new and separate maritime crew visa for non-nationals employed on ships issued with a Temporary License under the *Coastal Trading (Revitalising Australian Shipping) Act 2012 (CT Act)* that recognises the primary right of Australian seafarers to Australian seafaring jobs, modelled on visa provisions existing in other developed nations such as Canada and the USA and which contains all the features of Labor’s work visa requirements, including payment of Australian market pay rates for coastal trading ships.

Temporary migration

161. Labor will introduce a range of reforms to the temporary work visa system to deliver increased protections for all workers.
162. The community must have confidence that the large and growing temporary work visa system does not adversely affect the employment and training opportunities for Australians, particularly young people who suffer from higher rates of unemployment.
163. Too often, temporary visa workers end up exploited or underpaid with some employers abusing the system for cheap and disposable labour. This has to stop. Labor will work to ensure all workers are treated fairly regardless of their visa class or legal status.
164. Labor understands the importance of business to access temporary workers, but it must not be at the cost of worker rights and conditions, or where vacancies can be filled by local workers first.

A Fair and Efficient Tax System

165. Labor will deliver a fair and sustainable tax system. This should provide incentives for all Australians to work and undertake productive enterprise, while guaranteeing adequate revenue to fund an active role for government, including quality public services and a more equal distribution of income and wealth. Labor will ensure sufficient revenue to ensure government is able to fund our social, economic and environmental objectives, including universal access to education and healthcare. Public confidence in Australia's tax system depends on simplicity, transparency, and everyone paying their fair share.
166. Labor will reform tax, guided by the principles of efficiency, fairness and simplicity, the need to boost revenues to fund public services, and to create a more equal distribution of wealth and income. Labor will identify specific progressive taxation measures to secure resources for effective government on a fair and efficient basis. These should consider overall capacity to pay rather than just income.
167. The principle of efficiency is to minimise distortions to investment and consumption decisions, except where interventions address market failures and serve environmental or social purposes.
168. Principles of fairness include:
 - Horizontal equity, so taxpayers on the same income pay about the same amount of tax;
 - Vertical equity, so taxpayers on higher incomes pay a progressively higher rate of tax; and
 - Intergenerational equity, so the amount and mix of taxes paid by the current generation properly provides for – not disadvantage – future generations.
169. The principle of simplicity is for the number of taxes to be as few, and taxation law to be as easy to understand and comply with, as is practicable. However, not all taxes have the main aim of raising revenue – some are aimed at reducing social harms. Taxes on tobacco and alcohol and are some instances in which taxation is used to internalise a negative externality.
170. Labor considers that the Coalition's arbitrary cap on the proportion of tax collected to GDP does not fulfil any useful economic purpose.

171. Future personal income tax reforms will:

- Remove barriers to investment and workforce participation;
- Support families;
- Reduce inefficient taxes and taxes which punish good behaviour;
- Boost savings and make superannuation fairer;
- Preserve and enhance a progressive and fair tax system;
- Minimise high effective marginal tax rates, particularly on those moving from welfare to work and on second income earners in low- to middle-income families;
- Remove opportunities for tax avoidance by wealthy individuals. This will reflect the distinctive settings of the Australian taxation system, and include better targeting of tax concessions and reducing loopholes that wealthier people use to reduce their tax liabilities, including measures which require high net worth individuals to pay their fair share of tax, rather than avoid tax obligations through various measures;
- Reduce inconsistencies in the taxation of income from different forms of assets;
- Ensure the tax system does not make housing less affordable for Australian families; and
- Preserve Australia's financial stability and minimise the potentially harmful effects of excessive short-term financial speculation.

172. Future corporate tax reforms will:

- Ensure corporations – at home and abroad – pay their fair share of tax, while encouraging investment and jobs growth;
- Ensure our corporate tax rate is fair and competitive, whilst also providing adequate revenues to support our essential public services and build tax equity through our transfer payment system;
- Help Australian business and industry to integrate into the global economy, so Australian companies win places in global supply chains;
- Stop multinationals unfairly shifting profits to minimise tax paid in Australia;
- Provide public transparency and deterrence of the use of tax havens, including procurement policy and guidelines for superannuation funds;
- Enhance transparency of tax payable, including the public release of information about where and how much tax multinationals pay, and related-party dealings by large and multinational businesses;
- Encourage and reward whistle-blowers who report on tax offenses; and
- Listen to diverse voices in tax policy development, and ensure community sector representation on the Board of Taxation.

173. Labor will support efforts to establish a stronger international agreement to require tax authorities to share information about individuals and corporations suspected of tax evasion or money laundering. Labor supports the growing global trend of requiring oil, gas and extractive industry companies to report publicly on a country-by-country basis on their revenue and profits as well as taxes and royalties paid, and the extension of such transparency measures across large multinational entities.

174. Labor will close down loopholes such as those associated with taxation of discretionary trusts and reform negative gearing and the capital gains tax discount where the benefits overwhelmingly accrue to high income earners. Labor will continually assess Government tax concessions to ensure they are fit for purpose, are equitable and don't risk long-run budget sustainability.
175. Labor will ensure that the Commonwealth Grants Commission properly assesses the costs of providing education, health, police and other essential public services in regional Australia, including reviewing caps on remoteness introduced by the Liberal Government in 2015.

Housing affordability

176. Labor is extremely concerned that many Australians, in particular young Australians, are being excluded from home ownership due to spiralling house prices that are outstripping individual and family capacity to save for a housing deposit. Tax laws that favour high wealth investors over Australians seeking to purchase a home are significant drivers of the current housing affordability crisis and collapse in home ownership.
177. Intergenerational inequality will increase if prospective home owners are crowded out by unsustainable and inequitable tax advantages to wealthy investors. Tax concessions including negative gearing and capital gains tax discounts distort markets for existing housing stock, increase unaffordability and impose a large and unsustainable drain on Commonwealth revenues.
178. Labor will reform negative gearing and capital gains tax on residential investment housing by limiting negative gearing to investment in new housing and halving the capital gains tax discount to 25 percent. These reforms will not operate retrospectively. No current housing investments will be affected by this reform. This will also provide an impetus to invest in new stock and will create employment opportunities in the building industry.
179. Limited recourse borrowing by self-managed superannuation funds for housing investment has grown by over 800 percent since 2007. This type of borrowing by SMSFs crowds-out first homebuyers, increases risks of financial system instability and threatens to undermine the integrity of the superannuation system. Labor will prospectively restore the prohibition on direct borrowing by superannuation funds for housing investments.
180. The related and growing incidence of vacant residential investment properties and rapidly increasing numbers of foreign purchases of residential investment properties are also driving housing unaffordability. While some State governments are moving to introduce vacant property taxes, progress is slow and uneven. Labor will establish a COAG process to co-ordinate and facilitate an efficient and uniform vacant property tax across all of Australia's major cities. Labor will double the foreign investment application fees which currently apply to foreign investment in new residential property. Labor will double the maximum financial penalties for breaches of the foreign investment rules banning acquisition of residential investment property by foreign buyers.
181. Australia desperately needs more affordable and social rental housing. The private rental market is increasingly occupied by young, middle-income households locked out of home ownership and shows historically high levels of rental stress; renting is increasingly beyond low and very low - income households. The community housing sector is providing the only significant growth in the stock of social and affordable housing but it needs a source of low-cost, long-term debt financing.
182. Labor will establish a bond aggregator so community housing providers can get cheaper, longer term finance for new affordable and social rental housing. We will examine the funding gap that

makes it difficult for community housing providers to fund housing for the working poor and Social Security recipients.

183. Labor will work cooperatively with state governments. We will appoint a housing minister and re-establish the National Housing Supply Council to ensure better assessment of general housing affordability issues, including supply. Labor will cooperate with state and territory governments on initiatives to improve and increase public housing, to expand Indigenous housing and on the inclusionary zoning.
184. State and Territory assistance schemes for first home buyers should prioritise genuine improvements to affordability while acknowledging and responding to the dynamics of individual housing markets. Stamp duty is a significant obstacle for first home buyers because it can add tens of thousands of dollars upfront to the purchase price of a home. Australian Labor will engage with States and Territories through COAG to explore what further options there may be for reform that improves housing market access for first home buyers. Australian Labor will also ensure states and territories have the flexibility to respond to housing affordability challenges in their own jurisdictions by removing outdated national requirements on how this assistance must be provided.

Innovation and the Economy of the Future

185. Job creation is the essential objective of Labor’s innovation and industry policy. Government and industry must be partners in the jobs and opportunities of the future, and this partnership must be structured to achieve clear capability, employment, training, research, innovation, local content and export objectives.
186. Labor will develop a tripartite approach (with progressive and ethical businesses, Government and unions) to support new and existing industries and to create local jobs. We will recognise that Australia’s advantages are not fixed and that Government has a role to support industries that generate positive spillovers, including new skills and technologies to other industries and the provision of infrastructure. Labor will:
- Assess and identify where Australia’s advantages lie and support those industries with targeted assistance and industry specific policies, in consultation with employers and worker representatives;
 - Capitalise on existing advantages and better utilise these industries and sectors to create jobs, value and economic activity along the supply chain; and
 - Implement industry policy to establish new areas of comparative advantage.
187. Labor will strategically develop a sound national energy policy that supports local industry. Australia is lucky to have large amounts of natural resources that can provide comparative advantages to local industry through low cost energy.
188. Labor’s innovation and industry policy will ensure that jobs created through partnerships and investment are good, secure jobs.
189. Technology will affect increasing areas of the economy. Labor’s innovation policies will provide leadership to adapt the economy to these changes and encourage investment in new areas to provide Australians with the jobs of the future.

190. The development and adoption of new industrial technologies must be directed to the full achievement of human potential. What has been called the fourth industrial revolution does not have to mean widespread job losses or new forms of industrial servitude and dehumanisation. Labor will heed the example set in other advanced industrial democracies where policymakers have demonstrated that it is possible to unleash the opportunities in new technologies while containing the risks.
191. Australia today is competing in a global innovation race. To secure our future prosperity, Labor has set a national goal of 3 per cent of GDP to research and development by the end of the next decade. Australia must put innovation, science and research at the heart of industry policy. We must foster a culture of entrepreneurialism across the economy, from start-ups to established businesses and within the public sector.
192. Labor will reinvest in the capabilities of Australian firms to attract new investments through a suite of measures, including through sectoral approaches. An Advanced Manufacturing Future Fund will help innovative Australian manufacturing firms to modernise and move into high-value production, making them globally competitive. The Fund will address the finance gap for small and medium enterprises, by partnering with private finance to reduce the perceived risk in innovative projects, making them more attractive to lenders of private capital and the appointment of an Australian Industry Advocate to facilitate these processes.
193. Governments, industry and research institutions should work together to make the transition to a clean energy future, overcome barriers to innovation and commercialisation, and meet the challenges of global competition.
194. Labor will establish an advisory body on entrepreneurial issues (including social enterprise), working closely with key ministers including the Treasurer, Industry and Communications ministers, reflecting the importance of the start-up sector to the broader economy.
195. Labor will foster the use of reliable clean energy, especially wind, solar and hydro power, and will ensure this is supported by the development of storable and despatchable options to drive industrial expansion. The clean energy sector is a key creator of jobs in its own right, and the jobs of the future should increasingly come from industries fuelled by clean energy sources.
196. Labor will transform the Australian economy through science and innovation. Our innovation agenda can re-tool Australia's industries, re-skill our people and build a new economy based on the latest technologies and advanced manufacturing.
197. Labor recognises that an impediment to early stage innovation and commercialisation is access to capital. Labor will work to remove impediments that inhibit the emergence of diversified sources of capital to support the work of start-ups and established firms. This includes creating effective crowd-sourced funding frameworks to provide further opportunities to innovators.
198. Labor will work with the banking and financial services industry to ensure the emergence and growth of Australian micro-businesses are not impeded by their ability to access to finance. We will look at alternative financing pathways to help turn great Australian ideas into great Australian businesses by partnering with venture capitalists and licensed fund managers to co-invest in early stage and high potential companies.
199. Besides strengthening access to diverse sources of capital, our capacity to achieve these objectives is underpinned by the availability of high quality, relevant and accessible education and training.

Through increased knowledge and skills, Australian citizens not only improve their individual work opportunities and living standards, but contribute to a stronger Australian economy and a more prosperous future.

Manufacturing

200. Labor will support a strong and competitive advanced manufacturing sector. Manufacturing is vital to the Australian economy: manufacturers employ nearly a million Australians in high quality jobs, contribute more than six per cent of Gross Domestic Product and undertake a third of all business research and development.
201. Manufacturing is essential to any advanced economy. Without a strong manufacturing sector, Australia will not have the diverse economic base it needs to overcome our dependence on volatile commodity prices and to capitalise on future economic growth opportunities and technologies.
202. Manufacturing produces high-value exports, nurtures essential skills and drives innovation across the economy. A dynamic manufacturing sector is essential to a resilient and broad-based economy. Manufacturing sustains activity in other sectors, including advanced service sectors such as logistics.
203. Australia's manufacturers have long been under severe pressure from currency volatility, which has increased import and export competition for Australian products. More recently, Australia's manufacturers have been squeezed by high energy costs, which have forced some manufacturers out of business, undermined the viability of others and severely constrained investment in future development.
204. Government has an essential role in promoting industrial growth and the development of Australia's economy. Diverse national manufacturing capabilities are needed to ensure that Australia is not overly exposed to unexpected changes in major industries. De-industrialisation results in relative technological decline, a diminished capacity for innovation, and squandering of new growth opportunities. Once manufacturing capabilities are lost, they may be lost forever and the nation will be poorer as a result. A Labor government will never allow this to happen.
205. With the right policy settings and incentives an internationally competitive, technologically advanced Australian manufacturing sector has a bright future. Our world-class tertiary, science and research sector, highly skilled and innovative workforce, strong intellectual property laws and world class design, engineering and testing facilities mean that the sector is well placed to increase productivity, make more specialised and high value-added products, enter new supply chains and capture niche markets. Australia needs an industry policy focused on these goals so that Australians can be the beneficiaries of new industrial technologies.
206. Manufacturing now matters more than ever in the knowledge-dependent and interconnected global economy. Past Labor Governments encouraged Australian manufacturers to innovate and boost competitiveness, by shifting to high-technology, lower-volume forms of production for niche markets. Australia's strong reputation in areas such as quality standards, product safety, ethical labour and environmental standards are key competitive advantages that governments have a responsibility to monitor and maintain.
207. Labor will revive innovation and support, maintain and expand Australia's advanced industrial capacity in automotive manufacturing, shipbuilding, rail manufacturing and other advanced manufacturing industries, like defence, textile, clothing and footwear, medical technologies,

pharmaceuticals and biotechnology, food, and pulp and paper. We will re-establish Innovation Councils in key industry sectors to ensure a tripartite approach to building the innovative capacity of Australian industry.

208. Manufacturers are experiencing increasing energy cost pressures, both due to rising electricity and gas prices. Labor will end the national energy policy vacuum which underpins a lack of investment in new energy infrastructure and drives rising energy prices, by implementing policies to support the transition to modern clean forms of energy, to deliver affordable, reliable and increasingly clean energy to Australian industry.
209. Labor recognises that developing Australia's natural gas resources requires sharing the benefits equitably between producers, users and the owners of the gas, the Australian community. Labor is committed to ensuring that the Australian community maintain equitable access to Australia's abundant gas reserves and receives a fair return on the profits made from extracting our resources, while keeping our resources sector strong and sustainable into the future.
210. Labor acknowledges that the Liberal Government has failed to address the East Coast gas crisis. This has resulted in an abandoning of Australian manufacturing jobs and industry, and has driven investment and Australian manufacturing jobs overseas.
211. To address the Liberals gas market crisis, a Labor Government will introduce a 'permanent gas export control trigger' which will be activated to impose export controls if the domestic gas price rises above a benchmark price. The benchmark price will be set, monitored and policed by the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC).
212. A Labor Government will also introduce a National Interest Test reserve policy for new and expanded gas developments to ensure developments are in and maximise the national economic interest, through the imposition of conditions including reserving a portion of domestic gas supply for local use, as well as stronger 'use it or lose it' provisions.
213. A Labor government will expand and strengthen the ACCCs powers to monitor and publicly report information to improve gas market transparency and efficiency. This includes having the ACCC investigate the potential gaming and abuse of market power by companies that own gas networks and processing infrastructure. Subject to ACCC findings and advice, a Labor government will consider policies to improve gas market efficiency and transparency, including those adopted by other countries such as market-access regimes or independent operatorships to ensure gas is supplied domestically at competitive prices.
214. Exporting Australia's natural gas is in the interests of all Australians when appropriately managed and balanced against domestic needs of both households and industry. Gas is vital to Australia's energy and industry competitiveness, particularly in manufacturing, and is a key part of the transition to a clean energy future. Labor will introduce measures to ensure sufficient supplies of affordable gas for firms using gas as a feedstock in manufacturing processes
215. The end of passenger vehicle production in Australia does not mean the end of automotive manufacturing in this country. The automotive industry has always been a great repository of advanced manufacturing capabilities, with wide spillover benefits for a range of manufacturing sectors such as defence, mining, renewable energy generation, biopharmaceutical, aerospace materials, building products, food processing and medical devices.

216. Labor supports ongoing co-investment in the automotive industry, particularly in automotive research and development that focuses on the technologies identified in the 2020 Technology Roadmap, which include: autonomous vehicles, electric vehicle technology, alternative fuels such as hydrogen and LPG, intelligent transport systems and telematics, new battery technologies and light weighting.
217. Labor believes in using Australian expertise to contribute to global advances in technology and product design, and will work with the domestic automotive industry to ensure that its 100 years of experience is applied in developing a specialist industry that will manufacture automotive products for strategically chosen niche markets. This transformed industry will integrate high-end, value-adding engineering techniques, knowledge-intensive R&D, and innovative industrial practices.
218. Through the Advanced Manufacturing Future Fund Labor will give priority to automotive component makers who are looking to enter new supply chains or markets, or are seeking to diversify and develop new products.
219. The automotive and shipbuilding industries are crucial for Australia's advanced manufacturing capacity. Labor will act to prevent the loss of their existing skills and capabilities. We will pursue every opportunity to attract new investment in the automotive industry, and work with Australia's shipbuilders to tender competitively for new contracts.
220. A strong shipbuilding industry is vital to Australia's long-term strategic interests as well as being a source of innovative advanced manufacturing capabilities. Without a shipbuilding industry, this country would be dangerously dependent on potentially unreliable overseas suppliers. We will develop a national shipbuilding plan to ensure the continued role of Australian shipyards in the construction of new vessels and sustainment of existing vessels. This will include procurement strategies for naval and other government maritime vessels to substantially reduce the risk of shipyard closures and the loss of crucial capabilities.
221. Labor will establish an Australian Space Science and Industry Agency to provide leadership for Australia's space-related activity and harness the strengths of our space research and industry sectors. A strong space industry sector will create new manufacturing and service industry jobs, diffuse advanced technology throughout the economy and will safeguard our space and satellite based infrastructure necessary to a functioning society and economy.
222. A Labor Government will develop a plan to ensure that investment in public rail projects over the next decade will create local jobs and maintain strategic skills and capabilities in rail manufacturing. Rolling stock, whether it be for public transport or private freight, should be manufactured in Australia, maximising the skills and capabilities of our local industries. Public projects should be used to develop and strengthen Australian capabilities and industries rather than relying on overseas manufacturers. Labor's plan will bring government, industry and union representatives together to reduce the risk to manufacturers and supply chain firms from fluctuating market demand. Labor wants Australia to have a strong rail manufacturing industry that can provide high-quality rolling stock for this country and the wider world. The role of a future Office of National Rail Industry Coordination will have a remit that extends across both public rail procurement and also the private sector.
223. Labor recognises the specific pressures facing Australia's crucial textile, clothing and footwear (TCF) industries. These industries employ over 30,000 Australians in the formal sector and many thousands more in the informal sector as home-based workers. They maintain valuable skills and capabilities and underpin regional economies around the country.

224. Labor will accelerate the transformation of the textile, clothing and footwear sector by supporting the development of new products and processes, targeting opportunities in ethical production and the high-tech, high-value end of the market. The conditions of support to textile, clothing and footwear companies will be designed to ensure sustainable employment outcomes, ethical labour and environmental standards, and maintain capacity and build skills.
225. Labor will improve opportunities for Australian textile, clothing and footwear manufacturers in government tenders and will require all companies that tender for textile, clothing and footwear contracts to hold Ethical Clothing Australia accreditation. Labor will support the important work of Ethical Clothing Australia and work with agencies to extend requirements for ethical labour standards to companies tendering for government contracts that source their textile, clothing and footwear contracts from offshore.
226. Labor will support and assist textile, clothing and footwear workers who lose jobs in the industry with appropriate support for programs and services like a non-means tested training allowance, training in English language and literacy, customised support for training and job-seeking, and funding for community-based organisations to advocate on behalf of redundant workers.
227. Labor recognises the importance of clear and consistent policy measures and strong intellectual property laws, which encourage business investment in Australia. The medical technology, pharmaceutical and biotechnology sectors, which employ tens of thousands of Australians, comprise some of the most innovative and export-driven businesses in the country. To ensure that these companies continue to invest in Australian jobs, investment attracting measures, such as the R&D Tax Incentive, are essential. Labor will re-establish an ongoing industry consultation process to facilitate advice to government on the development of forward-looking policy in the sector.
228. More than 320,000 people and 30,000 businesses are engaged in food and grocery manufacturing sector, with over 40 per cent of staff located in rural and regional areas. Australia must invest in this industry to preserve and enhance its reputation for food quality and safety and to enhance its global competitiveness. We will particularly seek to support food manufacturers striving to enter expanding markets in Asia. Food manufacturers, especially small and medium-sized enterprises, will be one of the two priority areas for assistance from Labor's \$1 billion Australian Manufacturing Future Fund.
229. Labor will support Australia's sustainable pulp, paper and fibre industries through innovation programs and government procurement policies. Good procurement choices should always seek to achieve value for money, which cannot be decided solely by comparing purchase prices. Any sensible procurement decision will take into account the impact of the decision on communities and the broader economy. Australia has huge opportunities to expand its fibre and advanced materials sectors, comprising textiles, clothing and footwear production, furniture manufacturing, timber and wood products processing, and paper products manufacturing as well as production of newer materials such as carbon fibre, light-weight materials, bio-products and advanced polymers. Labor will work with these industries to attract investment opportunities, and to increase access to finance through the Advanced Manufacturing Future Fund.
230. In order to maximise Australian industries' competitiveness in global markets, Labor will work in partnership with state and territory governments, industry, businesses, unions, and research centres to lift productivity, improve workforce skills, foster innovation and collaboration, enhance competitiveness, and overcome barriers to growth, by, for example, improving access to investment finance and overseas markets.

231. Through measures such as the Advanced Manufacturing Future Fund Labor will address the historic underinvestment in too many manufacturing sectors and to improve access to finance will look to models like the successful Clean Energy Finance Corporation. By partnering with industry and private finance providers, a Labor government will help ensure manufacturers are able to make the investments needed to over time to transform their operations and take advantage of new advanced manufacturing opportunities.
232. Small and medium businesses need independent advice to help boost their productivity, lift management skills, and bring new products to market. Labor will re-establish networks and programs to enhance collaboration between industry and researchers so Australian firms benefit from cutting-edge research and new technologies.
233. Labor will strengthen Australian Industry Participation Plans (AIP Plans) for public and private procurement and restore the requirement for all tenderers to complete and implement an AIP Plan. Labor will ensure that the quality of the plans submitted is a key relevant factor in value for money decisions made about the tender and that compliance with the Plan is monitored. Australia needs a more diversified economy that is not entirely dependent on commodity exports, sustaining high-skill, high-wage jobs, so we need to be clever in our purchasing. This is true of private purchases and even more for government procurement, because governments' buying power extends throughout the economy. Labor will ensure that the Australian Industry Participation Authority is adequately resourced, and that the thresholds for Australian Industry Participation Plans are sufficient. Labor will establish an Australian Industry Participation Board pursuant to the *Jobs Act*.
234. Labor will support Buy Australian programs and initiatives, consistent with our international obligations. Labor will adhere to a national interest test for government procurement policy by considering whole-of-life costs, and ensure procurement policies take into account the direct and indirect economic benefits of buying locally, including estimated taxation revenues, employment opportunities and industrial capability as detailed in the recent changes to the Commonwealth Procurement Rules. This will be supported by requirements to collect all relevant data, not enter trade agreements that would undermine local procurement, provide clearer guidelines for establishing economic benefit, wider dissemination of procurement guidelines within the public service.
235. Labor recognises that Australian industry has a responsibility to act ethically both domestically and globally. Labor will legislate to ensure Australian enterprises' domestic and global supply chains are transparent and do not breach State and International Labour Organisation labour standards, international human rights, anti-slavery, child labour and human trafficking laws.
236. Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments have a crucial role in the application, monitoring, setting and enforcement of effective building standards that keep the public safe. In recent years, an over-emphasis on privatisation and deregulation has seen a marked deterioration in these standards and the widespread use of dangerous materials. Labor will improve the fire safety of Australian buildings and prevent the use of dangerous non-conforming and non-compliant building products. This will include a ban on the importation of flammable cladding, an overhaul of national licensing regimes, the establishment of a Building Industry Licensing Authority to cover all building industry practitioners and a tougher penalties regime to deter fraudulent, false or misleading claims.
237. Asbestos continues to put Australian workers at risk, as our enforcement agencies struggle to prevent the product entering the country. Labor will review both the penalties for the illegal importation of asbestos and relevant legislation to strengthen the enforcement of the current

asbestos ban, to close loopholes and improve the capacity of prosecutors to obtain convictions against entities and individuals importing asbestos.

238. Labor will reinvigorate and maintain the Building Ministers' Forum, restoring the Minister for Industry – the senior Minister – as the Chair. Australia needs nationally consistent building standards, which are fit for purpose, enforced, and maintain high standards in the building and construction industry.

Science and Research

239. Science and research are indispensable in an advanced industrial civilisation. Australia's national interest depends heavily on science, technology, engineering and mathematics, both for a better understanding of our world, and for their application to the good of the nation. We cannot assume that prosperity will follow just because we are Australian. As a country we need to make choices about where we invest our scarce scientific resources to secure our future.
240. Labor will develop a strategy to grow and sustain Australian science that is both long-term and enduring. This will focus investment in national science and research on four pillars: areas of national need such as the impact of climate change on our agriculture, industry, energy supply, and regional and rural Australia; Australia's comparative advantages; Australia's capacity to contribute to international scientific endeavours; and support for the curiosity of scientists working at the cutting edge of any field.
241. Labor has established a clear aspiration that the nation will devote 3 per cent of GDP to research and development by 2030. To create jobs in an increasingly competitive and technologically advanced global economy, Australia must invest in scientific and research infrastructure, our scientific and research workforce, our world-class research universities and publicly funded research agencies, and develop a culture of excellence and internationalisation.
242. Labor's investment in science and research will rest on the four pillars. The present priorities including food, soil and water, transport, cybersecurity, energy, resources, advanced manufacturing, environmental change and health, will be assessed against those pillars. Labor will engage the innovation system – universities, researchers and industry – to focus national investments on meeting key challenges within these areas.
243. The nation needs advanced research, and the conduct of advanced research requires research infrastructure. The more sophisticated the infrastructure, the greater the potential for breakthrough research. Australia's research infrastructure system is a significant high-skill, high-wage employer in its own right, as well as generating many blue- and white-collar jobs in its supply chain and in the communities around facilities. Providing essential infrastructure for Australian researchers is primarily the responsibility of the Government. Labor will deliver the research infrastructure Australia needs to prosper in the 21st century.
244. A strong research workforce is vital to Australia's prosperity in the knowledge economy, but global competitive pressures are driving relentless competition for research talent. Labor remains committed to supporting Australia's best and brightest researchers throughout their careers. We will continue to work collaboratively with researchers and the business community to ensure Australia has the research workforce we need to reach our innovation goals. Labor will maintain a migration system that allows Australia to attract the best and the brightest from around the world.

245. Women are underrepresented in many science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields, particularly in mathematics, physics, engineering and information and communications technology; in industry sectors such as construction and transport; and in senior positions in these fields. Impediments to women in STEM have deep societal, cultural and institutional origins. Australia’s future wellbeing and advancement will be built upon a STEM literate workforce: to succeed, this workforce must fully engage women. Labor will support long-term strategies to eliminate gender bias at all levels of professional science.
246. Labor will foster a diverse research workforce and improve research training opportunities for early career researchers from all backgrounds. Labor will encourage Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to pursue research careers, help to retain talented women researchers in laboratories and as research leaders, and promote closer involvement by industry in research training.

Australia’s Research institutions

247. All Australia’s research institutions work in the national interest. They contribute in different ways whether they are national icons like the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), universities, or smaller, specialised agencies. They will be the engines of national development.
248. Australia’s publicly-funded science and research agencies should be properly resourced to support their critical contribution to society, productivity, industrial capacity and economic growth. Regional and rural science capabilities, including within publicly-funded research agencies such as CSIRO, are essential.
249. Researchers in universities and publicly-funded research agencies create the knowledge that powers Australia’s innovation system. They perform the basic research that underpins future discoveries. They give us the means to manage our unique natural heritage, not only by protecting our environment but also by creating new jobs in biodiversity, conservation and ecotourism. They undertake vital work in the humanities, arts and social sciences that helps us to understand the world around us, and to build a stronger and more resilient society. The market rarely provides incentives for the private sector to invest in such research. Labor will maintain government investment in basic research across all disciplines.
250. Labor will rest research investments on our four pillars, ensure research funding adequately reflects the full cost of research and maintain globally competitive success rates in grant funding. Incentives in university funding should encourage researchers to engage with end-users, including industry, to improve the impact of their research for industrial applications and the public good.
251. Australia’s public research sector must pursue excellence. Universities and publicly-funded research agencies must be responsive to national strategies and to the communities that sustain them. Labor supports mission-based compacts to encourage universities to pursue diverse missions, based on their strengths. Labor will invest in smaller and regional universities to develop their research capacity in areas of strategic capability.
252. Labor will always defend our researchers’ integrity and independence. Science and research must be free of commercial influence and political interference. Labor will restore the independence and integrity of the Australian Research Council, and the independence and autonomy of researchers working in our publicly funded research agencies and our universities. Labor will build on this record to develop a Science Integrity Charter across the Federal public sector. Labor supports the establishment of a staff-elected position on the CSIRO Board.

253. The rapid development of artificial intelligence (AI) technology offers immense potential for social benefit by stimulating the development of new industries and jobs, enhancing productivity across existing industries and advancing Australia’s national interest. Without proper oversight and governance, the emergence of such technologies may rapidly exacerbate global inequality and disrupt global strategic order. Labor recognises that the development of AI and related technology should be subject to principles of ethical governance including, but not limited to, maximising public good; ensuring technology is safe, trustworthy and under the ultimate control of human decision-makers; ensuring gender and ethnic diversity is accounted for in the development of AI to minimise inherited biases; maximising employment outcomes for Australians, public governance frameworks for AI allowing people to challenge decisions made by automated processes that affect them; ensuring that the deployment of AI reflects Australian values; valuing openness and accountability; and developing appropriate legal and ethical regulation.
254. A Labor government in office will look to implement these principles in a practical way, including by:
- The establishment of a National Centre of AI Excellence;
 - A review of the use of algorithms and artificial intelligence in government;
 - Reporting mechanisms to help track how privately devised and managed algorithms impact on the income and prices generated on digital platforms, including ride sharing and food delivery, to help prevent exploitation and worsening inequality; and
 - Government support for start-ups focused on using algorithms and artificial intelligence for maximising employment and positive social impact.

Science for Australia’s Future

255. Labor will develop and implement a national STEM strategy, consistent with advice from the Office of the Chief Scientist that STEM is vital to national advancement and jobs growth across all existing and future industries.
256. Labor will give Australian scientists and researchers opportunities to collaborate and compete on the global stage. The great leaps of the past century were made possible by scientific experiments on a massive scale, far beyond the resources of any one nation. Australia should contribute our research strengths to international collaborative missions such as the Square Kilometre Array, European Molecular Biology Laboratory, the European Southern Observatory, and the International Ocean Discovery Program. Labor will support researchers from all disciplines to collaborate with their colleagues abroad, encounter new ideas and form and maintain valuable research networks with the best minds on the planet.
257. The active enthusiasm and support of the community is essential to the success of the Australian research enterprise — including its ability to reach out effectively to industry and the public sector. Labor will support a national STEM engagement strategy to bring the transformative power of science and research to every corner of the nation, including promoting Questacon’s vital role in education and promoting citizen science.
258. Rigorous evidence-based policy advice is essential. Labor supports science advisory mechanisms and the engagement of the Learned Academies in providing expert advice to the Australian Government. Labor will ensure publicly funded research agencies are represented on all relevant advisory bodies and councils, including those in the industry and innovation portfolio.

259. Australia’s research efforts should reflect the imperatives and opportunities of climate change, including the development of clean technologies and protecting our natural assets. Recognising the environmental importance, economic value and unique vulnerability of our tropical regions and marine environment, Labor will promote research in these critical fields.

Industry, Science and Research Collaboration

260. Governments and industry have a mutual obligation to invest in the jobs and opportunities of the future. As a part of our goal to devote 3 per cent of GDP to research and development by the end of the next decade, Labor will preserve the Research and Development Tax Incentive, to drive investment in innovation through the tax system. This is critical to Australia’s ability to remain globally competitive by encouraging firms to develop their ideas in this country.
261. Labor will develop measures to improve and complement the Research and Development Tax Incentive that will increase collaboration between universities, publicly funded research agencies and industry, as well as increasing co-investment in innovative manufacturing.
262. Labor will put Australia’s researchers in the front-line of our industries. CSIRO is critical to this goal. Publicly funded research agencies such as CSIRO, the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation and the Australian Institute of Marine Science deliver immense value when they collaborate with governments and industry, using their research and innovation capabilities to help create the jobs of the future.
263. Labor will use proven programs, such as the Cooperative Research Centres program, to build new collaboration between researchers and end-users. Australia’s prosperity does not only derive from direct commercial outcomes. Labor will restore the public good aspect of the Cooperative Research Centres program; re-open the scheme to social and cultural innovation from the humanities and social sciences, and remove rules preventing existing CRCs from applying for new funding.

Strengthening the services sector

264. The service sector employs four out of five Australians and accounts for three-quarters of our GDP. A strong and efficient service economy is crucial to Australia’s long-term economic prosperity and ability to take part in the global services economy. The economic transitions in the Asian region away from investment driven growth to more consumption driven economic activity, means there are challenges and opportunities for Australia’s services sector. Unlike mining and resources, Australia does not have a natural comparative advantage in providing services. This is why Labor will work hard to build promote further engagement in our region so our services sector can prosper and grow delivering well paid Australian jobs.
265. Growing the Australian services sector will be critical to the future living standards of Australians, and the best way to achieve this is to promote service exporters into the growing markets in our region. Sixty per cent of Australia’s services exports go to Asia. Asia is the growth -engine of the world and Australia’s geographic location and political relationships in this region give us an advantage. To help grow our services exports, Labor will draw on our capabilities and knowledge base, such as our large Australian-based Asian diaspora, while also looking to improve Asian literacy and cultural understanding.
266. Australia needs high-skill, quality jobs in the domestic services sector. Businesses that provide the services essential to consumers in a modern industrial society — such as financial, retail and personal services, transport, communications, information technology, data management, legal,

medical, scientific, engineering, construction, education, tourism, healthcare, hospitality and leisure services — are vital to Australian prosperity. They access services export markets in their own right and compete with imported services on cost and quality, and improve our ability to compete on the international stage by making export initiatives in other sectors more competitive.

267. Australian consumers increasingly receive services from off-shore locations unknowingly. Where services are provided from off-shore locations, this should be disclosed so consumers can make informed purchasing decisions. Country of origin disclosure legislation for services should grow and Labor will work with industry and unions to strengthen disclosure requirements that protect consumer's personal information.
268. Service sector employers, in banking, communications and information technology in particular, have pursued off-shoring as a way of reducing costs. Employees and communities have felt the impact of this trend for a number of years. Labor believes all service sector businesses have a responsibility to support and promote new and better Australian jobs, creating opportunities for local employment as they grow their operations.
269. The service sector is and should remain a significant growth area for Australian exporters. Although services exports have been growing faster than goods exports, trade in services still represents only a fifth of our total trade. Australia's top service exports – education, tourism, financial services and professional services (including management advice, engineering, R&D, legal and accounting services) – are diverse and face differing challenges.
270. Service businesses that derive their profits from the Australian community should contribute economically and socially. Labor will deliver a service industries strategy led and developed by a representative task force. The strategy will focus on innovation and identifying capabilities that exist in the Australian economy that can provide the basis for a globally competitive services sector. The objective is for Australia to establish itself in the global traded services economy. Implementation of the strategy will require:
- Stronger linkages between universities, industry bodies, training institutions business, unions, state and federal governments;
 - Improved skills through training and other targeted skills development initiatives;
 - Clusters, networks and mergers in parts of the Australian services sector;
 - Encouraging leaders in the services sector capable of creating a globally competitive and productive sector;
 - Recognising that many successful businesses integrate services with manufacturing activity;
 - Better infrastructure with internationally competitive costs;
 - Effective roll out of the NBN;
 - Better capabilities in data management;
 - New market linkages into the global services sector;
 - Lower tariff and non-tariff trade barriers;
 - Greater investment from companies who can build an international presence for Australia; and
 - Marketing and branding of Australia's key services sector capabilities.

271. Labor opposes the widespread use of sham contracting in the services sector. Sham contracting is the deliberate or reckless misclassification of the working relationship as a contract for services instead of a traditional employment relationship. This misclassification results in knowing or reckless behaviour designed to result in workers being denied employment benefits and protections, including superannuation entitlements. Labor will strengthen the laws that prohibit sham contracting.

Chapter 3: Building Australia's future

The contemporary challenge

1. Australia's vast island geography presents significant infrastructure and service delivery challenges. Well-built, well-serviced and well-connected cities and regions are essential if we are to overcome the tyranny of distance and ensure Australia realises its full potential. Infrastructure matters.
2. In the highly competitive, globalised world of the 21st Century, the prices consumers pay, the profits businesses make, the quality of life people enjoy and the income exporters generate will more than ever depend on the adequacy and quality of a nation's roads, railways, sea and air ports, electricity grids, and telecommunication networks.
3. Australia needs nation-building national governments to provide the vision, leadership and investment to get things done.
4. The changing global economy presents new opportunities and challenges across many sectors in Australia's cities and regions. Technological progress, urbanization, migration, trade, climate change and the growth of the middle classes in the Asia Pacific will affect the scale of, demand for, and type of new projects and programs that government invests in and supports.
5. Inequality is a growing problem in Australia and across the world. Australia's governments must work together to ensure access to opportunity and jobs is more equal, not less. Access to good jobs through provision of quality infrastructure can help.
6. Australia is a highly urbanised nation. More than four in five Australians live in urban areas. Australia needs a government that will lead on urban policy and support productive, sustainable and liveable cities to maintain and improve our quality of life and lift our global competitiveness so Australia remains a first-choice destination for investment, tourism and education.
7. Transformative, large-scale infrastructure projects are essential to building our nation but they may impact on existing communities, including traditional owners. Government must ensure projects are selected on merit, properly planned, fully transparent and work to minimize any negative impact on communities while maximising benefits.
8. Australia's economy is diverse and economic priorities differ across industries and throughout regional, urban, coastal and remote Australia. State, Territory and local governments play a critical role in delivering infrastructure and essential services, and in improving productivity. Coordinating three levels of government across eight States and Territories requires national leadership.
9. Regional Australians face unique challenges in accessing quality government services and in creating sustainable economic opportunities. Regional Australia requires a coherent framework that is fully integrated with mainstream economic, social and cultural policy, promotes regional prosperity and opportunity, and ensures its contributions are recognized.

Labor values

10. Labor builds our nation. Past federal Labor governments had the vision to build the transcontinental railway, the Snowy Hydro Electricity Scheme and massive urban infrastructure that provided running water to many Australian homes for the first time.

11. During the global financial crisis, Labor’s economic stimulus and investment in the future produced a period of nation-building, creating new opportunities in modern communications and the transportation of people and goods, lifting long-term productivity and competitiveness, and generating economic prosperity.
12. Labor has its origins in regional Australia. Labor understands regional communities and historically, has introduced innovative regional development policies and invested in the infrastructure that have allowed regions to prosper.

Labor priorities

Transport infrastructure

Principles – merit

13. Labor adopts evidence-based policy.
14. Nationally significant infrastructure projects should be prior-assessed by Infrastructure Australia, based on a business case, a cost-benefit analysis and other objective criteria.
15. The assessed contribution of projects and regulatory settings to national productivity will be a key factor in infrastructure decision-making.

Mode neutrality

16. Often there are competing options for eliminating bottlenecks in our logistics networks and reducing traffic congestion in our urban communities, spanning road, rail, intermodal, aviation, maritime and active transport. Labor will take a mode-neutral approach, with projects offering the highest economic, social and environmental returns to be prioritised

Proper planning

17. Investment in new infrastructure involves choices and long-term vision. It also requires timely consultation with affected communities by the appropriate level of Government, generally the States and Territories. Planning must be efficient and open, without being rushed or out of sequence, to get planning and delivery right, first time around.
18. Australia needs to separate short-term electoral cycles from longer-term infrastructure planning and delivery cycles, via strong institutional frameworks which provide a clear ‘pipeline’ of projects and initiatives.

Safety and security

19. The safety and security of passengers, workers and the general public is a paramount consideration in transport investment, planning, and operations.
20. Labor supports strong domestic and international transport safety regulation and oversight, and will resource agencies properly and implement world’s best practice in safety regulation.

21. Labor will manage security risks through security operations at our international ports and airports, including offshore installations and resource relevant agencies, and regulate operators.

Fairness

22. Projects and initiatives supported by a Federal Labor Government will incorporate fairness – all States, Territories, cities and regions will be entitled to a share of national funding, based on project merit.

Consultation

23. The community is entitled to understand and debate the reasons for government decisions. Few new infrastructure projects are free of costs in affected communities, while often the benefits are spread beyond the immediate community where they are built. Labor will consult with the community in a timely way when projects are being planned and delivered.

Transparency

24. Labor will release assessed project business cases, and details will only be withheld where this would genuinely risk taxpayer value-for-money.

Social inclusion

25. Labor will strive to eliminate all barriers to access for people with disability to all forms of transport and public infrastructure.
26. Labor will promote social inclusion, including greater connectivity between residential communities and jobs centres.

Skills, jobs and workforce

27. Labor will support a well-resourced public and private sector infrastructure workforce whose rights are respected. Australians rely on these workers to deliver quality services, procure and operate infrastructure.
28. Investing in their skills and job security and respecting their rights at work is necessary to our community and our economy. The public sector should attract and retain the technical and business capability to represent taxpayer interests when infrastructure deals are being negotiated.
29. Labor in Government will establish a Strategic Rail Workforce Development Forum, comprising government, union and industry representatives. The Forum will be tasked with developing strategic responses to current and future rail workforce needs and skills issues, building productive working relationships across the industry and with TAFE and other training providers, and ensuring a just transition for workers at-risk from automation.
30. Infrastructure planning and delivery is a key area requiring jobs and skills development planning for the future. Labor supports processes to forecast and plan for skills development across the infrastructure chain, including project planning and assessment, project management, technical, trades and operational expertise. Longer-term infrastructure planning and delivery cycles will help skills planning.

Environment, sustainability and climate change

31. Climate change will affect our cities, regions, coastal and inland areas differently. New infrastructure will need to be built to withstand extreme weather events and additional and strengthened infrastructure will be needed to deal with sea level rises, particularly in built up areas. Labor recognizes the challenges posed by climate change and will give special attention to infrastructure projects which help affected communities and industries deal with change.
32. Our transport system needs to operate in harmony with the environment. Labor supports evidence-based measures to manage noise, air and water impacts from transport infrastructure, motor vehicles, trains, aircraft and ships.
33. Shipping impacts on the Great Barrier Reef and other sensitive marine environments must be carefully managed. Labor will monitor and adjust policies to ensure the health and survival of the Great Barrier Reef for the long-term.
34. Labor understands the need to cut pollution from transport and will implement a national approach to do so, including in passenger vehicles, public transport, sea, rail and road freight and in the air. Labor will support the transition to a clean transport system with the necessary infrastructure planning and investments.

Institutional arrangements

A national infrastructure agenda

35. Labor will provide leadership and coordination to increase nation-building investment in Australia's nationally significant infrastructure across the transport, energy, water and communications sectors.
36. Labor will maintain and enhance a clear national framework to support long-term planning for Australia's nationally significant infrastructure needs.
37. Labor will work closely with State, Territory and local Governments, via the Council of Australian Governments, to provide leadership and federal support for agreed projects and initiatives.
38. This framework includes identifying, prioritising and redressing inadequacies in Australia's nationally significant infrastructure, and identifying the best projects to address those inadequacies. The framework will also identify appropriate regulatory reform to ensure efficient use of existing infrastructure, and to remove obstacles to infrastructure planning, financing and delivery.

Infrastructure Australia

39. Labor will properly resource Infrastructure Australia so it can provide independent, evidence-based advice to governments on measures to improve the way they assess, priorities, finance, build and use the infrastructure required to drive growth and productivity in the 21st century.
40. Labor will break the nexus between the electoral cycle and the investment cycle by placing Infrastructure Australia at the heart of the federal government's investment decision-making process.

41. To attract and guide greater public and private investment in the nation's infrastructure, Infrastructure Australia will be required to maintain a long-term sequence of projects assessed as offering the highest economic, social and environmental returns.

Major Cities Unit

42. Labor will establish a Major Cities Unit within Infrastructure Australia. It will identify opportunities where federal leadership and infrastructure investment could assist States, Territories and local governments build more productive, liveable and sustainable urban communities including growth areas.

Financing

43. Project financing instruments will be determined on a case-by-case basis to preserve value for money. Where appropriate Labor will work with the States and Territories, local government and the private sector, to finance priority projects.
44. Labor supports innovative approaches to financing, including public private partnerships, tax incentives, concessional finance, government guarantees, transport oriented development, value capture and seed funding via grants or availability payments. Labor will investigate and remove any unnecessary impediments to these. Labor will ensure maintaining infrastructure quality, the public interest and labour standards are relevant criteria in choosing financing methods.
45. Labor supports superannuation funds investing in infrastructure projects when this aligns with the best interest of superannuation fund members. Labor will investigate, and remove, any unnecessary impediments to appropriate investment of this kind, whilst ensuring high standards of accountability and governance.

High Speed Rail

46. High Speed Rail would significantly transform our longer distance travel options. Many nations already have this, with fast surface transport connecting major cities.
47. High Speed Rail along Australia's east coast, from Brisbane to Melbourne via Sydney, Newcastle and Canberra, would transform the future of cities and towns along the corridor, bringing regional centres much closer to our major cities in travel time. This can create new possibilities for living and working, and substantially increases the stock of land close to major centres of employment. It can provide new opportunities for businesses beyond our major cities, and greater choice in long distance travel.
48. High Speed Rail is a transformative project. It is likely to be built in stages, and their sequence will be subject to the economic viability of the project and funding availability. Analysis shows the long-term benefits considerably outweigh the costs, including offering a possible pathway to lower or zero emissions regional and interState travel.
49. Labor will establish a High Speed Rail Planning Authority as a statutory body, and engage with the Queensland, NSW, Victorian and ACT governments, local government and the rail industry, to begin the vital work of corridor preservation and advancing the project.

50. While planning for High Speed Rail, Labor will continue to invest in faster inter-city rail. The substantially shorter delivery timeframes for faster rail deliver a significant benefit while providing future capability for a commuter rail network which complements High Speed Rail.

Priority investment programs

51. Labor will fund targeted national programs to meet particular transport infrastructure needs across the community, including:
- Public transport, freight rail, intermodals, air and sea ports, and roads;
 - Urban and regional development and renewal programs;
 - Strategic infrastructure corridors;
 - Roads to Recovery – assistance to councils to maintain and upgrade local roads;
 - Black Spots – removing dangerous blackspots on local roads;
 - Heavy Vehicle Safety and Productivity – including rest stops for truck drivers, safe loading and uncoupling;
 - Bridges Renewal – repairing and upgrading bridges;
 - Transport Development and Innovation projects; and
 - High Speed Rail.
52. Labor will renew and expand Australia’s existing rail and road infrastructure.
53. Labor will invest in projects in remote communities, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Public transport

54. Good public transport improves economic opportunity, social inclusion and environmental protection.
55. Labor will fund public transport projects, including urban passenger rail and rapid transit infrastructure.

Active transport

56. Labor encourages walking and cycling as forms of transport. There are considerable benefits for individuals and the community as a whole from a healthier, more active, more included population.
57. Labor will require active transport be considered in land transport projects. Labor will support road safety initiatives for cyclists and pedestrians and higher cycling and walking rates.
58. Labor will implement and build upon active transport initiatives including the National Road Safety Strategy and National Cycling Strategy, including standardising data for fatalities and serious injuries, by transport mode, across jurisdictions.

Road safety

59. After decades of decline, the road toll is again heading in the wrong direction.
60. Labor will establish a National Office of Road Safety. This dedicated unit within the Department of Infrastructure will be tasked with improving data collection, promoting best practice research, and leading the development of the next ten-year National Road Safety Strategy, which will commence in 2021. Labor will ensure the strategy draws on the findings of the Inquiry into the National Road Safety Strategy 2011- 2020, and is developed in partnership with state and territory governments, law enforcement, motoring organisations, experts, research bodies and other relevant stakeholders.
61. Labor will ensure that the national safety standards applying to motor vehicles are up to date and fit for purpose. The role of the national government is to ensure the latest road safety technology features are in new vehicles, including electronic stability control and autonomous emergency braking. Labor will work with industry and stakeholders to promote vehicle safety ratings and to amend the Australian Design Rules to mandate proven vehicle safety technologies in new vehicles.
62. A Federal Labor Government will, as a matter of urgency, legislate for a national system of Safe Rates consisting of an independent body with responsibility for safe standards of work including fair payments and conditions. This task has become more pressing given the emergence of new technology and the gig economy in passenger and freight transport which has accelerated the downward spiral throughout the transport industry.
63. The system will ensure implementation of the following principles:
- Universal application of a system of binding, enforceable and safe standards. The standards will cover all parties in the transport supply chain / contract networks to ensure safe performance, planning and appropriate payments. The standards will focus on eliminating economic and contractual practices that place undue pressure on transport supply chains / contract networks;
 - Appropriate, enforceable payments and related conditions for all operators and workers, regardless of label;
 - The capacity to resolve (including where necessary through binding decisions) transport supply chain / contract networks disputes;
 - Appropriate and adequate enforcement regime; and
 - Appropriate resourcing of supply chain / contract networks auditing, training and education through an industry fund.

Developing Regional Australia

64. Labor has a proud history of supporting regional development and decentralisation.
65. Labor will support growth and economic development in regional Australia, including through City Partnerships, public procurement and infrastructure investments to support economic activity in regional centres.

66. Labor will provide specific programs for regional Australia including region-specific policy programs for regions adjusting to accelerated growth and for regions where growth is weak. These programs will help communities build sustainable, resilient, inclusive economies.
67. Labor will ensure that regional Australians have access to the services and jobs that can be delivered through a coherent and strategic approach to decentralisation. Labor has called for a moratorium on job cuts in regional locations by the Coalition. Labor will provide a regional services guarantee that improves services for regional Australians, delivers a net growth in permanent jobs in regional cities and provides a framework for any future service improvements and regional job creation through a balanced approach to public and private sector decentralisation.
68. Labor will seek to maximise the economic opportunities created by investment in regional infrastructure. Labor will engage with local businesses and communities to ensure that the promise of good jobs and new economic opportunities that often come with new investment are realised.

Aviation

69. Labor's priority in civil aviation sector is safety. Labor will support and resource the Civil Aviation Safety Authority to ensure the safety of workers and travelling public.
70. Labor supports a strong aviation industry with a secure Australian workforce and will prioritise the training of local aviation workers, particularly in light of overcoming skill shortages.
71. Aviation plays a large part in connecting Australia to the world and linking our towns and cities, as well as serving the needs of regional and remote communities. It is also key for international and domestic tourism. Where new gateways are approved, Labor will provide timely support through Federal agencies such as customs and security.
72. Labor supports ownership provisions to keep majority ownership and governance of Australian international airlines in Australia.
73. Labor will not allow foreign airlines to fly domestic routes in Australia, competing unfairly with Australian aviation employees and operators. This could undermine the employment of Australian aviation employees and could weaken the profitability of Australian carriers already operating in a very competitive market, as well as diminishing the viability of the Australian aviation industry.
74. Labor will ensure, as a matter of fairness and equal treatment, that any flying of passengers within Australia (from an Australian port to another Australian port) occurs under Australian employment laws.
75. Labor acknowledges and values the unique skills, knowledge, expertise and professionalism of Australian aviation employees and supports their rights to safe workplaces and fair wages. This should acknowledge their skills, expertise and substantial contribution to Australian aviation – and , the risks inherent in air travel.
76. Labor acknowledges the unique challenges facing women in aviation and will promote equality for women throughout the industry.
77. Labor supports including labour standards in Air Transport Agreements. Labor supports fair and equal remuneration of aviation workers within the Australian and New Zealand Closer Economic

Relations Trade Agreement region. We will ensure the intent of this platform is given effect on Australia's airlines however they are structured.

78. Safety in aviation is paramount. Labor supports the Civil Aviation Safety Authority's work for safety and compliance, as well as effective safety regulation across the industry.
79. Aviation activity must be the priority on airport precincts. Labor will not allow other economic activity to inhibit aviation at these sites.
80. 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.
81. Airports are a key link for many of Australia's high value exports. Australia's growing food manufacturing industry will require greater access to air freight, as local businesses seek to meet demand for Australian made products from around the world. Labor will ensure that the needs of these businesses and their workers to have efficient access to export markets is taken into consideration in the development of new and existing airports and their associated precincts.

Shipping

82. Australia needs a revitalised, strong Australian-flagged shipping industry with a secure workforce. Maritime cabotage remains an important policy objective for economic, environmental and national security reasons. Shipping is an important national strategic industry. Maintaining a domestic shipping industry is critical for an island nation. Ships are efficient, require no built infrastructure for navigation and are the least energy intensive of all freight transport modes. Labor will in the first 100 days of government convene a meeting of all maritime unions and current industry stakeholders to progress the plan for the Australian Merchant Fleet and coastal shipping. Further, this meeting will discuss international trade opportunities for Australian seafarers in the shipping of Australia resources: gas, coal, iron ore, oil, fuel and commodities.
83. Over 99 per cent of trade to and from Australia is carried by ship. Australia has the fourth largest shipping freight task in the world. With the expansion of Australia's commodity trade, international shipping is becoming busier. Cruise shipping is also growing rapidly, delivering more international tourists to Australia, and around the coast.
84. Coastal shipping remains an important domestic freight mode competing with road and rail. Ships play an important economic and strategic role in the operation of the Australian economy. They are an important part of the domestic freight market; they are an essential link in manufacturing supply chains, they transport people and support tourism; and provide maritime services like towage and dredging around the coast. Coastal shipping requires port access and quality linkages to land transport infrastructure. Shipping plays a key role securing Australia's liquid and gas energy trade. Labor will work with industry and the relevant unions to ensure Australia maintains on its general shipping register sufficient bulk liquid/gas ships to support continuity of petroleum and gas supply, and exports of LNG.
85. Labor will amend maritime laws to revitalise the Australian shipping industry with more effective regulatory arrangements, more contemporary foreign seafarer visa requirements, improved

corporate and seafarer tax incentives, regulatory and workforce development measures so Australian shipowners can compete fairly and employ more Australian seafarers, and to attract related functions to develop a maritime industry cluster. Labor is committed to establish a stronger interface between commercial shipping and Naval, Customs and Search/Rescue/Salvage requirements of government, as well as with Defence and commercial shipbuilding/repair/maintenance in developing a maritime cluster. Labor will also review government procurement policy to ensure Australian shipping has access to transport/freight procurement opportunities.

86. Labor will foster Australian shipping and trained seafarer jobs and provide incentives for new investment in Australian ships and maritime skills to international ships as many comparable nations have. Labor will remove loopholes favouring use of foreign temporary licensed ships over Australian ships in coastal trade. Labor will implement new foreign seafarer visa requirements that incorporate labour market testing. Where domestic cargo volumes can sustain a suitable Australian flagged and crewed ship, Australian flagged and crewed ships will have preferential access to such cargo under efficient arrangements. These will be overseen by an independent industry body to supervise the licensing of ships. The industry body will be required to consider legislated criteria in recommending ship licenses. Labor will also ensure tax measures to encourage investment in ships are internationally competitive.
87. The introduction of the *Marine Safety (Domestic Commercial Vessel) National Law Act* has resulted in reduced standards for vessel crewing, training and qualifications in critical parts of the maritime industry. Labor will review current legislation and regulation to ensure appropriate and robust standards for vessel crewing, qualifications, training and safety management systems are in place, particularly for vessels operating off the coast and in high risk sectors such as towage, dredging, offshore oil and gas, bunkering, passenger vessels, coastal trading vessels and large aquaculture vessels, with a view to returning some vessels to regulation under the higher standards of the *Navigation Act*. Seafarer employees should also be represented on the board of the Australian Maritime Safety Authority. The *Navigation Act* must give AMSA the powers to take a rigorous and holistic view of maritime work processes and safety systems.
88. Labor will review Australia's maritime security policy settings to close any gaps or weakness in the maritime supply chain, including the interface with flag of convenience shipping. Labor will establish a permanent standing group with members from the State police forces, the Australian Federal Police, the Australian Maritime Safety Authority and the Australian Transport Safety Bureau to liaise, communicate, share information and facilitate investigations of deaths or suspicious deaths including disappearances from international vessels in Australian waters.
89. Labor will re-establish and fund a Maritime Workforce Development Forum to develop a contemporary maritime workforce training and development strategy.
90. Labor will review the national freight strategy and national ports strategy to ensure all freight transport modes are able to compete on fair terms so the competitive advantages of each mode can be utilised to provide the best and most cost-effective supply chain solutions to freight users. Labor will consider establishing a National Freight Industry Innovation Council to oversee the implementation of the national freight, ports and shipping strategy.
91. Labor will maintain its support and oversight of International Labour Organisation and International Maritime Organisation conventions, codes and recommendations.

92. Labor will support and resource the Australian Maritime Safety Authority’s work on safety, rescue coordination and compliance.
93. Any temporary licences must not be issued that undermine existing coastal vessels or undermines the introduction of more Australian flagged and crewed vessels.

Transport regulations

94. Labor will provide national leadership and work with the States and Territories to continue the modernisation of the laws regulating the transport industry. This will free up the movement of interState trade, improve safety outcomes and boost national income.
95. Smart infrastructure solutions and new technologies can heighten productivity of existing infrastructure to at much lower cost than a new project. The use of smart infrastructure will be considered as part of the planning process for all new and existing projects.
96. Emerging technologies such as autonomous and zero emissions vehicles, remotely piloted aircraft systems and artificial intelligence will soon become commonplace. This development will benefit our society in terms of greater safety, enhanced productivity, less congestion, fewer carbon emissions and a better quality of life. However, it will also create challenges. Labor will work with other levels of government, as well as industry, to retrain affected workers and ensure regulations protect the rights and welfare of Australians.

Australia’s cities: productive, liveable, sustainable

97. Australia relies heavily on productive cities for national prosperity. Most of Australia’s population and businesses are in urban areas and our cities are hubs of economic activity that link Australia to the global economy.
98. Liveable cities attract the best and brightest from around the globe, creating value for our economy, diversifying our culture and increasing the attractiveness of investment. Liveable cities are underpinned by efficient social, health, education and transport infrastructure, but also green parks and recreational spaces, amenity and accessible environment and water ways.
99. Rapid growth and development is creating larger cities, resulting in significant challenges including congestion, energy and water consumption, spatial inequality and environmental degradation. Labor will strive for sustainability and equality in high growth outer urban areas with long-term plans to address these challenges.
100. The national government has a distinct responsibility in leading and coordinating urban development in a growing nation. We will build on the proud record of past Labor Governments which led a national effort to make our cities more productive, liveable and sustainable.
101. Labor will refocus the federal government on cities policy by:
 - Appointing a Minister for Cities;
 - Updating the National Urban Policy;
 - Establishing a Major Cities Unit within Infrastructure Australia;
 - Reconvening the Urban Policy Forum;

- Publishing annually the State of Australian Cities Report, and;
- Overhauling and replacing the Coalition's City Deals with a City Partnerships program that will foster more genuine collaboration between the three levels of government and ensure more productive, liveable and sustainable cities consistent with the National Urban Policy goals.

102. Labor will work with the Council of Australian Governments, the private sector and the community to improve governance structures and develop integrated long-term strategies to improve infrastructure funding, land use planning, housing affordability, settlement patterns and social cohesion, action on climate change, environmental sustainability and restoration, and congestion.

103. Labor will work with States, Territories and local government to:

- Invest in properly integrated transport systems involving public transport and roads;
- Invest in active transport solutions which connect with public transport, education and employment hubs closer to where people live;
- Invest in communities struggling with the shift away from traditional manufacturing in partnership with business and those affected to develop a strategic vision that will unlock future industries, jobs and learning opportunities;
- Improve housing affordability through the use of urban planning, land supply and incentives;
- Drive alignment of funding for smart and sustainable urban infrastructure;
- Align greater housing density with public transport corridors;
- Encourage the best practice urban designs outlined in *Creating Places for People: An Urban Design Protocol for Cities*;
- Promote jobs growth in outer and middle ring suburbs, by investing in research precincts around universities and hospitals, considering incentives for the location of business, and supporting innovative funding models for local governments in high growth areas;
- Work with States, Territories and local government to support connectivity and productivity through a fibre National Broadband Network;
- Earlier integration of water, wastewater and stormwater into urban planning to improve overall (including health and liveability) outcomes for our cities and regions.
- Incorporate action on climate change into major urban strategic plans (mitigation and adaptation)
- Facilitate the transition to renewable energy by supporting urban innovation and green urban growth e.g. net zero carbon and liveable precincts.

104. Our cities present a significant opportunity for climate and energy policy. Labor will work with and across all levels of government and industry to reduce our emissions through our buildings, infrastructure and our cities, by incorporating renewable energy, water sensitive urban design and integrated public transport systems.

105. A high level of mobility is necessary to unlock the economic potential of cities – so diverse and specialised skillsets can be brought together. This requires a shift towards establishing industry and employment hubs outside CBDs, strong land use planning and investment in transport infrastructure.

106. The rapid growth and outward expansion of cities has created significant congestion on urban roads, lowering quality of life and reducing family and social time. Job creation in outer suburbs and growth corridors as well as increased investment in infrastructure can help respond.
107. Safe, clean and efficient public transport in our major cities is critical to addressing the economic, environmental and social problem of urban congestion.
108. The digital transformation of businesses and government services can be supported by smart cities, which are data-driven and responsive. Embracing these new open technologies will allow more integrated, productive and sustainable asset delivery, operation and service delivery. Labor will provide national leadership in converging and aligning smart cities service provision on federally funded projects; working across governments to support the implementation and scaling of smart city or community technologies; developing a workforce skilled in smart city or community technologies; encourage entrepreneurs and the startup community to develop solutions to urban challenges by linking with Labor’s digital economy strategies; and investing in innovation in areas such as transport, freight and the future of work in cities.

National Broadband Network

109. Labor builds the infrastructure of the future. The National Broadband Network is the biggest, most important infrastructure project in Australia’s history allowing us to dramatically improve our productivity, service delivery and revolutionize how and where we work, learn and live.
110. Labor will ensure all Australians get fast, reliable and affordable broadband, no matter where they live or do business. Wholesale prices should be the same across Australia. Broadband should not be more expensive for those who can least afford it.
111. Consumers are at the core of Labor’s communications policy. Labor will work to deliver for all Australians a network that is fast, reliable and affordable.

Local government

112. Local government is the level of government closest to the community and is responsible for a vast range of social and cultural services and infrastructure including:
 - Social services including childcare, aged and home care, affordable housing, social and community and health services; along with arts and culture;
 - Environmental services including coastal management, improved waste management, energy and climate responses;
 - Water efficiency and improved catchment and water resources provision;
 - Community infrastructure including sports grounds, swimming pools, parks, community centres and tourism facilities; and
 - Regional planning, economic development and emergency services.
113. Labor will enter partnerships with local government to improve local community services and infrastructure. Labor will help local government innovate in management and construction of social and community infrastructure to deliver benefits and opportunities for local communities.
114. Local government needs a secure economic base. Labor will:

- Provide long-term funding certainty;
- Provide funding through the ongoing Financial Assistance Grants and index these appropriately;
- Support funding for local government-maintained roads and participate in a range of programs to provide direct funding to local government;
- Establish a mechanism to consult directly with local government to ensure it has strong and direct relationship with federal government;
- Ensure local government has a voice within Infrastructure Australia and in Regional Development.
- Work with local government to improve their efficiency and financial sustainability; and
- Work with local, state and territory governments through COAG to improve the financial sustainability of local government.

115. Labor supports recognising local government in the Australian Constitution.

116. Labor will work with local government to make our urban and regional communities more liveable and environmentally sustainable, including urban and regional planning, development assessment and approval processes.

117. Women’s representation in local government — as Mayors, Councillors, and General Managers — remains unacceptably low. Labor will work with local government to increase participation by women, Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in all aspects of local government. We recommit to reaching the goals of the 50 50 vision of Councils for Gender Equity to achieve enduring equality in local government.

Tourism

118. Tourism will be a key driver of jobs and economic growth in Australia over coming decades. Tourism is a super-growth sector for local jobs and the economy.

119. Labor will:

- Appoint a Minister for Tourism;
- Support Tourism 2020, Australia's first national strategy to enhance growth and competitiveness in the tourism industry, and work with industry to develop a Tourism 2030 strategy;
- Review and progress A National Business Events Strategy for Australia 2020;
- Maintain tourism as a national investment priority;
- Invest in infrastructure including airports, ports, roads, public transport, digital connectivity infrastructure and convention centres; and
- Support tax arrangements conducive to the industry’s growth.

120. Tourism Australia plays a critical role in showcasing Australia to the world. Labor will work with the local, State and Territory governments as well as Tourism Australia to appropriately resource and coordinate domestic and international marketing and promotion of Australia. This will ensure Tourism Australia can grow visitation, while also re-engaging with the domestic tourism industry.

121. Labor will reform visitor visas to maintain and grow Australia as a competitive tourism destination. We will also adopt new technologies to enhance the visitor experience from start to finish, ensuring Australia does not fall behind other countries.
122. Robust tourism data is essential for investors, government and business. Labor will provide adequate tourism and travel forecasting and research services so accurate data informs long-term government and industry investment.
123. Climate change threatens Australia’s prized natural assets. Labor will support sustainable tourism and protect and promote Australia’s environmental and cultural heritage, working with industry to identify practical strategies to achieve this.
124. Labor will ensure assistance and advice schemes are targeted to include tourism operators, most of whom are small businesses. This includes supporting industry-delivered programs which focus on capability and capacity-building.
125. Tourism underpins the economy of many smaller towns and cities throughout regional Australia, playing a pivotal role in creating jobs and growth opportunities in local communities. Sectors such as agritourism, nature-based tourism, cultural and Indigenous tourism as well as business event tourism are niches for regional tourism growth. Labor will seek to grow regional tourism in a number of ways, including investment in infrastructure and domestic and international marketing to encourage regional dispersal and longer stays.
126. Tourism and events are a rewarding career path for many Australians. Labor will encourage education and training to upskill already employed staff and industry-based accreditation programs and will address tourism and events skills shortages as highlighted by the industry, including through skilled migration. Labor will deliver a nationally recognised formal training package based on agreed industry standards, including appropriate training and safe work policies with career options, appropriate recognition in wages of training and productivity outcomes, in co-operation with governments, industry and unions.
127. Australia is home to the world’s oldest living culture. Labor recognises the significance of this history and we will enhance tourism employment and business opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in conjunction with appropriate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representative bodies, fostering tourism to build a wider understanding of the culture of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

Agriculture, fisheries & forestry

128. Australia’s agriculture, fishing and forestry sectors have played a key role in national economic development throughout our history. They have generated a large share of Australia’s wealth, helped shape our culture and identity, and underpinned the establishment of rural and regional communities throughout the nation.
129. In the century ahead, agriculture, fisheries and forestry sectors will retain a major role in creating wealth and jobs in rural and regional Australia, and generating export income as we seek to capitalise on growing global food demand, prioritising the preparation and processing of food here in Australia to bolster local jobs.
130. Labor will support new export opportunities in commodity markets and secure high-value, premium markets in pursuit of higher and sustainable profitability.

131. Labor will set clear guidance for investors to attract the domestic and foreign capital the sector needs to grow to its full potential.
132. Much of the responsibility for land, water and animal welfare management lies with State Governments. Labor will rebuild cooperation and coordination with the States and Territories in order to secure effective and uniform agriculture policy.
133. Labor will encourage more sustainable and efficient land and water management practices through a whole of government approach, pursuing evidence-based policies and market approaches to lift productivity, reduce unnecessary regulation and improve natural resource allocation.
134. Our farmers are challenged by a changing climate. Labor will work with the sector to improve climate adaption programs and promote the embrace of renewable energy opportunities.
135. Australia’s biosecurity system underpins our key competitive advantage and our agriculture reputation as a producer of clean, green, high quality and safe food. Labor will protect that by adequately resourcing our biosecurity system, developing stronger shared responsibilities and cooperation by all levels of governments, industry bodies, exporters and importers, farmers, miners, tourists, our research bodies and the community.
136. Labor will build adequate supply chains and telecommunications infrastructure and investing in research, development, innovation and extension.
137. To meet our aspirations, we need productivity gains from paddock to market. Labor will take a whole of government and a whole-of-supply-chain approach to food and fibre policy and encourage adoption of new digital technologies.
138. Labor will fully resource quality education and training systems and provide the workforce our employers need to succeed.
139. Labor will improve access to domestic and international markets for Australian agriculture, fisheries and forest products and press hard for the inclusion of commodities which have faced the greatest resistance from our trading partners, working in collaboration with States and Territories to address State-specific market access issues and opportunities.
140. Labor will review the performance of Rural Research and Development Corporations to ensure that every dollar spent is spent well, including investigating the benefits of having Governance arrangements which have industry representation, union(s) representatives and skills based representation.
141. Innovations of agricultural biotechnologies, such as GM crops, are important in making Australian farming more productive, competitive, environmentally sustainable and improving financial returns at the farm gate. It is essential Australia maintains an independent, scientific and evidence-based regulatory system for GM crops to ensure the safety and the access by farmers of such innovations whilst respecting any GMO moratorium of a State or Territory.
142. Labor will develop comprehensive forest and fisheries strategic plans, to achieve this Labor will hold Summits for both sectors. The plans will seek to adequately promote sustainable profitability, local downstream processing, good local jobs and will be developed by government, industry, employers and the sectors trade unions. Under the forestry and forest products industry strategy commercial forestry projects may benefit under the Carbon Farming Initiative and related climate change

programs by mechanisms established in a tripartite manner. One of the requirements to benefit in this way will be to maximise local economic benefits by supporting local downstream processing and good local jobs.

Minerals & resources

143. Labor will develop Australia’s natural resources through a competitive minerals, resources and energy industry, backed by quality infrastructure links, which grow export-oriented jobs for our modern economy.
144. Australia’s minerals and resources and industries and those who work in them generate a large share of Australia’s export revenue, support regional economic development, provide employment directly and indirectly and improve the living standards of the entire community; they also create wealth and opportunity in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.
145. To lift the social, environmental and economic contribution made by minerals, resources and energy industries’ to Australia, Labor will:
- Ensure Australian resource industries pay their fair share of tax and royalties;
 - 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;
 - Promote opportunities for Australian companies and workers to enter the global supply chains of multinational resource companies;
 - Encourage the development of low emission technologies, re-use and storage technologies;
 - Encourage downstream processing of minerals, resources and energy products, and public and private investment in the necessary infrastructure;
 - Facilitate the commercialisation and export of minerals-related services and technology;
 - Ensure an efficient national energy market enhances Australia’s natural advantages in downstream minerals processing for domestic and export markets;
 - Support modern maritime engineering excellence in export gas production, including the involvement of Australian engineering and industry within the supply chain; and
 - Include assessing freight networks in Infrastructure Australia’s scope of work.
146. Labor will ensure mineral development on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ land proceeds consistently with Labor’s land rights and native title policy, improves Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people employment, business, education and training opportunities, and lifts Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ community development and self-determination opportunities.

Uranium

147. The production of uranium and its use in the nuclear fuel cycle present unique and unprecedented hazards and risks, including:

- Threats to human health and the local environment in the mining and milling of uranium and management of radioactive materials, which demand the enforcement of strict safety procedures;
- The generation of products that are usable as the raw materials for nuclear weapons manufacture, which demands the enforcement of effective controls against diversion; and
- The generation of highly toxic radioactive waste by-products that demand permanently safe disposal methods.

148. Labor accordingly will allow the mining and export of uranium only under the most stringent conditions.

149. In relation to mining and milling, Labor will:

- Ensure the safety of workers in the uranium industry is given priority. Labor has established a compulsory register for workers in the uranium industry that includes regular health checks and ongoing monitoring. The register is held by an independent agency and will be subject to privacy provisions;
- Ensure Australian uranium mining, milling and rehabilitation is based on world best practice standards, extensive continuing research on environmental impacts and the health and safety of employees and affected communities, particularly Indigenous communities;
- Ensure the Australian public is informed about the quality of the environmental performance of uranium mines through public accountability mechanisms;
- Foster a constructive relationship between mining companies and Indigenous communities affected by uranium mining; and
- 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.

150. 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.

151. 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.

152. In addition, Labor will work towards:

- Strengthening export control regimes and the rights and authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA);
- Appropriate international responses to violations of existing safeguard commitments;
- Limiting the processing of weapon usable material (separation of plutonium and high enriched uranium in civilian programs);
- Tightening controls over the export of nuclear material and technology;

- 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;
- Criminalising actions of individuals and companies that assist in nuclear proliferation;
- The development of an international guarantee of nuclear fuel supply to states foregoing sensitive nuclear technologies;
- Revising the NPT to prevent countries from withdrawing from the NPT and passing a new resolution in the United Nations Security Council addressing the penalties for withdrawal from the NPT;
- Encouraging all nuclear states to join the NPT;
- 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;
- 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
- Seeking adequate international resourcing of the IAEA to ensure its effectiveness in undertaking its charter.

153. 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.

154. Labor will:

- Vigorously and totally oppose the ocean dumping of radioactive waste;
- Prohibit the establishment of nuclear power plants and all other stages of the nuclear fuel cycle in Australia;
- Fully meet all Australia’s obligations as a party to the NPT; and
- Remain strongly opposed to the importation and storage of nuclear waste that is sourced from overseas in Australia.

155. Labor acknowledges that radioactive waste management is a complex policy challenge that requires the highest levels of transparency and evidence, while balancing the need of the community to benefit from treatments for diseases like cancer. Accordingly, Labor will act in accordance with scientific evidence, and with full transparency, broad public input and best practice technical and consultative standards, taking into account the views of traditional owners, to progress responsible radioactive waste management

Northern Australia

156. Northern Australia, the part of Australia north of the Tropic of Capricorn, makes a vital contribution to the national economy, particularly through its resources, agriculture, tourism industries and its capacity for research and education in tropical ecosystem conservation and management and sustainable development. That is why Labor established the Northern Australia Ministerial Forum to collaboratively advance the sustainable development of the north. Northern Australian communities are richly diverse, existing in unique and fragile natural environments and exposed to the impacts of ongoing climate change.
157. Northern Australia has significant social service needs and economic infrastructure requirements. Labor will remove policy and other obstacles for future investment in infrastructure. 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 greater use of renewable energy sources. Appropriate investment in social, educational, water, energy, and transport and communications infrastructure is critical to the future development of Northern Australia.
158. The tropics are of growing international importance; by 2050 more than half of the world's population and two-thirds of the world's children will live in tropical regions. Northern Australia shares many of the development challenges and opportunities being experienced by developing tropical countries, including development impacts in diverse and often sensitive environments, continued high rates of tropical deforestation and vegetation clearance, exposure to tropical disease, exposure to natural hazards and climatic extremes, exposure to impacts of anthropogenic climate change and unequal development opportunities and outcomes in remote and often marginalized communities.
159. Labor acknowledges Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander 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 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island communities in Northern Australia to address systemic disadvantage, ensure quality education, housing and basic services, and enable Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to take advantage of employment opportunities and to develop Indigenous Cultural enterprises.
160. Labor will work with State and Territory governments, industry, local government and the community to identify further opportunities for investment sustainable development in Northern Australia. Labor recognises that, as the only OECD donor country with a substantial proportion of its own land and sea mass in the tropics, Australia has particular opportunities to lead and particular responsibilities to support sustainable development efforts in the tropics. To this end, Labor will seek to promote the better integration of its Northern Australia development agenda with opportunities and challenges in tropical developing countries. Labor will therefore consider the development of a globally significant knowledge management hub in Northern Australia, which will create opportunities for mutual learning exchange and constructive development partnerships between researchers, educators, development practitioners and communities in Northern Australia and the wider tropical world.

External territories

161. Australia needs special arrangements between the Commonwealth and the External territories tailored to the particular needs and circumstances of each territory.

162. Labor will maintain and improve the legislative framework for self-governing territories and laws and services for the non-self-governing territories to deliver good governance.
163. The potential of our external territories and their people will be best realised when they have:
- Fair and equal opportunities similar to those in Australian States and mainland Territories;
 - A diversified economy based on the diverse strengths of their populations and environments;
 - Economic, social and cultural development appropriate to the needs and circumstances of each territory;
 - Governance arrangements that are equal, fair, and sustainable and reflect islanders' desire for real decision-making power, responsibility and a level of autonomy; and
 - Access to all protections under Australia's Human Rights Framework.

Chapter 4: Tackling climate change, securing our energy future & addressing our environmental challenges

The contemporary challenge

1. There is no longer any credible or serious scientific doubt that human-induced climate change represents a massive risk to Australia and the world. The recent IPCC report indicates that we are experiencing a climate emergency, and as a result, meaningful action on climate change is urgent, at home and internationally. Labor will take strong action on climate change to mitigate the risks and impacts of climate change on Australian society and economy, and to take advantage of the opportunities transitioning to a low pollution economy represent for workers, businesses and Australia more broadly.
2. Labor will ensure Australia implements a comprehensive 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 will take full advantage of the economic and other opportunities this transition represents to create new industries, boost the efficiency and competitiveness of existing industries, modernise energy systems and make a just transition for all Australians.
3. Australia is particularly vulnerable to climate change. As a continent that largely encompasses both hot and dry, and tropical zones, Australia is exposed to more damaging climate change impacts than most other developed countries. In Australia, 2017 was one of the five warmest on record, while globally the four hottest years on record have all occurred in the last four years.
4. Climate change harms our water security, coastal development, infrastructure, agriculture and health. The environmental consequences translate directly into economic and social costs, with the most vulnerable paying the highest price. The longer we delay action, the greater burden we place on our children and future generations, and the harder and more expensive action will be.
5. Australia needs credible and effective national policy leadership to deliver a clean energy future, to mitigate dangerous climate change and to ensure Australia thrives in a low carbon global economy. This is Labor's long-term plan to reshape and modernise our economy and cut carbon pollution.
6. Labor will transform Australia's economy to reach net zero greenhouse gas pollution by 2050. This will safeguard growth over the coming decades and position Australia as a renewable and clean energy superpower, reaping the greatest possible benefits from new and advanced technologies and industries. Australia's economy needs to remain competitive globally, and this framework will ensure Australia works cooperatively with our international trading partners and protects the competitiveness of Australian industry as we transition to a low carbon pollution world.
7. The world's biggest economies are all taking major steps to reduce carbon pollution and invest in new, cleaner technologies. The World Bank's 2017 State and Trends of Carbon Pricing report found around 81 countries include forms of carbon pricing mechanisms as part of their climate change policies to meet their Paris Targets. By the end of 2017, between 20 and 25 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions were covered by carbon pricing mechanisms, with the largest scheme being China's national Emission Trading Scheme, which commenced in 2017.

8. The cheapest, most effective way to address climate change is to put a legal cap on pollution, underpinned by market mechanisms that let business in different sectors work out the best way to operate within that cap. We also need strong sector specific policies to support the transition, like strong support for renewable energy development and generation, laws to curb land clearing emissions and frameworks to transition our transport systems.
9. The transition to a low pollution economy carries both opportunities and uncertainty for workers and communities. Labor will maximise the jobs growth from this transition and ensure jobs in the clean economy provide security, decent wages and conditions. Labor will not only address the challenges and risks, but will pursue the opportunities to modernise our economy and create jobs in a healthier, more equal, more prosperous and ultimately sustainable future.
10. The impacts of climate change are often greatest on the most vulnerable in the community. Labor will reduce inequality while we address climate change.
11. Labor will provide a national policy framework for Australia's energy system that can support the transition to clean energy while ensuring reliable and affordable energy. We will do this consistent with providing affordable and reliable energy, as well as meeting international climate change agreements and basic standards of fairness, both to existing workers and future generations. Labor will reform energy markets to ensure they perform as efficiently as possible and deliver the transition Australia must make.
12. Broader environmental issues and environmental protection remain critical to Australia's future. This includes protecting our biodiversity and our treasured lived environments. The environment isn't an impediment to our prosperity, it's an asset that underpins it. By identifying, protecting and managing our natural as well as our built and cultural heritage, we conserve a valuable asset and ensure these places are experienced and enjoyed by future generations. Open and transparent environmental management systems are essential for effective decision-making, monitoring, assessment and reporting of environmental performance and outcomes.

Labor values

13. Labor believes government has an essential role in securing Australia's economic, social and environmental wellbeing.
14. Labor accepts the science of climate change. This reflects the broadly held view of the Australian community. Australia needs constructive, inclusive debate and evidence-based policy, so Labor policy is informed by scientists, economists, environmental and climate stakeholders, farmers, business, industry, unions, community organisations and governments. We have and will continue to consult thoroughly and comprehensively on policy based on the views of the experts and the community. Labor will adopt innovative approaches to limit climate change and our collective energy challenge.
15. Climate change requires a global response to keep global warming to well below two degrees Celsius, in line with the Paris Accords. Australia should play a leading role in global efforts against climate change: in our national economic interest; in the interest of security in the world and in our region; in the interest of the health, safety and wellbeing of our people; and in the interests of our unique natural environment. Australia should do its fair share, as one of the biggest polluters per capita in the developed world, in line with the advice from the world's leading scientists and in cooperation with our global partners. Australia is well positioned to play a leading international role to address climate change and its impacts, especially in our region.

16. Labor shares the passion of local environment conservation and health groups. Their contribution to protecting and preserving Australia's environment and the wellbeing of all Australians is invaluable. These groups play an important role in mobilising government action on local environmental issues and are critical, active participants in broader national conversations on issues such as climate change.
17. Protecting Australia's rich and unique biodiversity is essential to our nation's environmental protection intentions. Labor will take a brave, focussed and active approach to genuine ecological sustainability. Labor will strengthen the legal framework (currently provided by the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act) and improve the environmental protection policy framework in Australia.
18. Labor will deliver a robust and integrated system of environmental management. Labor will develop improved environmental law and a strong, well resourced, science-based, independent environment and institutional structure to build on Australia's best-practice environmental governance. It will reflect Australians' expectations that environmental protection is essential and ensure an effective and efficient national approach to the management of matters of national environmental significance.
19. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people provide valuable guidance, knowledge and advice in preserving Australia's environment through their connections to land and sea country. Labor will work with Traditional Owners to ensure sustainable use of Australia's natural resources. Labor will ensure the knowledge and rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are central in environment protection laws, programs and policies

Labor priorities

Creating a clean energy future to renew our energy systems and address climate change

20. Effective national energy policy which reduces emissions is critical to Australia's growth and prosperity for future decades. This action needs to begin now. Labor will not leave the burden to the next generation.
21. The renewal of our energy systems is needed to address the ageing asset base of electricity generation, which is becoming increasingly unreliable and approaching the end of their technical life. Labor will ensure sufficient investment in new generation to replace inevitable future asset retirements, as well as ensure affordability, reliability and pollution reduction goals.
22. Australia must reduce its carbon pollution to meet international obligations and to ensure a fair economic transition that doesn't pass on the imperative to cut pollution to future generations. Labor will ensure Australia plays a leading role in global efforts to avoid the worst impacts of climate change and to mitigate the already unavoidable impacts of 'locked in' climate change.
23. Labor is committed to the goal of limiting global warming to well below 2 degrees and will ensure Australia's contribution to the task is fair and based on the best available independent scientific advice. Labor accepts the advice of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which suggests this will require advanced economies to approach net zero emissions by mid-century.
24. Labor will:

- Work with the business community and others to introduce legal limits on carbon pollution that lets business work out the cheapest and most effective way to operate within pollution caps. Labor's cap on carbon pollution will be based on robust independent advice and reduce over time in accordance with Australia's international commitments;
- Develop a comprehensive plan to address the inevitable turnover of electricity assets and progressively decarbonise Australia's energy sector, particularly in electricity generation;
- Reinvigorate Australia's renewable energy industry, encourage energy efficiency and invest in low carbon energy solutions;
- Grow the renewable energy sector beyond 2020 through policies to deliver at least 50% of our electricity generation from renewable sources by 2030;
- Ensure all members of the Australian community, including renters, apartment dwellers, people on low incomes and people in regional and remote communities can access the benefits of energy efficiency and clean energy;
- Restore integrity, independence and capacity to the environment and climate change portfolios and relevant science agencies;
- Work with the transport and built environment sectors so these sectors play an active role in cutting carbon pollution;
- Work with the land sector and other stakeholders to store millions of tonnes of carbon in the land through better land and waste management;
- Adopt post-2020 pollution reduction targets, including to reduce national carbon emissions by 45 percent off 2005 levels by 2030, consistent with doing Australia's fair share in keep global warming well below 2 degrees Celsius. Labor will base these targets on the latest advice of national and international bodies such as the independent Climate Change Authority and the IPCC; and
- Work with unions and industry to ensure that the workforce and communities of regions heavily affected by energy industry restructuring (those with coal power stations and associated coal mines in the first instance) are enabled to adjust without suffering disproportionate impacts.

25. Since 2014 there has been no constraint on releasing greenhouse gases into the atmosphere in Australia. A legal cap on carbon pollution creates a powerful incentive for all polluting businesses to cut their pollution, by investing in clean technology or finding more efficient ways of operating.
26. Labor will pursue lowest cost abatement across the economy. This requires sector-specific reforms. These will include policies to lower pollution in: the energy sector, the manufacturing sector, the transport sector, the mining sector, the built environment sector and the land sector. Labor will also support energy efficiency measures, knowing the most efficient way to avoid carbon pollution while improving competitiveness is often to reduce energy waste.
27. Electricity is an essential service and high electricity prices are a first order cost of living issue for millions of households and businesses across the nation. An overemphasis on privatisation and deregulation in the energy sector ahead of the interests of consumers has contributed to high electricity prices, especially for the most vulnerable members of the community.
28. Community and publicly-owned energy systems will have a critical role to play in the energy transition. Labor will support the ongoing development and deployment of community and

publicly-owned energy systems through a clear, consistent and comprehensive national energy policy framework.

29. Labor will create a vibrant, clean technology industry in this country and pursue the enormous future job opportunities in new technologies and clean energy. These opportunities are not limited to the generation of electricity, and include the supply chains up and down stream of a strong renewable industry, as well as the technical and engineering expertise a strong renewable energy sector promotes.
30. Labor recognises that the development of a carbon neutral hydrogen industry will be a critical part of Australia's transition to a decarbonised economy. Clean Hydrogen will be essential to decarbonising the electricity, manufacturing, household and transport sectors. It also offers enormous opportunities to grow a domestic hydrogen industry to generate significant export earnings from international demand as well as to satisfy our local needs. Accordingly, Labor will establish a National Hydrogen Strategy to seize these opportunities.
31. Labor will make the North West of Tasmania a Renewable Energy Zone. The wind energy resource of North West Tasmania is truly world class. This will help deliver on Labor's 50 per cent renewable energy target and signal to investors a future site for job creating projects.
32. Labor acknowledges that the integrated nature of the forest and forest products industry's reliance on renewable inputs provides unique risks and opportunities for waste utilisation and disposal up and down the industry's supply chain. Labor will support innovative waste utilisation solutions including waste to energy technology when inputs come from Sustainably Managed Forests and energy generation is not the driver for the harvesting operations.
33. Labor will work with regulatory agencies, businesses, unions and other stakeholders to ensure issues of climate risk disclosure and management are not neglected. Climate change related financial and other risk in the public and private sector should be prudently managed and disclosed.
34. Labor understands significant economic transitions like the transition to clean energy must be well managed, to avoid leaving impacted workers and communities behind. Ignoring the impact of transition on those heavily affected can create regions of sustained economic and social disadvantage, robbing many Australians and their communities of their full potential and a share in Australia's broader prosperity. That is why Labor's policies to support industry and jobs will focus on regional workers and communities at the front line of the transition to a sustainable low pollution economy.
35. Growing diverse regional economies in areas such as the Latrobe Valley, the Iron Triangle, Collie District, Bowen Basin, Surat Basin, Lithgow, the Illawarra and the Hunter Valley is necessary to a just transition. These communities and their traditional industries have underpinned our national prosperity and have been the source of jobs for generations of Australians.
36. Labor will work with communities, unions and industry, and local and State governments, to deliver a Just Transition, to:
 - Develop a comprehensive regional development approach which supports the transition of workers to new jobs, existing industries to a low pollution future, and the growth of sustainable new industries, technologies and practices;

- Assist regional transition, including to support worker redeployment, boost regional infrastructure investment, and lift regional competitiveness and job growth in all its forms— from production and maintenance, through to research, design and development; and
- Support the growth of sustainable new industries, technologies and practices which secures justice and new sources of prosperity and jobs for workers and communities. Labor will draw on international experience and world-leading policies, as well as the recent experience of the Latrobe Valley, to further enhance clean technology, investment and employment opportunities for Australians.

37. Commensurate with the above goals, Labor will establish an independent statutory Just Transition Authority charged with mitigating the adverse impacts of coal power station closures on regional workforces and communities, and developing and implementing programs to achieve a successful low-carbon future for those regions. The authority will, as a minimum, have the power to implement pooled redundancy and redeployment schemes for workers in coal power stations and associated mines, and the capacity to develop and implement economic development programs for those regions. The authority’s governance structure shall include major stakeholders, and it will work cooperatively and on a complementary basis with other government bodies federal and state - charged with energy, climate and structural adjustment responsibilities. Over time, Labor will consider the case for the ambit of the Just Transition Authority to be extended to other industries and regions affected by climate and energy policy.
38. Labor will support and improve the effectiveness of the Clean Energy Finance Corporation and the Australian Renewable Energy Agency. Labor established these agencies and together they have helped drive rapid growth in renewable energy and energy efficiency technology development in Australia.
39. Climate change is a scientific reality, and scientific advice is central to Labor climate change policy. Labor will restore a robust and independent Climate Change Authority to provide scientifically based advice and recommendations to help shape future policy directions, both at the local, national and global level.
40. Labor will help high carbon emitting industries become more energy efficient and reduce emissions, while safeguarding their competitiveness as they transition to a low pollution economy.
41. Labor will work with States, industry and unions to ensure training and skills programs are available for workers wishing to build skills in energy efficient technologies and transition to new, clean energy or low pollution industries.
42. Australia is experiencing the effects of climate change right now. Helping communities adapt to a changing climate is essential to respond to reduced water and other resources, rising sea levels, warmer average temperatures and more frequent and intense extreme weather events.
43. Labor will work with the States and Territories and local councils and community organisations to identify and address their vulnerability to climate change, including to address the disproportionate impacts that climate change has on the most vulnerable in the community.
44. The emerging technologies in reducing carbon pollution from the transport industry, such as high-speed rail, alternative fuels and electric vehicles, can deliver significant reductions in Australia’s total carbon emissions, as well as modernise our transport systems, improving the competitiveness and efficiency of the Australian economy more broadly.

45. Australia needs to reduce transport related carbon emissions to meet the economy wide goal of net zero emissions by 2050. Labor will:
- Develop a national approach to accelerate a fair transition to a decarbonised transport sector;
 - Implement light vehicle emission standards to reduce emissions and save vehicle users fuel costs;
 - Support public and private fleets to transition to low or zero emission vehicles, increasing demand for these vehicles with an emphasis on local manufacture where possible;
 - Establish appropriate national standards and policy for support infrastructure for low or zero emission vehicles;
 - Ensure all relevant policies (including industry support and tax policies) encourage as far as possible the transition to decarbonised transport while reducing inequality;
 - Ensure transitions to electrified transport are supported by a rapidly de-carbonising electricity sector;
 - Recognise the value of the relatively low emission intensity of sea freight, rail freight, public transport and active travel; and
 - Develop strategies and standards to decarbonise heavy vehicles including road and rail freight, as well as maritime and air transport.
46. Labor will introduce national vehicle emission standards. Transport emissions make up 18 per cent of Australia’s total emissions. Making significant reductions will greatly assist Australia achieving its global emissions reduction obligations. Labor will model its measures on international jurisdictions with successful operating frameworks.

National environmental law

47. 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.
48. 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:
- Establish an Australian Environment Act within the first term of government;
 - Ensure the knowledge and rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are central in environment protection laws, programs and policies;
 - 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;

- Implement clear management, governance and decision making structures that are transparent, efficient and streamlined;
- Improve regulation and streamline environmental assessment processes;
- Manage Australia’s environment fairly and efficiently as a foundation for ecologically, socially and economically sustainable jobs;
- Protect biodiversity and support resilience in the natural environment; and
- Direct the Environment Department to establish National Environment Plans that set targets and approaches to proactively protect the environment.

49. 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.

50. 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.

National and World Heritage

51. Australia has international obligations to protected World Heritage Areas and areas subject to international treaties such as Ramsar sites. Human activity such as mining and oil drilling, as well as urban and commercial developments near World Heritage Areas, Ramsar and similar sites, can affect these areas. Labor will use the full extent of its legislative powers, including call-in powers under the EPBC Act, to meet these international obligations.

52. The federal government is responsible to provide adequate heritage protection for Commonwealth properties of heritage significance. Our World Heritage Areas require coordinated management. Accordingly Labor will work with Traditional Owners as well as the States and Territories to create better governance structures and management programs.

53. Labor will support the investigation and nomination of areas suitable for future listing led by Traditional Owners in cooperation with in cooperation with Traditional Owners, State and Territory governments and other stakeholders.

54. 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.

55. Labor will support Traditional Owners to pursue World Heritage listing for the Kimberley, recognising the importance of federal leadership and the consent of traditional owners.

56. Labor will work to include cultural values in all National and World Heritage listings.
57. Labor does not support mining or other resource extraction in national parks and World Heritage areas.
58. Labor will ensure environmental laws are fully applied to protect world heritage sites from the construction of dams or raising of dam walls that would inundate those sites.

Securing the health of the Great Barrier Reef

59. Australia's incredible natural beauty is renowned. The Great Barrier Reef is part of Australia's national identity. A healthy Reef ecosystem is significant to our culture, environment, society and economy.
60. The Great Barrier Reef supports many industries employing tens of thousands of Australians and is enjoyed by millions of domestic and international visitors each year. The survival of the Reef depends on the decisions of the Australian Government, industry and communities today.
61. Labor will fight to save the Great Barrier Reef by addressing climate change, increasing ocean protection in the Coral Sea, improving water quality, strengthening our environmental laws and protecting the biodiversity of species and ecological habitats in the Reef and its catchments.

Protecting biodiversity and natural resources

62. Labor's new framework of environmental laws and institutions will oversee and deliver a federally led, comprehensive approach to biodiversity and conservation across tenures. The current regime fails to protect the health of Australia's environment.
63. Labor will protect Australia's biological diversity through a national system of comprehensive adequate and representative parks and reserves, while using education, regulation and incentives to achieve ecologically sustainable use elsewhere in the landscape.
64. Labor will work with State and Territory governments and landholders to develop, resource and implement threat abatement and recovery plans for threatened species and ecological communities, while preventing clearing with an adverse impact on threatened ecological communities and critical habitats for threatened species.
65. Labor will implement a best-practice national vegetation mapping and monitoring program.
66. 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.
67. Labor will ensure national environment funding programs and other volunteer and community programs like Landcare support local sustainable agriculture, conservation and environmental priorities and contribute to national priorities to improve biodiversity and resilience. Community groups and volunteer networks raise awareness of local environmental issues and create community momentum. Labor will support local and State-based conservation councils and Environmental Defenders Offices.

68. 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. Funding of State, Territory and landholder projects will be conditional upon appropriate clearing controls being in place.
69. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ knowledge is central to an environmentally and socially sustainable Australia. Almost half of Australia’s reserve system is managed by Indigenous traditional owners. Indigenous Australians are important land managers and custodians of our environmental assets.
70. Labor will:
- Support employment programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to work on and manage country, particularly through expanding long-term support and recognition for the highly successful Indigenous Ranger and Indigenous Protected Area programs;
 - Support new opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, particularly in remote and regional communities, to participate in a low carbon economy through initiatives such as carbon farming;
 - Support Australians who live in remote communities reliant on diesel fuel for electricity, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, to transition to low-carbon alternatives such as solar; and
 - Encourage Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ involvement in land management, including through national parks, tourism and State forests.
71. Labor will properly manage and protect our wetlands and will promote and honour Australia’s obligations under the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands.
72. Labor will grow the social, economic and environmental benefits that flow from the sustainable management of Australia’s forests.
73. Labor will continue to support the implementation of the conditions of the Tasmanian Forestry Agreement (TFA) as a future pathway for the forestry industry in Tasmania. This includes providing resource security for the iconic special timbers industry, under agreed terms. Labor supports this as a broad industry plan to achieve the outcomes intended from the TFA.
74. 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, and require employers in the industry to uphold acknowledge, respect, sustain and support the principles and rights at work as defined in the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998) based on the eight ILO Core Labour Conventions.
75. Labor recognises that forest certification acts a commercial mechanism to promote certificate holders social license and green credentials and therefore position in the market and that not all of its objectives are charitable by nature. Labor will review the eligibility of forest certification schemes to be registered on the Register of Environmental Organisations allowing them to receive Deductible Gift Recipient (DGR) tax arrangements

76. Labor will require international forest certification schemes operating in Australia 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.
77. Labor notes that the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna – to which Australia is a party – aims to regulate international trade in endangered animals or artefacts derived from endangered animals. For example it regulates elephant ivory and rhinoceros horn trade to protect these animals from poaching. Australia's domestic trade in these items is currently unregulated. Labor will support the survival of these iconic species by working with the states to ban Australia's domestic, commercial 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 the poaching. Labor will take effective action against unacceptable risks of animal cruelty, such as illegal import or export of shark fins or shark finning.

A cleaner environment for living

78. The Australian community wants to live in a clean and healthy environment and Labor will empower Australians to achieve that goal. Australian urban areas and cities should be clean and sustainable. This is ever more important as climate change creates the “heat island effect” and our urban rivers and corridors face increasing pressure from waste and pollution. Labor will enhance health and well-being as well as biodiversity with more urban plantings and wildlife corridors, waterway restoration and replacing hard surfaces with soft.
79. Labor will support the advocacy and action of non-government and community organisations to protect our environment and heritage.
80. Labor will support the development of industries that minimise resource consumption, waste and pollution generation and provide leadership in waste policy and programs.
81. 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. This will capture the economic opportunities of a harmonised and strategic national waste reduction and recycling policies that include appropriate waste-to-energy technologies, and be informed by the principles of ecologically sustainable development.
82. Labor will strictly control pollutants and toxins in the environment, minimise the production, import and use of harmful substances, develop alternative technologies and, where possible, eliminate harmful substances.
83. Nations are responsible for the appropriate disposal of hazardous wastes generated within their boundaries. Labor will fulfil Australia's obligations to control trans-boundary movements of hazardous waste.
84. Labor will improve air quality and avert the serious health risks air pollution represents, particularly by promoting national air quality standards and monitoring, reporting and control of air pollution.

Building energy capacity

85. Among Australia's greatest economic strengths is the extent and diversity of its natural energy resources, energy infrastructure and energy technology. Australia has both globally important

production of established sources of energy, including coal, gas, oil and condensate, and world-class renewable energy resources and sustainable energy technologies. Labor will develop these resources consistent with our obligations to limit climate change, protecting our environment and safeguarding the prosperity that being a large energy supplier underpins.

86. In recent years, Australia’s natural advantage in both old and new energy sources has been severely undermined by a lack of national energy policy that is consistent with climate change objectives. This has led to reduced investment, higher prices, decreasing reliability and growing carbon pollution.
87. Labor will end the national policy uncertainty that has undermined our energy affordability, security and the transition to clean energy, and will implement policies to modernise our energy markets and institutions, rejuvenate our energy infrastructure and secure reliable energy.
88. Coal seam natural gas from shales and tight formations is important and the community is concerned about its management. Labor will ensure this is 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 affected landholders. Labor will ensure that decisions regarding Coal Seam Gas (CSG) extraction will be based on the environmental science as well as ensuring that the rights of the community are protected.
89. More efficient, diverse and clean energy supplies will increasingly enhance Australia’s capacity for the downstream processing of minerals and other natural resources and more competitive manufacturing generally, providing employment benefits and the ability to ensure secure domestic gas supplies. Taking advantage of the full clean energy supply chain to grow jobs and industries is crucial to a just transition.
90. The continued development and application of new technology to energy production and consumption, including waste-to-energy technologies as well as more traditional renewable energy, is vital to Australia’s long-term international competitiveness.
91. Labor will work with State and Territory governments, industry and unions on a strategic national approach to the future development of energy transmission and distribution planning and investment, including by supporting the development of Renewable Energy Zones.
92. Australia should improve greater efficiency in production, transmission and use of existing energy sources. Labor will :
 - Expand use of clean and renewable energy sources and enabling technologies in domestic, transportation and industrial energy consumption through demand management;
 - Deliver consumer education programs, product standards and energy efficiency labelling schemes to encourage consumer purchase of energy efficient products; and
 - Encourage energy audits for the industrial, commercial, transportation and residential sectors to inform users of their relative energy efficiency and how this can be improved.
93. Major opportunities are emerging in new and renewable energy technologies within the global energy market. Labor will:

- Support public and private sector research and development in innovative energy technologies and low-carbon technologies that are cleaner and more efficient;
- Encourage Australian development, manufacture and commercialisation of renewable energy technologies and low-carbon technologies, including in up- and down-stream supply chains, for both domestic and export markets; and
- Encourage local and foreign investment to increase Australia’s renewable energy technology and low-carbon technology manufacturing capability.

94. Labor’s national energy industry policy will integrate the need to improve energy efficiency, abate greenhouse emissions and encourage development and commercialisation of new Australian energy industries, including renewable and sustainable energy technology.

95. Labor understands that the lowest cost new electricity generation available is renewable energy and the cost advantage of renewable energy will only increase over time. That is why as ageing thermal plants reach the end of their working life, the key to lower electricity prices is greater investment in renewable energy.

96. Labor will protect household consumers through the transition of the national energy system, through access to competitively priced energy, improved regulation of the national energy market and viable dispute resolution mechanisms. We will ensure consumers are the focus of energy sector reform and that network investments and costs are appropriately funded and fairly paid for by network users.

Preparing primary industries for the impacts of climate change

97. Australia needs a sustainable agriculture sector. To guarantee our food security and capitalise on export opportunities, Australia’s farming practices must make the best and most efficient use of our limited natural resources. Climate change, including prolonged droughts of increasing frequency make this issue vital.

98. Increasingly, investors and consumers alike demand environmentally sustainable farming practices and respect for animal welfare standards.

99. Labor is committed to building Australia’s land based carbon sequestration industry. It is a powerful way to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and create economic opportunity. Labor believes land based sequestration can be an Australian export industry in a globe acting to tackle climate change. It can also help protect and restore Australia’s natural landscapes.

100. Labor believes carbon farming should be integrally tied to biodiversity outcomes and deliver economic opportunities for both farming and remote indigenous communities.

101. As well as helping to cut carbon pollution, carbon farming can increase resilience to climate change, protect our natural environment, and increase farm profitability and food production. Increasing carbon storage in agricultural soils improves soil health and productivity.

102. Labor will ensure Australia’s carbon farming industry is world’s best practice, delivering carbon sequestration in perpetuity and co-benefits for the environment and communities. In order to ensure land-based carbon sequestration is truly additional, it is essential that regulations are in place at state and federal level to protect high conservation vegetation from land clearing and

other threats. Labor will review national land sector greenhouse gas accounting to ensure accurate, transparent and disaggregated measurement of emissions from the land sector.

103. Labor believes in the principle that emissions are best mitigated at source. Labor’s carbon offset policy will be limited to:
- Building Australia’s land based carbon sequestration industry;
 - Supporting developing nations in our region to maximise land-based carbon sequestration, including through REDD+ safeguard compliant projects. Australia’s skills in carbon farming will provide invaluable intellectual property transfer to our neighbours delivering much needed export revenue and protection for tropical forests; and
 - Off-setting industrial emissions where direct abatement is prohibitively costly due to technological constraints.
104. Labor will ensure carbon farming will provide new economic rewards for farmers and landholders who take steps to reduce carbon pollution through facilitating the development of new crediting methods and market opportunities.
105. Biodiverse revegetation will help restore degraded landscapes, provide biodiversity habitats and corridors, and help to address salinity, protect livestock and reduce erosion.
106. Labor supports Landcare and promotes sustainable farming practices and improved natural resource management.

Preparing our urban environment for climate change and future climate events

107. Labor accepts the well-established scientific evidence that climate change is likely to contribute to more frequent, severe and unpredictable weather events such as cyclones, floods and heat waves.
108. Labor will support all levels of government working together in urban development hazard planning to mitigate future damage from the increased risk of severe weather events.
109. Preventing damage to private property and public infrastructure is increasingly important as weather events change due to climate change. Labor supports developing strategic priorities for mitigation projects that will deliver value-for-money medium to long-term disaster protection.

Managing our water assets

110. Australia’s long-term water issues require national leadership.
111. Responsible management of water assets requires action on climate change, wise water use, secure water supplies and support for healthy rivers.
112. 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. The problems facing the Murray-Darling Basin and other river systems will be exacerbated by climate change.

113. The Murray-Darling Basin is one of the most significant river systems in Australia with considerable cultural, social, environmental and economic value. Decades of over-extraction left many areas of the Basin close to exhaustion during the drought of the early 2000s.
114. The Murray-Darling Basin Plan helped restore a healthy working Basin which supports healthy rivers, strong communities and sustainable food production. Over 2,100 gigalitres of water have been recovered for the environment. This water is already delivering environmental benefits in providing environmental flows to wetlands and floodplains across the Basin.
115. Labor supports the Murray-Darling Basin Plan, which will keep the mouth of the River Murray open nine years out of ten and enable the export of salt and sediment from the system. Within legal and physical constraints, the Plan will return enough water to the Basin to protect key environmental sites, including the Ramsar wetland sites. Australia needs continued progress to new Sustainable Diversion Limits as the Plan is implemented. By continuing to purchase water from willing sellers and investing in water savings, Labor will improve the health of our rivers and facilitate an early transition in anticipation of lower Sustainable Diversion Limits under the Basin Plan.
116. Labor supports the Murray Darling Basin Plan being implemented in full. This includes delivering 450 gigalitres of additional water for the environment and removing constraints so environmental water reaches the parts of the river where it is needed.
117. Implementation of the Murray Darling Basin Plan requires mechanisms to ensure compliance. Any illegal extraction of water compromises the interests of economic and environmental stakeholders, and the effectiveness of the plan overall in protecting both environmental and productive assets.
118. Labor will exercise its compliance obligations fully, energetically and in a timely manner and expects State entities to do the same. Labor will engage the Basin States to secure the integrity of the Murray Darling Basin Plan.
119. Water is vital to regional and rural communities across the Murray-Darling Basin. That is why Labor will continue support for effective water efficiency projects in the Basin to help rural and regional communities improve the efficiency and productivity of water usage.
120. The implementation of the Murray Darling Basin plan requires robust data and science. Accurate metering data on river flows, as well as improved understanding of flows on the floodplain is critical, along with analysis of the way plants and animals respond to watering. Labor will continue to invest in science and modelling that accurately describes the way water moves within the Basin system, and records and measures the impact of actions taken under the basin plan.
121. By improving irrigation water management practices and on-farm water use efficiency, and by modernising our irrigation infrastructure, this investment will enable more crops to be grown with less water. This approach will boost regional economic and employment opportunities in the Basin and help underpin the future prosperity of irrigation communities.
122. The current duplicative reporting requirements on water use in the Murray-Darling Basin are an excessive burden. Labor will lift this burden from basin communities by moving to a common reporting format.
123. A Federal Labor Government will protect the ecological health of the ephemeral 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.

124. Urban water is integral to the productivity, liveability and health of Australia's cities and regional communities. Clean, safe, affordable drinking water, together with clean environmental and recreational waters enhance the quality of life of all Australians and contribute to economic growth.
125. Climate change means we need to use water more wisely in our cities and diversify our urban water supplies and infrastructure so we reduce our reliance on rainfall and safely manage floods and other extreme weather events. Labor will support initiatives to improve water security for Australia's cities and towns, support for investment in wastewater recycling, desalination, stormwater harvesting and efficient water infrastructure. Labor will ensure economic developments are stringently assessed with regards to impacts on water quality and supply.
126. Labor will support research and commercialisation of new technologies in improved water efficiency, desalination and water recycling.

Marine and coastal protection

127. Labor will achieve our marine ecological, economic and social objectives in an open, integrated, participatory and planned manner. Labor will use modern, best-practice public processes like marine spatial planning involving stakeholders in a transparent way, to create and establish a more rational, adaptive and strategic use of marine space and the interactions between its uses, including Australia's comprehensive and world leading network of marine reserves.
128. Australia is responsible for managing the third largest area of ocean on the planet. Australians have a strong connection with our oceans, their biodiversity, pristine beaches and unspoiled coastlines. Protecting Australia's oceans for future economic growth in marine industries, tourism and trade is of great importance.
129. Labor has a strong 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 former Labor Government for establishing Australia's Marine Reserve Network; the largest network of marine protected areas anywhere in the world.
130. Labor will continue working with stakeholders to ensure the ongoing protection of Australia's unique and diverse marine species and ecosystems and ensure best practice and sustainable management of Australia's marine industries. Labor will implement management plans for the Commonwealth Marine Reserves and Sanctuaries Network.
131. Australian waters are important to recreational fishers, commercial fishing industry, tourism and for its conservation value. Labor will adequately protect Australian waters from the risks of overfishing and from the use of super trawlers.
132. Labor is particularly concerned about the potential for localised depletion and its environmental and recreational impact. Labor will prevent the operation of all super trawlers in Australian waters, unless a thorough assessment against the most up-to-date science can verify such operations will not undermine small pelagic fisheries and recreational fishing spots.

133. In Australian waters and throughout the world's oceans, Labor will ensure protection for iconic marine species like whales, dugongs, turtles and sharks, and will promote the conservation and research of key bioregional health indicator species.
134. Labor will protect Australia's waters from the risks associated with the use of super trawlers. Labor will ensure all super trawlers are thoroughly assessed using the most up-to-date science, thereby protecting our oceans and our recreational fishing spots.

Environmental diplomacy

135. Labor will re-establish Australia as a cooperative and engaged participant in international efforts to address climate change. Labor played a leadership role in developing effective international climate policy and Labor will return Australia to its position as one of the most attractive countries to invest in clean energy and climate change mitigation actions.
136. While the rest of the world has moved towards taking meaningful action on climate change, Australia has regrettably fallen behind after the winding back of Labor's historic climate policies. Labor will ensure Australia works cooperatively with our major trading partners and the rest of the international community on climate change action. Labor will working within Australia's region with vulnerable developing countries to adapt to climate change. Labor will help Australia's neighbours, primarily in the Pacific and Timor Leste to prepare for and adapt to the effects of climate change.
137. Protecting the global environment is a vital foreign policy objective, as environmental degradation contributes to social and political conflict and undermines regional and international security.
138. Labor will consider ways to ensure greater transparency and accountability in extractive industries to ensure mining, oil and gas revenues are used for economic development and poverty reduction in resource rich countries.
139. Existing international environmental protection regimes need to be strengthened and new arrangements developed to address emerging issues. Labor will lead in multilateral forums that consider issues of environmental protection and sustainable development. Labor knows inclusive programs deliver sustainable results in both developed and developing countries. Ensuring traditional owners as well as the entire community are included in program design and implementation will be a priority.
140. Labor will work to further strengthen the Antarctic Treaty System with particular emphasis on enhancing environmental protection.
141. Labor will drive diplomatic engagement with like-minded nations on international instruments to better protect the world's oceans.
142. Labor will 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.
143. 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.

144. Labor will retain Australia's commitment to international climate finance, in line with the shared international goal of mobilising public and private funds to assist vulnerable communities address climate change.

Chapter 5: Decent jobs with fair pay and conditions

The contemporary challenge

1. Since 2016, Australia has experienced record low wage growth. The labour share of national income is in decline. The incidence and coverage of enterprise bargaining has reduced, and award reliance has increased. Australia's unemployment and underemployment rates are too high. Our unemployment rate remains higher than in many comparable countries; long-term and intergenerational unemployment is a particular blight on some Australian lives; and some regional and suburban communities are marked by far higher rates of unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, than the rest of the country. Australians with a disability and their carers have a disproportionately high rate of unemployment. Too many Australians work part-time or are in casual or other forms of insecure employment because they cannot find permanent or full-time work.
2. Work is too often hard to find, and insecure. Corporations are shifting risk to workers or avoiding workplace obligations through otherwise legal arrangements such as franchising, outsourcing, sub-contracting, and the use of labour hire. Workplace laws must keep pace with the growth of the gig-economy and other forms of on-demand work. The rapid pace of technological change and automation are changing the nature and types of jobs across the economy. We must make sure Australians have the skills and training needed for the jobs of the future.
3. Inequality in Australia is growing. Labor will reduce inequality and will target expenditure towards creating jobs, opportunities and tackling disadvantage wherever it occurs. Australia needs to create jobs with the fair pay and conditions which are essential to higher living standards and a more equal economy.
4. Australia is a fair wage country in a low wage region. Competitive external pressures on our economy create an argument for some to cut Australian wages and conditions. This would be bad for confidence and demand, damage economic growth, and put Australian on a race to the bottom on wages and conditions. Australia's fair wage system and higher minimum wage lessens inequality in Australia and 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.

Labor values

5. The Australian Labor Party was founded to improve the lives of working people. Early Labor governments worked with trade unions to transform working conditions and lift living standards in Australia. Every Australian should have the opportunity to develop the skills to adapt to changes in the economy. Every person who can work should be given that chance. Our economy needs more working people, and many people want more work. We need to find a way to meet these complementary needs.
6. Fairness in the workplace is fundamental to Labor values. Adapting to change must never be an excuse to erode hard-won working conditions. Insecure work is a particular threat to those conditions. Protecting the rights of working people to ensure every worker has access to decent wages and working conditions will always be essential to Labor's purpose. Working people have to be able to join together to bargain collectively for improvements to their lives.
7. Improving work-life balance, enabling time for parenting and family life, is part of Labor's modern

vision for work. So is leading Australia's transition to a high-skill, high-wage, diverse and sustainable economy. So too is seizing the opportunities of longer lives and giving Australians greater choice and control over work as they age.

8. A secure, meaningful job is a fundamental source of self-respect and identity, providing dignity and belonging and fostering social inclusion.
9. All workers are entitled to fair, relevant and enforceable minimum standards, including through legislation, the award system, and minimum wages. There is a right to equal pay for work of equal or comparable value. Workers undertaking the same work in the same workplace or as part of the same workforce should be afforded the same entitlements.
10. Labor believes in the necessity of superannuation to fund a decent retirement.
11. Labor believes in increasing workforce participation. Government should provide unemployed Australians with the support they need to transition into meaningful work.
12. Pregnancy discrimination should be eliminated – helping parents to take time off to care for their new baby is in the community interest. Paid parental leave helps new parents stay connected with the workplace when they take time off to care for a baby, and it helps employers retain skilled staff. Daycare and early childhood education, as well as parental leave remove barriers to work for parents and improve productivity and participation for the economy.
13. Government should support people to balance their work and family life, including flexibility for workers to combine work and family responsibilities. People should have the choice of common leisure time on weekends and holidays. People should be able to take personal leave for caring responsibilities. There is a right not to work excessive or unsociable hours, and to be adequately compensated for this kind of work.
14. Labor believes in safe and socially inclusive workplaces which do not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or sex characteristics. Labor believes in improving wellbeing and productivity through safe, socially inclusive workplaces, that value diversity and are free of discrimination, including on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or sex characteristics. Labor supports workplace laws which protect workers against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity and sex characteristics.
15. 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.
16. Education and training is necessary to social mobility in Australia and the lifelong acquisition of skills and knowledge creates the opportunity for individuals to improve their living standards and for the nation to grow and prosper. Investing in skills and training, infrastructure, innovation and entrepreneurship creates jobs.
17. Government should protect workers from unfair dismissal, from labour market risk not of their own making, and from discrimination in obtaining and keeping employment. Labor believes in international labour standards and their effective implementation in Australia.
18. Labor will promote internationally recognised labour standards within our region.

19. Every workplace injury is preventable. Industry, employers, trade unions and workers should be supported to reduce workplace risk, hazards and injury and to achieve the highest standard of workplace safety. If a worker is injured at work, on the way to work, or as a result of the negligence of their employer or a third party, their rights to both statutory no fault benefits and common law compensation should be respected and protected, and workers must be fairly compensated. The dignity of injured workers, and their rights to be compensated for their injuries, should be protected. Injured workers must be rehabilitated and helped to return to work in a meaningful role.
20. Workers have fundamental democratic rights to representation in the workplace, to freedom of association, to collectively bargain and to organise and be represented by their union. Workers are best represented in their workplace through membership of their relevant trade union. Unions and union delegates give workers a voice at work, create harmonious and productive workplaces, facilitate workplace change, resolve disputes as they arise, improve occupational health and safety, and improve ongoing training opportunities. Labor will ensure that workplaces laws support and protect workplace delegates in the performance of their role.
21. Australia's trade unions, the legitimate representatives of the workforce, should be fully consulted and involved across a range of industrial, economic and social issues. This includes the right to meaningful consultation about workplace change.
22. Labor believes in the right to collective bargaining in good faith, which means parties must have a genuine intention to make an agreement, to exchange all relevant information, and to facilitate communication between all participants during the process. To that end, Labor believes that truth in bargaining will be assisted by a disclosure framework, with appropriate safeguards, for information that is relied on in denying a workforce claim during negotiations.
23. Balance in the workplace is achieved through an independent umpire, acting in the national interest, who can ensure the fair and effective resolution of disputes and the fair application of workplace laws. Australia's workplace relations system should balance the needs of business with the important social and economic need of creating and sustaining good, secure jobs. Workplace relations laws should promote harmonious and productive relationships between employers and workers. Labor believes workplace relations laws should reduce inequality, promote fairness, job security, good wages and working conditions, and employment growth.
24. Labor believes all workers and employers, in every workplace, are entitled to the same basic rights and responsibilities. Government should be responsible for providing practical, quick and low-cost assistance to help employers and workers understand their responsibilities.
25. Labor will adhere to these values as a government employer and in government procurement. A Labor Government will lead by example in the creation of strong, stable and secure jobs by being a model employer when it bargains with its workforce and by being a model litigant in resolving any disputes that arise over employment matters.

Labor priorities

Transition to work

26. Labor will help more people participate in the workforce through a combination of active labour market programs, support, incentives and responsibilities. Labor will create an effective employment services system based on evidence of what works to help people achieve sustainable and meaningful employment and to help employers meet their labour and skill needs. Labor will ensure the integrity of

employment services, in the interest of job seekers, business and taxpayers.

27. Labor will improve employment opportunities and support for disadvantaged job seekers including young people, women, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, people with disability and the long-term unemployed, older Australians and retrenched workers. Labor recognises the importance of the transition from school, university and vocational education into employment is a vital one.
28. Labor will help people who live in places where there is intense disadvantage to participate in employment.

Improving participation for parents, carers and people with disability

29. Labor will help people manage their work and caring responsibilities through paid parental leave; rights to unpaid parental leave of up to two years; the right to request a change of hours for parenting and caring, or other flexible work arrangements, and the right to work reasonable but not excessive hours.
30. Labor's goal is 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.
31. Labor will deliver affordable, quality childcare and before and after school care, and will consider changes to tax, superannuation, work and industry arrangements to support this.
32. Labor will ensure flexible working arrangements accommodate unpaid caring work, including the care of family members with disability, without discrimination, financial or otherwise. Labor will ensure the right to request changes to working arrangements to meet caring responsibilities, including an effective right of review for unreasonable refusals of their requests, is equitable for all workers and maximises access of workers to arrangements that suit their needs. Labor will deliver effective support for transition to work when caring responsibilities change, including education and training.
33. Labor will work with people with disability to improve employment opportunities and job readiness, whether they live in urban areas or regional communities. Labor will ensure links from secondary to tertiary and vocational education maximise meaningful employment opportunities. Labor will also work with people with disability to change stereotypes and demonstrate the real and tangible value of diversity in the workplace.

Improving participation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

34. Labor is committed to ensuring the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander workforce is engaged in fulfilling employment with the standard conditions and wages afforded to other Australian workers
35. Labor recognises that the existing Community Development Program is fatally flawed. Labor does not support Government programs which promote or allow employers to access an unpaid workforce and which undermine and displace jobs that are subject to minimum standards of employment. 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.

36. Labor commits to supporting First Nations peoples, their communities and organisations by creating jobs where employment is subject to at least the minimum standard conditions of employment afforded to all other Australian workers, including occupational health and safety protections and access to workers compensation. Further, Labor commits to ensuring First Nations peoples will have universal access to appropriately resourced employment training and support services regardless of their geographical location.
37. Labor will support procurement opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' businesses and otherwise supporting the growth of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander business sector. Labor will work with communities and businesses to develop economic, employment and training opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, including in remote communities.

Investing in skills and social mobility

38. Labor will help Australians acquire the skills they and the labour market need now and in the future.
39. Labor will work in partnership with employer, union and professional representative bodies to devise and deliver high quality education and training to equip people with nationally recognised and transferrable skills for current and emerging employment opportunities. Labor recognises that investing in skill and workforce development contributes to improved productivity and to making our workplaces internationally competitive. Labor notes that effective industry and government co-investment models should be broad based and aim to upskill existing workforces, including in language, literacy, numeracy and digital skills. Labor is committed to encouraging the growth of apprenticeships through the introduction of apprentice ratios and quotas in public infrastructure projects. Labor will strengthen the national traineeship and apprenticeship systems, including through pursuit of a nationally consistent system of trade papers and harmonisation of apprenticeship rules. Labor is committed to reviewing the privatisation of TAFE and VET programs and restoring resources and support for TAFEs and capping the share of total VET funding contestable by private providers.
40. Apprenticeships and traineeships should deliver for the individual and industry, for young people and for mature-age workers. Labor will work with state and territory governments to ensure we have a strong and responsive TAFE system, as the principal provider of vocational education and training. Labor will ensure high quality training is delivered regardless of whether the provider is private or public sector. Labor will ensure apprenticeships and traineeships deliver full qualifications consistent with the national qualifications framework, developed through tripartite arrangements.
41. Labor will protect vulnerable individuals from unscrupulous practices in the training sector and there will be appropriate consequences for such improper conduct. Labor will provide training opportunities to Australians who are vulnerable to unemployment.

Jobs with decent pay and conditions

42. Australia needs a modern award system that is relevant to the workplaces of the 21st century, is accessible to employers, workers and unions, addresses the particular needs of workers in different industries and occupations 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.

43. Labor stands for a workplace relations system that provides safe jobs, secure jobs, fair reward for all and dignity at work by providing workers a voice and rights at work. Where economic pressures create unsafe or unfair outcomes Labor will seek tripartite solutions to address the concerns across industries and across supply chains.
44. 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.
45. Australia needs wage levels for apprentices and trainees to fairly balance a living wage with incentives for employers to train the next generation of skilled workers. Our apprentices should not be exploited as cheap labour, and instead must be provided with meaningful work and paid appropriately. Labor will promote better skilled and secure jobs through industry driven workforce development research and planning and the establishment of a tripartite government agency as an authority on workforce development policy advice and to conduct skills and workforce research, including into the quality and security of jobs and the future working life in Australia.
46. Labor is committed to a minimum wage that provides a living wage and will maintain or improve the relative living standards of low paid workers.
47. Labor supports labour market programs that provide a supportive training environment, constructive work experience, post-placement support and remove barriers to employment, such as education, poverty and mental health issues. Labor recognises that there is a role for the public sector to provide labour market programs, particularly for the most vulnerable.
48. Labor will take measurable action to address the gender pay gap and will ensure that the equal remuneration provisions in the Fair Work Act deliver for low paid women. Labor will make gender pay equity an object of the Fair Work Act. Labor will establish a statutory Equal Remuneration Principle, to guide the Fair Work Commissions consideration of whether feminised industries are paid fairly. Labor will establish a new Pay Equity Panel within the Commission led by a new Presidential Member with specific expertise in gender pay equity, and fund the Commission to establish a Pay Equity Unit that will provide expert research support during equal remuneration matters, and more generally. Labor will shine a light on pay inequity, including by updating Parliament each year on Australia's progress in closing the gender pay gap, by requiring companies with more than 1000 employees to report their gender pay gap, and by prohibiting the use of pay secrecy clauses. Labor will undertake a gender pay gap review across Commonwealth public service departments.
49. Labor will regulate and educate employers to promote equal opportunity, gender pay equity and work and family balance. Labor will improve gender pay equity including through effective data collection from business by government. Labor will enact an equal pay for equal or comparable work strategy underpinned by legal and reporting obligations. Labor recognises the need to take additional proactive steps to ensure working women do not retire into poverty and will remove obstacles to superannuation savings which disproportionately affect women.
50. Labor will work with State and Territory Governments, employers and unions to facilitate and establish the portability of entitlements including through industry-wide schemes.
51. Labor believes in equal representation governance of superannuation boards and opposes the

mandating of independent directors.

52. 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.
53. 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.
54. Labor understands penalty rates compensate workers for working excessive or unsociable hours Labor will reverse the cuts to Sunday and public holiday penalty rates, and will amend the Fair Work Act so awards cannot be varied to cut workers' take home pay.
55. 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.
56. 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.
57. 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.
58. Labor will ensure that collective agreements are genuinely agreed to by a representative cohort of the workers to which they apply. Labor will also prevent the unilateral terminations of collective agreements that reduce workers' entitlements and provide an effective mechanism for the termination of any remaining "WorkChoices" agreements.
59. Labor understands the growth of the 'gig economy' and information technology platforms will have both positive and negative impacts on the way Australians work. Labor is committed to ensuring 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.
60. Poor quality and insecure employment can risk the immediate health and safety of workers and have overall negative effects on the health, including the mental health, of the community. Labor will make job quality a central social policy objective, including improvements in labour market control and social protections and services.
61. Labor will protect vulnerable seafarers in the coastal trade and promote fair labour standards in the Australian shipping industry.
62. Labor recognizes the disadvantaged position of outworkers in the Textile, Clothing and Footwear sector. Outworkers require specific regulatory protection in order to control the exploitative conditions under which they are employed and ensure they are deemed to be employees and receive all employee entitlements including superannuation.
63. Labor recognises that fly in fly out (FIFO) and other long distance commuting arrangements have a

place in the employment landscape for genuinely remote and temporary operations. However, Labor acknowledges that FIFO work cycles can lead to stress in family relationships, isolation, loneliness, depression and suicide. For the benefit of all workers, their families and local communities, Labor will support industry best practice in work patterns, accommodation standards, communication technology and mental health support for workers. Labor recognises that communications are vital for a workers ability to manage the isolating features of FIFO work and that practices such as modelling, hot bedding and double-bunking should be eliminated.

64. Labor acknowledges that FIFO workers who experience mental health issues are faced with limited assistance to facilitate their return to work. Opportunities for modified duties, modified hours and rosters are limited or not available to remote and isolated workers, who often face ongoing stigma. Labor will work with State and Territory Governments to ensure that return to work provisions in relevant Comcare and Workers Compensation Acts are enhanced or introduced for all workers who are experiencing mental health issues.
65. The toll on people employed in physically rigorous and other demanding occupations leads to earlier than average retirement ages. In this context, Labor supports exploring the introduction of early access to preserved superannuation accounts for these workers.
66. 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.
67. Labor will address corporate practices which circumvent workplace laws by preventing employers avoiding their legal obligations. Labor will prevent transfer of business, corporate restructuring, phoenixing, labour hire, insourcing or outsourcing arrangements, misuse of partnership agreements, termination of agreements, unrepresentative agreements and sham independent contracting to be used to avoid obligations in the Fair Work Act, an award or a collective agreement. Labor will extend, where appropriate, responsibility for compliance with workplace laws to corporations who are the economic decision makers, including franchisors and along the supply chain.
68. Labor will increase penalties for employers and related entities who systematically underpay and exploit workers. Labor will provide the resources necessary to focus on detection and prosecution of serious contraventions of the Fair Work Act by employers.
69. Labor will ensure the effective regulation of internships to provide a positive culture that promotes portable skills and development opportunities as part of obtaining an accredited training qualification while avoiding negative impacts and exploitation.
70. Labor will be a model employer in government and will not seek to reduce industrial obligations or terms and conditions through Government outsourcing.
71. Labor will protect notice of termination and redundancy pay as a basic employment right. Labor will protect employee entitlements from the risk of company and market failure with a Fair Entitlements Guarantee that includes redundancy pay (up to four weeks per year of service), annual leave, long service leave, notice, superannuation and unpaid wages. Employers should be obliged to make proper provision for employee entitlements. Labor will develop further mechanisms to protect workers' superannuation in the event of corporate collapse.
72. Labor will introduce an improved ranking of employee entitlements relative to other creditors,

ensuring employers and directors meet their responsibilities, and ensure any burden placed on taxpayers is reasonable. Labor will amend corporations law to strengthen the recovery of employee entitlements including prohibiting corporate and director conduct which has the consequence of preventing recovery and stronger penalties for individuals and corporations whose actions result in a company being unable to pay its workers. Employee creditors and their representatives should also have the capacity to directly recover employee entitlements including unpaid superannuation contributions.

73. 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.
74. Labor supports Australian jobs. Labor will ensure genuine testing of the Australian labour market before temporary overseas labour is engaged. Labour market testing requirements will not be waived in any future trade agreements. Temporary overseas workers are vulnerable to exploitation and that 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.
75. Labor will support businesses that recognise the importance of creating jobs in Australia. Labor will work with workers, unions, the community and industry to adopt strategies and policies that keep jobs local including through procurement measures.

Safety at work

76. Labor supports the right of every worker to a safe home, community and workplace. Labor stands against family violence. Labor will introduce 10 days paid Domestic Violence leave as a universal workplace right in the National Employment Standards.
77. Labor will advance its workplace safety agenda through Safe Work Australia, the national body coordinating and facilitating Australia's Occupational Health and Safety (OHS) strategy. Labor will ensure the best outcomes are achieved consistently across the departments, agencies and regulators Australia-wide that have OHS responsibilities and functions. Labor will ensure tripartite oversight of workers' compensation and workplace safety.
78. Previous years have seen the emergence and re-emergence of causes and incidences of deadly industrial diseases amongst the industrial workforce including black lung, asbestosis, silicosis and other cancers. Labor will develop a national strategy on industrial disease focusing on reform to the regulatory environment for prevention, monitoring and response to industrial diseases.
79. Labor will work with employers, unions and the States and Territories, consistent with principles which have been developed by State and Territory branches of the ALP, to restore dignity and support for injured workers who have suffered as a result of the erosion of their rights and benefits. Labor is committed to ensuring that workers with temporary and permanent illness or injury will be given support and income protection to ensure that illness and injury is not a pathway to poverty.
80. Labor will improve Comcare to ensure it is an effective regulator and injured workers get fair and adequate compensation for their injuries or illness, and are rehabilitated and helped to return to work in a suitable role. Labor will provide Comcare with the resources that it needs, including adequate staffing of the inspectorate and supporting staff, to fulfil its regulatory and compliance role. Labor will oppose any changes to Comcare to allow employers to exit other Australian

Workers' Compensation schemes, thereby undermining the viability of those schemes. Labor does not support any move to outsource or privatise Comcare.

81. Labor will retain the Seacare scheme of workers' compensation and occupational health and safety for Australian seafarers as an independent authority operating under Commonwealth legislation. Labor will improve safety in the national stevedoring industry, in particular through the implementation of improved regulation of stevedoring safety.
82. Labor will work cooperatively with employers, unions and States and Territories to develop a national regulatory framework for Occupational Health and Safety and Workers' Compensation in the shipping, offshore oil and gas, and stevedoring industries to eliminate regulatory uncertainty and dual jurisdictional involvement. In particular, Labor will act to harmonise occupational health and safety laws covering seafarers and offshore oil and gas industry workers covered by sector-specific OHS laws. Labor will ensure International Maritime Organisation (IMO) and International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions to which Australia is a signatory are restored in the offshore oil and gas sector to which Australia is a signatory. Labor will improve workplace safety in high risk sectors including on farms, fishing vessels and in forests with farm organisations, unions and governments; through research, raising the profile of safety issues, codes of practice, and where these means fail, appropriate regulation. Labor will protect owner-drivers and workers in the road transport industry by maintaining safe rates, conditions and payments systems for workers and owner-drivers; covering all parties in the transport supply chain; and by a strong and effective education and enforcement regime.
83. Asbestos is deadly to those who are exposed to it, and leaves a devastating legacy. 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, to be implemented and oversighted by tripartite international processes and to ensure ongoing protection and support is provided to victims of asbestos-related disease and their families and to ensure people are protected from asbestos and asbestos related diseases Labor will ensure that the highest possible monitoring standards commensurate with risk are established and maintained in relation to the importation of foreign construction materials including by ensuring that the Australian Border Force has the powers and resources that it needs to keep Australia safe from dangerous products.
84. Labor will provide the highest level of protection to the community, workers and the environment from chemicals by ensuring the efficient and timely assessment of all chemicals; by requiring safety data to be complete, up to date and comprehensive (including nano forms of bulk chemicals). Labor will facilitate a coordinated toxic use reduction policy through the establishment of a tripartite chemicals coordinating body charged with developing and monitoring strategies across multiple agencies to decrease the toxic load on people and the environment. Labor supports "green chemistry" industry initiatives that encourage companies to improve their products and processes to minimize the generation and use of hazardous substances.
85. The firefighters' workplace is an unpredictable, volatile and dangerous workplace and is to be recognised as a high risk occupational in health and safety legislation. Labor believes in achieving the highest level of workplace safety and that workers' right to a safe workplace should be enshrined in legislation. Firefighters face extraordinary hazards and the importance of a regulated requirements of safe crewing on the fireground which includes the principle of two-in two-out.
86. Australians are increasingly encountering nano materials in the workplace and everyday life. Labor understands there are legitimate concerns about the potential health, safety and environmental

impacts of particular nano materials. We will take a whole-of-government approach to ensuring Australia’s regulatory framework is responsive to new developments in the application of nanotechnology and new evidence on nanotechnology risks. We will continue to encourage and support research into the safety of nano materials and the ongoing development of nanotechnology measurement standards for regulators and industry. Labor will promote public participation in decision making on nanotechnology policy and engage with unions to effectively address potential work health and safety risks.

87. Labor will work with state and territory governments to ensure that there are strong deterrents in place for employers who are responsible for workplace deaths. Labor will ensure that restructuring cannot be used as a method to abrogate responsibility for workplace injuries, illness and death. Such directors should be held responsible in these circumstances. Labor opposes the misuse of the terms ‘duty of care’ and ‘fitness for work’ where it is used as discriminatory mechanism within the context of safety at work, either as a punitive measure or as a means of limiting access to employment.
88. Labor will ensure that Commonwealth Departments, Agencies and entities promote a culture of safety at work by working with workers and their representatives to create appropriate structures for raising and resolving safety issues.

The right to organise, collectively bargain and be represented

89. 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 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.
90. Freedom of association includes the right of union members to conduct their affairs without interference. 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.
91. 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.
92. The Fair Work Act has not adequately facilitated multi-employer collective bargaining. This is a particular issue for those industries where employees are low paid and where they lack industrial power. Labor will improve access to collective bargaining, including where appropriate through multi-employer collective bargaining.
93. Labor will facilitate bargaining for multi-employer and multi-agency public sector agreements.
94. Labor will include unions alongside business, community and other appropriate interests in constituted boards, committees and consultative bodies that provide advice to the government. Labor will work with trade unions and employers to ensure workers have access to adequate information on their workplace rights, including their right to join a union and relevant industrial agreements, as well as occupational health and safety and other employment information at the

commencement of their employment and on an ongoing basis.

95. The capacity of workers employers and unions to communicate through websites, email and social media on industrial rights and concerns should be protected.

The workplace relations system

96. Labor will ensure all workers, employers and unions have equal access to assistance from the independent umpire to resolve award, NES and agreement and other disputes by arbitration where disputes cannot be resolved through discussion, conciliation or mediation. Labor will provide parties with access to arbitration of disputes. Labor will ensure that an independent umpire has the responsibility and necessary powers to ensure that unions can be effective in fulfilling their role as the legitimate representatives of working people.
97. Labor will retain the Fair Work Commission and the Fair Work Ombudsman ensuring understanding of and compliance with workplace laws. Labor will deliver effective, low-cost, informal and prompt resolution of disputes through the Fair Work Commission, the Fair Work Ombudsman and small claims procedures in the courts.
98. 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 and abolish the Australian Building and Construction Commission. The appropriate body to regulate registered organisations is the Fair Work Commission. Labor will abolish the Registered Organisations Commission, with serious contraventions of regulatory laws by registered organisations referred to ASIC for investigation and prosecution.
99. Labor will work with State Governments to develop a truly national workplace relations system for the private sector.
100. Labor will ensure all public sector workers who must, under Section 44 of the Constitution, resign their employment to stand for the federal parliament, are able to resume that employment, or, if not possible, employment paying no less than the former employment, after the relevant election, if they are not elected.

Public Sector Industrial Relations

101. 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:
- 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;
 - 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;

- 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.
- Ensure genuine, good faith consultation on all matters affecting employees in the workplace
- 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;
- 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;
- Take active steps to eliminate and reverse anti-union cultures and practices which undermine employees' rights;
- 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;
- 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.
- Take further active steps to deliver meaningful career development for people with a disability employed in the Australian Public Service;
- Establish and maintain agency funding levels commensurate with service delivery and policy development requirements;
- 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;
- Ensure secure, comprehensive, service-wide standards and classifications;
- 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;
- Emphasise training and career development;
- Enable public servants to balance work and family responsibilities;
- Ensure internal appeal and review right
- Act as a model litigant in any proceedings before the Fair Work Commission;
- Increase the number of direct, permanent jobs in the public service, and reduce the use of contractors, casual, labour hire and non-ongoing positions;
- Enable employment mobility across the whole of the public service;
- Provide adequate agency funding across the whole of the APS;
- 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;
- 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

- 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.

Chapter 6: New opportunities for an ageing Australia

The contemporary challenge

1. Australia's population is undergoing a profound change: our people are living longer than ever before. Each year, more people reach Age Pension eligibility age than reach working age. This longevity is a result of advances in health, technologies and lifestyles. While this demographic shift creates some challenges, it is a historic achievement and offers social and economic opportunities for the nation. Labor celebrates this – we do not see longer lives as a problem or a burden.
2. Older Australians want to contribute to the Australian economy and society through business, education, employment and volunteering. Australians want active, happy, healthy and productive lives in retirement and should be supported to do so. Governments have a responsibility to ensure older Australians get the support, security, care and services they need.

Labor values

3. Longer lives are a social and economic asset to be celebrated and harnessed. All Australians deserve respect, dignity, security and choice as they age.
4. Australian communities should enable older Australians to lead healthy, secure and productive lives. Labor will provide support and services to older Australians including housing assistance, public transport and community infrastructure.
5. Older Australians' contribution to our national prosperity and economic development should be recognised. They deserve honour and support in their continued contributions in employment, volunteering, caring and the community. Labor will remove barriers to those older Australians who choose to continue working and will provide better and more flexible work environments for older Australians. It is important to acknowledge that older Australians make an important contribution as mentors in business and community life.
6. Age discrimination is a growing problem in Australia. Labor will work with the State and Territory Governments to improve protections and reduce barriers for Australian workers.
7. Labor created the pension and we have protected it for more than 100 years. Labor built universal superannuation. We will always ensure Australia's post-retirement income system is strong and sustainable, giving older Australians the financial support and security they deserve.
8. Older Australians in physically demanding jobs, those working in industries in transition, and those who have been out of the workforce for an extended time face extended periods of unemployment and underemployment well before they reach Age Pension age – leading to seriously depleted financial resources as they age. Labor will protect their right to a dignified retirement.
9. Older Australians are entitled to affordable, accessible and high-quality aged care services delivered by a professionally trained, accredited and dedicated workforce. Australia has the skills, talents and abilities to protect and grow aged care services.

10. Older Australians should have fast, reliable and affordable broadband access to connect with family and friends, employment and business, and where appropriate, health and other services.

Labor priorities

11. As reflected in the Housing Chapter, Labor will invest in a Safe Housing Fund to increase transitional housing options for older women on low incomes at risk of homelessness.
12. As reflected in the Health Chapter Labor acknowledges the important interaction between the acute and aged care sectors when it comes to the delivery of care for older Australians. Labor acknowledges there is a high cost of care for older Australians in the acute and sub-acute settings. Labor will ensure older Australians receive the best care in the most appropriate health care settings.
13. Labor will address the prevalence of elder abuse. Older Australians should be free from the atrocities of elder abuse and neglect, intentional or unintentional. They should also be free from fear of physical, psychological, emotional, sexual or financial abuse.
14. Labor supports nationally consistent retirement village legislation with stronger consumer protections. This is what the public expects and it is a priority Labor will progress.
15. Labor made the aged care system stronger, more sustainable, more transparent and easier to access through its Living Longer, Living Better (LLLBB) reforms. Labor will implement these reforms.
16. Labor will help the growing number of Australians experiencing dementia.
17. Labor will:
 - Ensure older Australians can participate to their full capacity and potential in the economy and in community life;
 - Improve the wages and conditions, skills, professional development and career advancement of older Australians;
 - Emphasise wellness, independence and increased choice for older Australians to choose the type of care they want;
 - Expand health care services in the community, at home and in residential aged care;
 - Support educational programs to give older Australians modern information and communications technologies;
 - Support older Australians to reskill as they transition through phases of work and into semi- retirement and retirement;
 - Support the unique needs and challenges faced by older Australians in regional, rural and remote areas, older Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, those from LGBTIQ communities and with culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds;
 - Improve and enhance legal protections, consumer protections and financial security for older Australians;

- Address discriminatory perceptions of older Australians which may hinder their social, cultural, religious and economic participation;
- Promote respect for older Australians;
- Expand quality palliative care and increase awareness and uptake of advanced care plans to provide Australians with better control and choice over end of life planning;
- Determine the true cost of care through independent research and in consultation with key stakeholders, including unions, providers, consumer advocates, academia, and government; and
- Expand community-based legal services to assist older Australians experiencing abuse.

18. Labor will ensure good quality and safe working conditions and environments, and investing in a stable, secure, accredited and professional aged care workforce.

Retirement incomes

19. By 2050 there will be approximately four times as many 80 year olds as there are today and twice as many 65 year olds. There will be 2.7 people in the workforce for every person aged 65 years or older.

20. Older Australians deserve to share in Australia's rising community living standards and to live with dignity and financial security in retirement. Labor will lift retirement incomes fairly and take pressure off the Age Pension. Labor will provide a strong and sustainable pension system. Labor will maintain a strong pension indexation to reflect the rising cost of living and broader community living standards.

21. Labor believes in pursuing proactive policy settings in superannuation and financial services that improve retirement incomes, particularly for women and low and middle income earners. Labor also acknowledges the financial disparity particularly faced by older women who may be without superannuation or retirement savings.

22. A highly skilled, ethical, professional financial services industry is essential for the financial well-being of older Australians. As many Australians as possible should be able to access high quality and affordable financial advice, particularly when making decisions about their retirement incomes and care requirements. Lifting the standards for financial advice will encourage more Australians to undertake retirement planning. Labor supports strong consumer protections to uphold the best interests of older Australians in the provision of financial advice. Labor will encourage the development of financial products that maximise income streams for older Australians in retirement.

Ageing and aged care services

23. Australia's aged care system should give older Australians:

- A high minimum standard of quality care, underpinned by adequate staffing levels with the appropriate mix of skills;
- The right to fair, sustainable, quality care services appropriate to their needs;

- Greater range, choice of support and care arrangements, and control over who provides these, the mix of support and care services, and the terms on which they are provided;
 - The ability to easily navigate the aged care system in order to obtain the care they need;
 - Equity of access to services for different population groups;
 - Open and transparent information and data on facilities, services and staffing; and
 - Increased accountability of tax payer funding provided to all aged care facilities and services, including not-for-profits and private providers.
24. Our aged care system should be underpinned by a highly qualified and well paid workforce capable of meeting the needs of older Australians.
 25. Policies for older Australians should promote independence, wellness and the continuing contribution and active involvement, with their friends, families and communities.
 26. Labor will ensure older Australians accessing residential aged care services have consistent access to a high minimum standard of quality care so to avoid a two-tier system of care.
 27. All older Australians have a right to safe and secure aged care services, whether they are delivered in the home or in a residential facility.
 28. Many Australians, as they age, come to rely on the support provided by the aged care sector with services ranging from low level home support to residential care. Labor will work to further ensure older Australians are able to align services with their needs and preferences, acting on the principle of 'consumer directed care' and Labor's LLLB aged care reforms. Labor will ensure regulation of the quality of service provision in consumer directed care and safeguards to prevent unconscionable conduct by providers and limit administrative and brokerage costs.
 29. In-home and consumer directed care have many benefit. Labor strongly supports the increased choice and flexibility for all Australians in the care they receive and the environment in which it is delivered. Labor will work with stakeholders to help ensure the aged care workforce adapts sustainably as consumer directed care becomes a larger part of the aged care system.
 30. Labor will take into account demographic changes and rural and regional supply challenges and ensure the supply of quality aged care services meets current and future demand.
 31. A large proportion of older Australians want to stay in their own homes for as long as possible. Labor will provide Home Care Packages to help older Australians who choose to remain independent and in their own homes, close to their family and community, wherever possible.
 32. Labor will listen to residents of aged care facilities, Home Care Package recipients, their families, friends and loved ones, the aged care workforce and other interested parties about the quality and nature of care and through greater consumer participation in the accreditation system, maintain a strong and robust complaints process.

33. Labor will provide culturally appropriate aged care, including strategies that address:
- The propensity of older Australians from CALD backgrounds experiencing dementia to revert to their first language;
 - The need for older Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to maintain contact with their culture and country; and
 - Discrimination against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex senior Australians. Accordingly, Labor has amended the Sex Discrimination Act to cover sexual orientation, gender identity and intersex status, removed exemptions to this law in aged care facilities and will continue to implement strategies that recognise the special needs of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex older Australians in aged care facilities.
34. As they age, LGBTIQ deserve care and support that reflects their diversity. Labor will ensure policies in relation to ageing take into account the needs of people with different sexual orientations, gender identities and sex characteristics by building on Labor’s previous LGBTIQ Ageing and Aged Care Strategy.
35. Members of the Stolen Generations experienced profound grief, suffering and loss as a result of forced removals and other past government policies. Labor will provide appropriate aged care services that take into consideration their particular needs.
36. For Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants, the impact of childhood experiences in institutions and children homes is ongoing. These ‘care-leavers’ have special needs in aged care services and deserve an aged care system that is responsive and appropriate for their needs.
37. Preventive health measures and vigilant care are necessary to reduce chronic illnesses among older Australians and ensure they remain as healthy as possible.

Quality aged care workforce

38. The aged care services sector workforce performs valuable work providing care, support and services that enable older Australians to live rich and fulfilling lives. Care staff, including personal care, in-home care and support workers, and nurses, deserve to be well paid with access to appropriate/proper career paths. Aged care workers deserve a quality, professional, safe, stable and secure work environment. There will need to be a tripling of the aged care workforce in the next 30 years to provide a high standard of living and care for the growing proportion of older Australians needing care.
39. The workforce requires access to ongoing professional education and training, development and support in the context of the ongoing aged care reforms, with a focus on reablement, wellness and the uptake of technology.
40. The aged care services workforce offers an increasingly diverse range of career and work opportunities. Along with nursing, home support, health and care workers, the sector needs to attract a range of professional and specialist workers including those in allied health, information

technology and communications, innovation, design, architecture, investment and financial planning, to ensure Australia remains at the forefront of aged care service provision.

41. Labor will work with the sector, including unions to develop and implement an aged care workforce strategy to improve career and training pathways, improve skills development, improve management, workforce planning, supervision and wages. In addition, Labor will seek to promote aged care services as a secure industry for employment, with increasing investment, development and career opportunities, as a result of the ageing population.
42. Labor will work with stakeholders to investigate how to facilitate the continuation of home care services that are currently being delivered by local governments in Victoria. Labor will also investigate how aged care workers employed in the Victorian Local Government system can continue to be supported.
43. Labor acknowledges the importance of proper regulation to ensure Australia's aged care system is world leading in its approach to safety, skills and training. Labor will seek to create a nationally consistent pre-employment screening process in consultation with key industry stakeholders. This regulation scheme will mandate minimum qualifications requirements.
44. To enable sector stability Labor supports a transition period beyond 2020 to enable appropriate reforms resulting from the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety to be properly considered and implemented. Block funding will be maintained during transition, with an additional component of consumer choice as an overlay.
45. Ongoing workforce attraction and retention is necessary to ensure quality care and outcomes for older Australians. Labor will work with workers and their unions, service providers and older Australians to develop and implement a workforce strategy to improve sector capacity and maintain and enhance quality standards.
46. Labor will:
 - Support appropriate aged care funding that protects and maintains employment standards with proper regard to relevant industrial instruments;
 - Protect, maintain and support employment standards and training models to enhance job security and minimise the spread of casualised and insecure work;
 - Support a positive focused professional registration and accreditation scheme for employees;
 - Ensuring a base level of funding for aged care alongside consumer-directed care; and
 - Develop best practice standards and accreditation of supports in consultation with stakeholders so quality controls are established, maintained and properly funded.

Dementia

47. The growing incidence of dementia is one of the biggest health challenges of the 21st century, in Australia and across the world. It is now the number one cause of death amongst women in Australia and the second leading cause of death overall.
48. Dementia should not be considered a normal part of growing old. Dementia is a terminal condition with enormous economic and social implications.

49. Australia should be the best place in the world for people living with dementia. People 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.
50. Labor applauds the advances made by Australian researchers, scientists and practitioners to find a cure for dementia. Until then we must focus on prevention, quality care and support for those living with dementia now.
51. Labor will ensure better understanding and awareness of dementia by the general public so people with dementia and their families feel less isolated and alone.
52. Labor will focus on supporting, empowering and including people living with dementia so they can participate and remain active members of their community. Labor will support local communities to improve dementia awareness, build dementia-inclusive communities, fund education and training programs and provide appropriate support programs for people living with dementia and their families.
53. Dementia is not solely an age related condition and attention needs to be given to younger onset dementia and the need for purpose specific facilities outside of residential aged care.
54. Building capacity to address dementia in primary care will facilitate a more timely diagnosis and entry point to services, support more cohesive integrated support planning throughout all stages of the disease and improve the welfare of Australians who are affected by dementia.
55. Encouraging a wellness and preventative approach to dementia will ensure the preventable risk factors for dementia are more widely recognised and addressed through chronic disease management.

Chapter 7: A world-class education for all Australians

The contemporary challenge

1. The global social and economic challenges of the 21st century mean building a smart Australia is more urgent than ever. Education is the great enabler, not only of the knowledge and skills our industries need to innovate and prosper, but of the social mobility, engaged citizenship and harmony we seek for our people.
2. Our education system must prepare a new generation for the jobs of tomorrow. Yet too many students, particularly from disadvantaged communities, are not reaching their educational potential. Too many children still have their future determined by their postcode, background, financial situation or disability.
3. Education is essential for each Australian's best life and is crucial to our national prosperity. For Australia to prosper we must develop world-class education and training institutions and be one of the most highly educated and skilled nations on earth. This requires investment and improvement in education at all levels: early childhood, the primary and secondary years, and post-secondary education.

Labor values

4. All Australians have the right to a high-quality education, regardless of their social background. The greatest gift Australia can give all our children is an excellent education— one that helps them find their passion, make the most of their potential and be well equipped to live life and fully participate in our democracy and in the workforce.
5. Parents and carers are the first educators of children, and critical brain development occurs in the first 1000 days from conception to age two. Labor will work with States and Territories as well as maternal and child services to support parents in this critical period, to ensure more young Australians get the best possible start to life.
6. Quality education in the early years is crucial for a child's development and reducing social disadvantage. Early childhood education should be universally available, accessible, affordable and of the highest quality.
7. A strong, equitable and well-performing school system is the best opportunity we have to make the most of our strengths and to reverse disadvantage, giving all young people a solid foundation for the future.
8. Every student in every school should get a quality education that meets their individual needs. Real choice in school education means making sure every local public school is a great school where parents feel confident to send their child.
9. Every Australian in every community should have access to free, secular, high quality government schooling and government policies should enable this. Adequate public funding is necessary for quality public education and training.

10. Greater equality in educational outcomes is important for strengthening social inclusion and promoting opportunity. Neither background nor disadvantage should be a barrier to educational achievement for any child.
11. Labor will make our schools, early education centres, TAFEs and education institutions more transparent and accountable.
12. All students should be educated in an environment free from bullying and harassment, including racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, and ableist bullying and harassment. The right to education includes the right for students to participate in school life as they identify in sexuality, gender identity or varying sex characteristics.
13. A quality post-secondary education system is a crucial driver of participation, improved productive performance and international competitiveness. Labor will not shift the costs of vocational education and training onto students. To deliver the high-skilled workers and citizens of the future, engaged in lifelong learning, vocational education and training or higher education must be a national priority. Our vocational education system must be a strong and viable option. It must not become a residual system. Labor will ensure TAFE is at the centre of our vocational educational and training system providing opportunity to all Australians.
14. Labor will ensure access to higher education is based on talent and hard work, not on a student's bank balance or family income. We will increase access to higher education for students from low-income, regional, or disadvantaged and underrepresented backgrounds.
15. Australia needs excellence in all aspects of higher and tertiary education from teaching and learning, to research and engagement with industry and the community. Universities and TAFEs are critical drivers of social and economic wellbeing within their regions and are essential to ensuring Australia's future prosperity. As public institutions, universities and TAFEs must work with governments to address the national interest and ensure our nation continues to build prosperity in a rapidly changing world. This includes ensuring TAFE is recognised alongside the university sector as a critical part of the post-school system.
16. Later life learning helps people remain productive in the workforce, improves health and wellbeing, and reduces isolation and loneliness. Labor will create opportunities for career-enhancing learning and life-long learning in older age through our post-secondary education system.
17. Education and training is essential to reduce Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' disadvantage and provide opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Labor will work in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island communities and families to develop and implement education and training access, attendance and outcomes in order to close this gap.
18. Disability should not provide a barrier to any student accessing education. Labor will work with the States and Territories to help overcome disadvantage for students with disability including adequate funding for students with disability

Labor priorities

Early childhood: The best start for every child

19. Early childhood education and care is a priority for Australia's economic and social interests and a priority for families.
20. Labor will expand affordable, 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. Early intervention programs for children at risk, and children with specific educational or developmental needs, are particularly important.
21. Labor will maintain the universal access to preschool and kindergarten program and will improve it by considering options to ensure all children get this opportunity including increasing the number of hours available.
22. Labor will deliver two years of early education and preschool for every Australian child through a new National Preschool and Kindy Program. Under Labor, for the first time, every three and four year old child will be able to access 15 hours of subsidised quality early education before starting school.
23. Labor will work in partnership with the states and territories to deliver this important reform, including in setting enrolment and attendance targets, particularly for Indigenous and vulnerable children so that every child gets the early education opportunities they need for the best start in life.
24. High quality learning and development experiences such as play based learning in the first five years of life, when 85 to 90 per cent of brain development occurs, are critical to children's cognitive and non-cognitive development. This is when the foundations are laid for learning, behaviour, thinking, and communication, emotional and social skills. Quality early childhood education and care has a proven link to life outcomes. As a result, learning and development should be at the centre of our system of early childhood education and care. Creating this early childhood education and care system is the responsibility of all levels of government.
25. Investing in the early years has long-term economic and social benefits. Quality early childhood programs offer a strong return on investment through reduced expenditure on later interventions and are necessary to a skilled and productive workforce. When governments invest early they save later on education, criminal justice, health and social services. Early childhood education and care is the first step in lifelong learning and enrichment and in helping reduce inequality. One in five Australian children arrive at school developmentally vulnerable. This means inequality is set by the start of school – children who start behind generally stay behind.
26. Expenditure on early childhood education and care in Australia is currently below the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development average and far below best practice. Labor will improve quality and availability in the early learning sector so Australian children do not fall behind those in comparable countries.
27. Parents and guardians play a fundamental role in a child's education. Labor will work with States and Territories to facilitate the provision of community education programs to support parents and guardians in this role.

28. Quality early education in the years before school leads to higher levels of student achievement. This is particularly the case for vulnerable and disadvantaged children. Kindergarten and preschool is a shared responsibility of the federal and State and Territory governments, and Labor will work with the States and Territories so all children have access to this important opportunity.
29. Accessible and affordable early childhood education and care is essential for parents, especially women, to return to the workforce and achieve gender equity. Labor will:
 - Provide high-quality early childhood education and care options that are flexible, accessible, affordable and convenient for parents;
 - Ensure government funding promotes both quality care outcomes and workforce participation; and
 - Support employment and education participation by providing families with flexible, accessible and affordable Out of School Hours care.
30. Cost should not be a barrier to early childhood education and care for Australian families. Labor will target assistance to alleviate income and location disadvantage in early childhood education and care. Labor will also ensure that government funding supports improved services and lower costs for families. A child's life chances should be shaped by their innate abilities, not where they were born or how much their parents earn.
31. Early childhood education and care is one of the most valuable careers for our nation's future. Quality early education and care can be provided only by a highly skilled, professional and well-paid workforce.
32. Quality education for children should be supported by quality training for educators which meets strict quality controls. Modern, high quality early childhood education and care is a complex field that requires educators to have significant professional skill and knowledge to assist children to develop emotionally, cognitively and socially. A qualified, supported and professionally paid workforce is key to a world-class early childhood, education and care sector and Australian children deserve nothing less.
33. Endemic low pay characterises the gender-segregated industry of early childhood, education and care. For too long, early childhood educators' work has been economically and socially undervalued due to its historical origins in unpaid domestic labour done by women. Labor supports improved wages and conditions for educators and acknowledges parents alone cannot afford to meet this increased cost.
34. Historical barriers to genuine enterprise bargaining in the early childhood education and care sector have resulted in low wages for skilled early childhood professionals. These include the predominantly female workforce, multiple small sites of employment, limited community recognition of the work and the high responsibility placed on the workforce, making industrial action difficult.
35. Labor will continue the implementation of the National Quality Framework and continue to review quality measures based on the latest available evidence and data to drive world's best practice in early education.
36. Labor will:

- Support the professional development of early childhood educators;
- Maintain the minimum qualifications required of educators;
- Support staff-to-child ratios that enable educators to develop secure attachments with children;
- Ensure a high quality post-secondary sector for training in early childhood;
- Actively plan to meet changing workforce needs, including the need for more degree-qualified Early Childhood Teachers and career paths for all early childhood educators; and
- Properly regulate any new federal programs to deliver flexible forms of care, or care in the home, to protect quality standards and educators' wages and conditions.

37. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children should receive quality, culturally safe early education and care services. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should be encouraged and supported to train as early childhood educators.

An excellent education for every student, in every school

38. Universal, high quality school education is a necessary condition of social justice, prosperity and opportunity. No student should miss out on achieving their potential because of the means of their family, where they live, their background or the school they attend.

39. Every Australian child in every community should have access to high-quality, universal, free, secular government schooling. Our public schools are among our nation's most important institutions, and it is a fundamental responsibility of governments to ensure they are adequately resourced to deliver an excellent quality education.

40. Every child can learn. Each child has varied strengths and development needs, and each should make good progress in their learning. All schools should be funded to meet the varied needs of each and every child.

41. Our school system should foster collaboration and cooperation amongst teachers and schools, not competition. Teachers and school leaders need the time and resources to be lifelong learners themselves, continually evaluating the evidence and adopting the evidence-based practices that work best for the children in their classrooms.

42. Labor will implement a properly funded national needs-based and sector-blind school funding model consistent with the original Review into School Funding recommendations that ensures disadvantaged schools get the biggest funding increases in the shortest time. We will work with the States and Territories to ensure all schools operate at a resource standard that meets the needs of their students.

43. School education is too important to Australia's future prosperity to be solely the responsibility of individual States and Territories. All students have the right to attend high quality, well-resourced schools, and the federal government has a central role in ensuring both quality and equality. Schooling is the shared responsibility of the States and Territories, and the federal government.

44. Equal opportunity in education is essential for social inclusion. Every student should have the teaching and learning resources to achieve their best. This requires targeted needs-based investment to overcome disadvantage, including for students from low socio-economic backgrounds, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, students with disability, students with

limited English, and students in rural and remote areas. It also requires resources and strategies to ensure gifted and talented children are nurtured and challenged and provided with an environment which allows them to get the best out of their abilities.

45. Labor recognises that there is up to a 12-month gap between the achievements of students in metropolitan schools and those in regional and remote schools. In addition to the loadings which recognise the cost of delivery of schooling in regional and remote locations, Labor will develop a comprehensive and strategic approach to address regional and remote disadvantage.
46. Labor will work cooperatively with the States and Territories to increase school funding linked to evidence-based reforms that lead to higher academic achievement and better teaching and learning. Federal investment in schools should always be transparent and accountable and subject to all schools in all sectors meeting national standards in curriculum, teaching and learning.
47. Labor strives for each generation of students to achieve more than their parents. Australian students should be among the very highest performing in the world, not only in academic achievements, but in their social, personal, physical and emotional development and their creative abilities.
48. Australia needs an independently determined national curriculum and national student assessment and reporting framework which is free from political or commercial influence. National student assessment and reporting should be carried out independently. The curriculum should prepare students to be healthy, active and engaged citizens, equipped with the academic and life-skills they need to succeed in the workforce and further education. The curriculum should also support vocational education and training in schools.
49. All students benefit from completing Year 12, and Labor will work to continue improving Year 12 retention rates. To achieve this, Labor will help schools offer programs which meet the aspirations and interests of all students, including Vocational Education programs. There should also be alternative pathways to complete Year 12, because all young Australians – not only those in the school system – deserve the opportunity to complete school education or its equivalent regardless of their circumstances.
50. Ensuring the best evidence-based practices are in place in schools and that we utilise our knowledge base about what works best in school education is critical to the future success of our school system. Labor will invest in school education research and support States, schools systems and schools to integrate the best evidence-based practices that suit the needs of their students.
51. Developing skills in science, technology, engineering and mathematics is strategically and nationally important. Labor will support our schools to encourage more people to study and teach science, technology, engineering and mathematics subjects, and to lift competency standards.
52. Developing students who have a deep knowledge of their rights and freedoms and of our democratic institutions, with the skills and values to actively engage in our democracy is a priority of national importance. Labor will support schools in revitalising Civics and Citizenship education as a critical aspect of their curriculum in the 21st Century.
53. Labor will support primary and secondary teachers to undertake professional development in science, technology, engineering and maths, with a focus on coding and programming. We will encourage new and recent science, technology, engineering and maths graduates to continue their study and become teachers. Under Labor, more qualified teachers will be able to connect with

young Australians and engage them in the science, technology, engineering and maths disciplines that will drive the jobs of the future.

54. The work of principals, teachers, and support staff in educating the next generation of Australians is invaluable. Principals, school leaders and teachers should be supported with the skills, resources and development opportunities they need to teach every child. Labor will work to lift the status of the teaching profession and support improved practice and continued professional development for all educators. Labor will recognise the knowledge and insights of educators by ensuring that teachers are again represented as a profession on the board of the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership.
55. Labor recognises the growing body of research showing the positive impact a quality music education has on children’s learning and development. Labor will support teachers to extend their music education training with the ultimate goal that every Australian primary school student receives a quality music education. Labor recognises the important role other performing and creative arts play in developing a young person’s creativity, increasing student engagement and creating a positive school environment.
56. The way parents and carers support and value education is a critical element in the success of our school system. Labor will work to include and involve all parents and carers, in partnership with schools, to help children value education and make the most of their opportunities.
57. Labor will maintain the highest standards in initial and continuing teacher education. Universities have a responsibility to ensure prospective teachers are of high academic ability, receive a quality education, and are properly supported throughout their studies. This includes ensuring all students have access to substantial and meaningful practical classroom experience.
58. Education support workers and non-teaching support staff do important work in schools. These workers should be directly employed by the States and Territories to ensure a cohesive and integrated education community.
59. Labor supports a mandatory Indigenous Studies component as part of all teachers’ pre-service training. Labor will work with teacher educators and the teaching profession to ensure all teachers have a good understanding of Indigenous education issues and the knowledge to work effectively with Indigenous communities and families.
60. Schools must be safe environments for students to learn and for teachers to teach – including same sex attracted, intersex and gender diverse students and teachers. Labor will continue working with teachers, students and schools to stop bullying and discrimination, ensuring a safe place for LGBTI students to learn by properly resourcing inclusion and anti-bullying programs and resources for teachers. Labor will continue to support national programs to address homophobia, biphobia, transphobia and anti -intersex prejudice in schools. This includes ensuring gender diverse students are able to express the gender they identify with.
61. Children should have access to school uniforms that support learning, play and comfort and are suitable to the school environment including sun safety.
62. Labor recognises the importance of appropriate support services to help students achieve academic, psychological health, and social and emotional wellbeing.

63. 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.

Students with disability

64. All children should have the skills and opportunities to participate in society. Children and students with disability should have access to the same education and vocational opportunities as all Australian children and students, and a right to an inclusive education.
65. Labor will ensure educational institutions are free from discrimination, bullying and harassment on the grounds of a person's disability. We will make education accessible through reasonable adjustments and the provision of assistance where appropriate, including through academic note takers and participation assistants, and ensuring education assistants specialising in assisting students with disability are properly remunerated and adequately trained.
66. All children and students with a disability should be recognised as learners, and given every opportunity to discover and fulfil their learning potential or to participate in the workforce or any other path they choose. Labor will invest to improve educational outcomes and promote inclusion for all children, particularly those with disability.
67. Labor will ensure the National Disability Insurance Scheme provides early intervention services for children with disability so they can learn and develop to their full potential.
68. Labor will deliver needs-based school funding so our schools and teachers are equipped to meet the needs of students with disability. Labor will work with States and Territories to see needs-based funding for students with disability become a reality for all children with disability, to ensure all students are afforded equal opportunities for participation and learning right across Australia.
69. Education Assistants are essential to ensure all students with disability have access to the same education and vocational opportunities as all Australian children and students.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians

70. High quality education is critical to Closing the Gap between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people should get the same opportunities as others.
71. More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children are attending school than ever before and there have been significant improvements in outcomes such as the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children completing Year 12. However, current levels of school participation and attainment remain unacceptably low and below the level for non-Indigenous children.
72. Labor remains committed to Closing the Gap in early childhood education; school attendance; reading, writing and numeracy achievements; and Year 12 completion.
73. Labor will work to ensure Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children have access to quality, culturally safe early childhood education, as evidence shows the benefits of early education extend to improved school results and life outcomes.

74. Labor will deliver needs-based school funding so our schools are equipped to support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, and to improve educational attainment and employment outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. This includes working with States and Territories to increase the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander educators.

Strong transitions from school to work or training

75. The transition from school to work, training or higher education is a crucial time in every person's life. Students who do not make a successful transition face the prospect of diminished opportunities and the heightened risk of unemployment and social exclusion throughout their adult life.
76. Labor will improve the post-school transition for young Australians. Labor will:
- Strengthen vocational education in schools;
 - Ensure TAFE can provide opportunities for young Australians to re-engage in the education system;
 - Work with employers to create more opportunities for young people to develop technical and work skills while completing Year 12;
 - Work with vocational training organisations to develop pathways to employment and training for students who experience disability;
 - Improve the status and professional standards of career education professionals so all students get appropriate and useful information about a wide range of career options;
 - Ensure school equips students with financial literacy, including an understanding of tax, superannuation and personal finances; and
 - Encourage individuals to take post-secondary education.
77. Governments should do all they can to encourage young people to stay at school, and developing a range of learning pathways within and alongside schools is crucial. Students at risk of disengaging from mainstream schooling systems should be supported through innovative and flexible learning programs to enable them to remain engaged in the education system. Students who leave school before Year 12 should be supported in their transition to the world beyond school.

The vocational education and training system of the future

78. Labor will deliver a high quality and responsive vocational education and training system to meet our national skills needs, ensure students receive the knowledge and skills they are training for, and contribute to social well-being and economic growth. Labor is proud of the role played by the labour movement in building the TAFE and vocational education and training system.
79. Labor will establish a National Commission of Review which will examine all aspects of Australia's post-secondary education system. It will examine and make recommendations about how our vocational and higher education systems address the country's economic and societal needs. The Review will commence with an inquiry into the structure of the vocational education and training system, including qualifications, curriculum, pedagogy, assessment, funding, regulation and quality assurance. Critically, it will examine the role of TAFE – which Labor has committed will be at the centre of Australia's future vocational education system.

80. No one should be excluded from access to vocational education and training as a result of financial disadvantage, course costs, fear of debt or regional disadvantage. Vulnerable individuals should not lose access to vocational and further training because courses are not available or affordable. Labor will ensure the vocational education system does not shift costs onto individual students, resulting in a significant disincentive for low-income families and students to engage in lifelong learning to access skilled and well-paid jobs.
81. Quality in all of its aspects should be at the centre of the national vocational education and training system. Confidence in the national training system, its individual programs and the quality of its graduates should be the highest priority for government. As governments and individuals invest in education and training they have a right to expect training to be of a quality and standard that will lead to employment or relevant further study.
82. The competitive vocational education and training market has led to significant market failure. Private providers face inevitable conflicts and public funding to private providers has led, in too many cases, to exploitation of students and profiteering at the expense of the taxpayer. The cherry picking of low-cost, profit-making courses and low-quality training provision has resulted in financial pressure and reputational damage to the vocational education sector. In many cases this has resulted in the loss of skills and experience through cost-cutting, outsourcing, corporatisation and privatisation in a vain attempt to maintain TAFE as a viable competitor in a distorted profit-oriented industry.
83. An effective skills and training system relies on a strong and responsive public sector provider. Labor will restore public TAFEs as the major provider in the vocational education and training system. Labor will allocate at least two out of every three dollars of public vocational education funding to public TAFE. The balance will go to not-for-profit providers, including community educators, and other reputable providers with demonstrable links to specific industry requirements.
84. TAFE is the provider most capable of delivering the broader economic and social imperatives of governments. Labor will work with State and Territory Governments, business and unions to ensure the TAFE system and quality Registered Training Organisations are capable of delivering their responsibilities as the central providers of publicly funded vocational education and training. Labor will ensure that Commonwealth funding to the States and Territories is tied to the delivery of consistently high quality education and training.
85. Labor will work with the States and Territories to guarantee ongoing TAFE funding and design a funding model which ensures quality training and education across Australia for all who require it. This will improve social inclusion, educational outcomes and the productive performance of Australia, particularly in rural and regional areas.
86. Labor notes that there is no mechanism for measuring and analysing employer investment in skills formation across the economy. Labor acknowledges the continuing strong investment by some employers, and recognises others need to contribute more. Labor will investigate all avenues and mechanisms to increase employer investment while noting that the UK Conservative government has instituted an apprentice training levy in an effort to increase employer engagement in training.
87. Labor will support effective life-long learning. In the emerging economy, the post-secondary education system is critical to the ability of all Australians to participate in retraining and renewal of qualifications. Many students now seek vocational skills and knowledge as a value-add or an

alternative to their university degree. Labor will work with TAFE and universities to develop coherence, recognition and effective pathways between the sectors.

88. Labor supports access and equality in the vocational education system. The vocational education and training system often provides education and training for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, in particular through public TAFEs. All Australians, regardless of their life circumstance, must be given the opportunity of a post-school education and to complete a pathway to work or further study.
89. Labor will ensure our vocational educational and training system:
- Is a national student-centred system with robust qualifications providing transferable skills and knowledge that provide life-long pathways to work and further study;
 - Has the capacity to deliver education and skill development for existing as well as emerging industries and occupations;
 - Gives workers in businesses and industries facing restructuring, broad-based and relevant vocational education to secure new employment and a career path at the earliest possible time;
 - Links vocational education and training strategies with industry, regional and innovation development policy and is developed in cooperation with industry, unions, professional bodies and educators, based on advice directly from local communities;
 - Makes clear for participants how qualifications and courses link to occupations and careers;
 - Is informed by well-developed research on education and skills and their contribution to international competitiveness, participation, productivity and innovation to support quality skill acquisition, recognition and labour mobility;
 - Assures quality in all aspects of recruitment, delivery and assessment, with strong student protections and complaints mechanisms, both internal and external to the education and training provider;
 - Is accessible to people with disability, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and other non-traditional backgrounds, and people seeking 'second chance' education;
 - Is affordable and available to new workers, workers who are retraining, young people and industry participants;
 - Supports TAFE as adult educator, innovation partner, training provider, community resource and careers adviser;
 - Creates a responsive, rigorous system of well-resourced and appropriate flexible delivery methods, integration of work and learning experiences, and recognition of prior learning;
 - Includes environmental sustainability skills in relevant curriculum and qualifications;
 - Provides an affordable, flexible adult and community education entry points to education and training, including language, literacy and numeracy programs;
 - Recognises and supports quality teaching through professional teaching qualifications and standards for TAFE teachers; and
 - Has transparent governance, funding and performance supported by an efficient, comprehensive and independent regulation system.

More apprenticeships and traineeships

90. Australia has been well served by our internationally recognised traditional trades apprenticeship system based on a contract of employment and a contract of training. Apprenticeships have been the backbone of our skilled trades and technical workforce and have provided a valuable and rewarding career for millions of Australians. Approximately 1.6 million Australians have a trade and technical qualification, with many using this qualification to advance into further technical, managerial and leadership positions.
91. The system succeeds when there is a genuine partnership between government, business, unions, TAFE and other trusted training providers. Because of these links and the focus on quality on-the-job and off the job training, the apprenticeship system is a critical pathway to well-paid employment with particular importance in rural and regional Australia and areas with high youth unemployment. Its viability as a training and employment pathway has also seen the successful growth of mature-age apprenticeship schemes.
92. The parallel pathways of traineeships is an important addition to this form of training. Traineeships are an important and viable pathway for the employment sectors not covered by traditional trades. A modern and sustainable apprentice and traineeship system needs to adapt to the changing workforce and seek opportunities to improve the form, structure and duration of training without undermining the strength and value of the qualification.
93. The diversity of Australia's workforce is an important strength and should be reflected in and supported by the apprentice and traineeship system. Apprentice and traineeship pathways should be open to people from diverse backgrounds and promote opportunities for broader representation of both genders in traditional and non-traditional trades and occupations.
94. Labor will expand trades and traineeship opportunities for Indigenous Australians. Labor will also work to challenge gender stereotypes in trades and occupations. Women should be encouraged to enter into male-dominated trades, including but not limited to construction and manufacturing and engineering, and men should be encouraged to enter into traditionally female-dominated occupations such as early childhood education and nursing.
95. Employers of all sizes should be encouraged and supported to invest in apprentices and trainees. Labor will ensure 1 in 10 jobs on all Commonwealth priority projects and Government Business Enterprise projects will be targeted for an apprenticeship or traineeship.
96. Government, business and unions need to engage effectively and collaboratively to encourage quality skill acquisition, greater participation, and successful completions. Labor will support the transition of young people as well as adults into apprenticeships through quality pre-apprenticeship and adult entry apprenticeship programs.
97. Apprentices and trainees are a vulnerable group in the workforce. Employer non-compliance with apprentice and trainee employment entitlements is unexpectedly high. This undermines the value and quality of the apprenticeship system. Labor will work with business and unions to eradicate exploitation of apprentices and trainees.
98. Labor will establish an Apprenticeship Advocate to ensure Australia has an excellent, high quality and inclusive apprenticeship system. The Advocate and their office will provide advice to government on strategies to reduce the exploitation of apprentices and trainees and improve their safety; and work with state and territory governments and unions to facilitate tripartite

arrangements, collaboration, partnerships and other strategies to increase the uptake of quality apprenticeships and traineeships into traditional and emerging areas.

99. Labor will:

- Expand participation into new industries, cohorts and locations, while safeguarding quality.
- Establish and implement minimum national standards and ensure contracts of employment and contracts for training protect apprentices and trainees;
- Support quality programs and higher skill levels so public funding and incentives are directly linked to a business' training effort, quality outcomes and development of skills;
- Ensure all apprenticeships and traineeships deliver full qualifications consistent with the national qualifications framework, including fit-for-purpose assessment and licensing, developed through supported tripartite arrangements;
- Ensure qualifications promote a combination of work and structured on-the-job training and an appropriate balance of on and off-the-job training;
- Support quality, not-for-profit group training companies and enhance their opportunities in sectors such as resources, major projects and for small and medium businesses; and
- Revivew and provide appropriate incentives, especially for small businesses in regional settings – payments and support programs – to build employer and apprentice investment in quality apprenticeships and traineeships.

Higher education

100. Australia needs a strong, sustainable, affordable and accessible public higher education system to prepare graduates for an economy based on knowledge, skills and innovation.

101. All Australians, regardless of their background or where they live, should have the opportunity of higher education.

102. Higher education is important in shaping a fairer, more socially inclusive society. Labor will commission a review of post-secondary education. This Review will make recommendations for new targets including in the following areas:

- Increasing the number of students from a low socio-economic backgrounds, regional areas and other underrepresented groups participating in higher education;
- Closing the gap in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' participation and retention in higher education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, and academic staff; and
- Improve access to university to more students with disability.

103. Labor will ensure future funding for Australia's public universities is driven by national objectives, while reflecting broader student demand and recognising the importance of meeting public good and labour market needs. Labor will ensure research activity is linked more deliberately to social impact and university engagement with community and industry.

104. Labor will ensure universities are accountable for public funding and work in partnership with the federal government to deliver outcomes in the national interest. Labor will introduce national interest thresholds for university funding agreements that ensure universities align their resources

to their areas of strength and strategic interest so the sector as a whole more effectively addresses our national priorities and needs.

105. Universities also have a responsibility to support all students to succeed in their studies and to graduate with the skills and knowledge they need for a rewarding career in the workforce. Labor will encourage universities to build entrepreneurship education and training into a wide range of programs, helping to boost the innovation capability of Australian business enterprises and the wider community. Because the jobs of the future will increasingly require literacy in science, technology, engineering and maths, Labor will provide incentives for more capable students – particularly women - to study these critical disciplines at university. Labor will also encourage the best and brightest Australians into the teaching profession.
106. Labor supports excellence in higher education. Universities should be accountable for maintaining quality standards in both teaching and research. The community expects that, as self-accrediting institutions, our public universities provide students with a positive education experience. Transparent entry standards, regulation of quality, better public reporting and external verification are also necessary to protect the reputation of public universities, the value of an Australian qualification, and our ability to attract international students to study in Australia.
107. Higher education improves the quality of our lives by fostering higher learning. The pursuit of knowledge is an important end in itself, and Labor will protect the autonomy of public universities and the essential principle of academic independence.
108. There are clear differences between public universities and other higher education providers. Labor opposes the wholesale privatisation of higher education and will not undermine public universities in the name of contestability or deregulation.
109. A one-size-fits-all approach to higher education that does not recognise the particular needs of specific universities and their communities is not in the best interests of the nation. Regional universities hold the key to unlocking a new future for the regions, helping to create new businesses and a re-skilled workforce. Policy and programs must be tailored to better meet the needs of regional Australia. Labor will address the inequality in university attainment between the regions and major cities.
110. Labor supports strong, effective oversight of international education, through a risk-based regulatory framework, independent scrutiny and quality assurance with the protection and welfare of international students at its core. Recognising the mutual benefits of international education, Labor will also improve opportunities for Australian students to study abroad.
111. Labor opposes the deregulation of fees or the introduction and use of full fee degrees for undergraduate award courses in Australian universities.
112. Labor supports a fair and equitable student contribution and income-contingent loan system. These ensure greater participation in tertiary education by allowing students to defer the cost of their studies until they are earning a decent income. Australian students make a significant contribution to the cost of their education. Labor will ensure student contributions do not create financial disincentives to study, and that students who take out income-contingent loans have adequate consumer protection.
113. Education costs and financial pressures on students act as a barrier to participation in tertiary education. Labor will ensure a strong, sustainable and targeted system of student income support

that provides more help to Australian students who need it most. Students who do not have the means to support themselves during their university study will be provided with adequate support.

114. Labor strongly supports 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 Good student amenities and services like early childhood education and care, health services, counselling, advocacy, entertainment and sporting facilities are vital to university participation and the quality of students' experience on campus and should be securely and adequately funded.
115. Labor will ensure a minimum guarantee of funding is made available for student-run services and independent advocacy. Labor will support students in the creation of democratic, student-run representative bodies and safeguard the right for students to voluntarily organise themselves on campus.
116. Labor opposes the culture of bullying, hazing and sexual violence that has been allowed to manifest and continue at universities and residential colleges for decades. Universities and residential colleges must take significant, sustainable and transparent actions to improve their responses to sexual violence, support student wellbeing and prevent further incidents. Labor supports the need for university and residential college responses to reflect best practice. Universities and residential colleges must be held accountable for failure to take appropriate action
117. Flexible and online delivery can improve university teaching and learning, including through technologies and community spaces that support learning for disadvantaged students. The purpose of these should be to improve the student experience, while maintaining academic rigour and ensuring qualifications offered through these technologies meet appropriate quality standards.

Chapter 8: A health system for all

The contemporary challenge

1. Health is critical to the quality of life of all Australians. Health affects everything we do – our standard of living, our employment, our relationships and how we participate in the social, cultural and economic life of our country.
2. Labor supports the World Health Organisation definition of health as ‘a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity’. It is a fundamental human right.
3. Investing in the best possible start to life and in prevention, early detection and control of physical and mental illness – and particularly chronic disease – offers significant returns for the wellbeing of individuals and communities across Australia.
4. Social and economic inequality are major drivers of ill health in Australia, requiring coordinated and sustained input and investment from different sectors to improve the health of all Australians. This includes the health sector but also the education, employment, housing, social services and other sectors.
5. Health outcomes and access to health care are unequal for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Labor will work alongside Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to Close the Gap in life expectancy and other indicators of health and wellbeing.
6. Increasing rates of chronic disease and illness place greater demands on our health resources. New treatments and technologies offer improved health and quality of life for many but require significant public and private investment. The complexity of contemporary health care itself, and the complexity of a national system for health care in a federation, requires constant improvement and innovation.
7. Australia’s future depends on our ability to adapt our health care system to best meet the needs of all Australians, deliver care in a culturally safe and equitable way, strengthen our health workforce and place patients at the centre of health care.
8. The resources required for good health rely on a strong economy, but good health is crucial to Australia’s future economic strength. Good health boosts productivity and improves workplace participation – a healthier country has a stronger economy, as a more equitable society leads to better health for all. A strong and inclusive health system, based on the principle of universal access to health care, is a major competitive advantage for Australia.

Labor values

9. Australia’s health care system must be:
 - **Universal** – Labor created Medicare and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme. Together they form our unique universal health insurance scheme that has seen Australians achieve some of the best health outcomes in the world. Medicare is essential to our vision of a fairer Australia. The core principle of Medicare is universal access to health care;

- **Affordable** – A fairer and more equal society is one in which all Australians have access to high-quality and affordable health care, including preventive care and any necessary treatments and medicines, decided on health care need, not their capacity to pay or where they live;
- **Accessible** – Labor will ensure our health care system is a truly national one by working to improve access to the full spectrum of quality health care for Australians living in regional, rural and remote areas, and to overcome other barriers to access;
- **Equitable** – Strong action on the social, economic, environmental and cultural determinants of health is crucial to achieving more equitable health outcomes. A fairer and more equal society requires this, particularly among Australians who live in regional, rural and remote areas or who belong to populations experiencing disadvantage or marginalisation. This is especially true for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians; culture and strong identity are key determinants of good health, and our health care system must be culturally safe and free of racism. Social isolation is also a major driver of health inequality and Labor will provide opportunities for greater engagement with local community organisations and services;
- **Everyone’s responsibility** – Australia’s health care system is the responsibility of all levels of government with the involvement and support of health consumers, the not-for-profit sector and health professionals. This relies upon co-operative, transparent and accountable arrangements driven by the best available evidence;
- **Public** – Only a strong and properly resourced public health care system, supported by other sectors, provides the opportunity for all Australians to reach their full potential. Labor has an unshakeable commitment to an excellent universal public hospital system and will oppose any moves to privatise public hospitals or their functions. The public health care system should be complemented by a strong and sustainable private health care system. Both provide individuals with choices in health care and contribute to Australians’ good health. Greater coordination in the operation of health systems would improve continuity of care and health outcomes; and
- **Supportive of our workforce** – Doctors, nurses, midwives, allied health professionals, health support workers, community workers and others work tirelessly to care for Australians. They, along with consumers and related workers, should have more opportunities to engage in constructive dialogue about innovation of our health care system so that it provides the best possible conditions for the health workforce as well as patient-centred care. All health workers have the right to organise collectively and for their union representatives and professional leaders to contribute positively to a high-quality health care system.

10. Labor created Medicare, and only Labor can be trusted with health and hospitals. The Liberals cuts and neglect have made health care more expensive and less accessible for every Australian. A Labor Government will reinvest in our universal health care system, including prevention, general practice and primary care, and public hospitals

Labor priorities

Promoting wellness, preventing disease

11. Health promotion and disease prevention, along with early detection, are essential to combating the rise of preventable chronic diseases.

12. Labor believes everyone has a role and responsibility in creating a healthier society, including by helping to develop environments where healthy choices become easy choices. A key component of promoting wellness and preventing disease is also empowering individuals and families to play a more active role in managing their own health.
13. Alongside addressing the social determinants of health and chronic disease risk factors, Labor will:
- Recognise that pre-pregnancy and pregnancy care are essential to the health of future generations and should be accessible to all women;
 - Work with families to help give children the best possible start in life, including encouraging healthy habits for life, reducing obesity and promoting safe environments and physical activity;
 - Promote immunisation and work with the primary care sector to develop local solutions in those areas and populations where vaccination remains low;
 - Consider geographic and other inequalities when allocating resources to address poor health status;
 - Recognise and respond to the range of poor physical health outcomes that result from poor mental health and work to improve mental health outcomes for all Australians;
 - Address the problem of alcohol dependence and misuse, especially risky drinking amongst at-risk populations, as well as long-term chronic disease implications such as cognitive deterioration and cancer;
 - Take strong action to educate people, particularly young people around the dangers of illicit drug use and support harm minimisation;
 - Continue world leading policies to reduce smoking levels, particularly among groups that continue to smoke at higher levels;
 - Provide greater opportunities for health professionals, particularly in primary care, to provide advice and support to people about improving their lifestyles, including exercise and diet in order to improve health outcomes and reduce hospital admissions;
 - Invest in infrastructure that facilitates health and strengthens community leadership and participation;
 - Enhance Australia's capacity in the prevention, detection and public health response to current and emerging communicable disease threats.
 - Make it easier for people to make healthy choices easy choices, including through improved food labelling, such as the Health Star Rating system and other interventions;
 - Continue support for cancer screening programs including cervical, breast and bowel cancer;
 - Support and encourage evidence-based health promotion and population health literacy as an important part of improving public health outcomes, including by helping people better manage chronic conditions;
 - Undertake tailored, culturally relevant and appropriate health promotion and health literacy programs to engage Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, those from non-English speaking backgrounds and others to ensure all Australians have the best chance at a healthy life;
 - Invest in health and medical research that furthers our ability to prevent and manage chronic conditions;

- Work with all levels of government to promote a ‘Health In All Policies’ approach in recognition of the social, economic, cultural and environmental determinants of health and the need for cross-portfolio interventions; and
- Support public education campaigns to prevent skin cancer and reduce mortality of Australia’s most common cancer.

14. Labor accepts the science and expert evidence climate change poses the greatest threat to human health and wellbeing this century. Australians are particularly vulnerable to the dangers of a changing climate. Strong action on climate change will both prevent poor health outcomes and promote healthier lifestyles. Labor will develop a National Strategy on Climate Change and Health.

Strengthening primary care

15. The stronger our primary care system, the better Australia’s health outcomes are. Primary care is the frontline of our health care system. It includes general practitioners, nurses, midwives, allied health professionals and others, all of whom provide the best possible care for millions of Australians in the community every day.

16. A strong primary care system which includes a focus on protection, health promotion, disease prevention and early detection of those at high risk is critical to addressing chronic disease and putting Australia in the best position to meet our future challenges.

17. Under the Liberals primary care has been devalued, undermined and had its funding cut by billions of dollars.

18. Labor will strengthen primary care, in particular the care provided through general practices in collaboration with other parts of the primary care system. Labor will:

- **Better integrate primary care** with other parts of our health system, including working with general practices and other primary care providers to enhance multidisciplinary team-based care and improve pathways between hospitals, primary care and associated services such as residential aged care, disability, palliative, mental health services and allied health services;
- **Ensure primary care remains affordable** by supporting Medicare patient rebates that preserve universal access whilst appropriately rewarding quality primary care and maintaining bulk-billing;
- **Improve access to primary care** through:
 - Incentives for primary care professionals to work in regional, rural and remote areas;
 - Promoting the appropriate use of TeleHealth services, including through Medicare funding;
 - Expanding and better coordinating after-hours GP care and GP and nurse practitioner care for those in community and residential aged care;
 - Requiring health services to be provided in a culturally safe environment for the benefit of patients and staff;
 - supporting and expanding effective pathology and diagnostic imaging services to detect, diagnose and treat disease; and
 - Supporting Aboriginal Medical Services.
- **Promote innovation and quality in primary care** through:

- Assisting primary care to identify and support those who are at high risk of developing chronic disease to prevent disease and avoid hospital admissions;
- Continued development, uptake and use of e-health records;
- Investing in primary care infrastructure to allow more services and training to be delivered within general practice and other primary care settings;
- Encouraging continual professional development for health professionals, particularly in rural, regional and outer metropolitan areas of need;
- Cutting red tape that takes health professionals away from treating patients;
- Encouraging opportunities and funding systems GPs, community pharmacies and other primary care providers to collaborate;
- Maintaining Medicare access for nurse practitioners, midwives, allied health professionals and other primary care providers;
- Improving MBS compliance to address waste and fraud, including by using available data to improve the detection of improper payments;
- Investing in primary care research and data collection including improving the collection and reporting of primary care performance data in a nationally consistent manner; and
- Maintaining and expanding the role of Primary Health Networks to build a stronger primary care system.

Access to other specialist care

19. In addition to our general practitioners, Australia has other highly skilled specialists working across both the public and private health sectors. Our specialists provide world-leading care in public and private hospitals and the community; they participate in and lead clinical research and teach and deliver care both at home and internationally.
20. Labor is concerned many Australians, especially in regional, rural and remote areas, are unable to access or afford the specialist care they need. To address this Labor will:
 - Work with health care organisations to improve access to specialists including providing incentives for specialists to work in regional, rural, remote and outer metropolitan areas of need;
 - Support the ‘hub and spoke’ model to facilitate regional and rural hospitals becoming part of training networks with metropolitan and larger regional hospitals;
 - Provide opportunities for other specialists to consult within general practice settings in the community;
 - Support the use of telemedicine for appropriate specialties and clinical trials;
 - Create new opportunities for specialists to work with nurse practitioners, midwives based in the community, allied health providers and others;
 - Continue the development, uptake and use of e-health records and other systems that improve the coordination and integration of care;
 - Expand opportunities for undergraduate and specialist training, including supporting regional training programs with a focus on generalist specialties; and

- Ensure consumers provide informed consent to the cost of specialist care prior to treatment and improve transparency of specialist fees and out of pocket costs.

A hospital system that works

21. Australia has a high-quality public hospital system. It is available to all Australians free of charge through Medicare and State and Territory government support. It is complemented by a private hospital and health system supported through private health insurance, government rebates and individual contributions.
22. Australia needs continued innovation of the hospital system, anticipating increasing demand in coming years due to higher rates of chronic disease and longer lives.
23. Government is best placed to deliver a strong and accessible public health care system focused on person-centred care and positive health outcomes.
24. In addition to investing in health promotion, disease prevention and primary care to keep people well and out of hospital, Labor will improve our public hospital system by:
 - Providing long-term sustainable public hospital funding that promotes innovation and quality of care;
 - Working with States and Territories, through the Council of Australian Governments, to improve hospital services, with a focus on preventable re- admissions, elective surgery and emergency department waiting times;
 - Ensuring access to public hospital services is based on clinical need, not capacity to pay or insurance status;
 - Improving coordination across other health and aged care services to optimise care and reduce unwarranted hospital admissions and readmissions;
 - Building capacity of supporting clinical services to ensure they maintain their role in the delivery of high quality public health care;
 - Supporting health system research which can identify sustainable models of health care and innovative approaches to treating and managing disease;
 - Working with State and Territory governments and regional, rural and remote health services to provide access to care as close to home as possible;
 - Expanding the use of technology, including the delivery of digital health systems where appropriate, that allow people to ensure their health information is available for both their hospital and primary care practitioners;
 - Working with States and Territories to ensure speedy evaluation of new technology and to introduce new, cost-effective technology that improves health care; and
 - Educating high-quality staff to work in public hospitals.
25. Both public and private sectors play critical roles in Australia’s world-class health system. While governments have sole responsibility for managing the public health system, they also support a strong and sustainable private health care system. Labor will:
 - Ensure public and private health services complement other and promote opportunities for collaboration;

- Encourage private hospital innovation and quality improvement;
- Improve transparency of cost and quality information for consumers and clinicians;
- Retain patient choice and good clinical decision-making as an essential feature of health care;
- Support a private health insurance system that is sustainable and provides value for money for Australian consumers. In particular, Labor will improve the value and affordability of private health insurance for Australians, without compromising public health funding, and work to address unreasonable out-of-pocket payments;
- Ensure the benefits of private health insurance rebates are available to Australians who need them most and working to maintain and enhance participation in private health insurance, particularly by young people; and
- Work to ensure Australia pays no more than necessary for health care inputs such as prostheses and pharmaceuticals, while ensuring affordable access to world-class technologies.

26. Labor will improve transparency and accountability in our hospitals, both public and private. This will ensure:

- Hospital performance data is reported in a transparent and nationally-consistent manner;
- Hospital safety and quality reporting is conducted to the highest international standards and shared with the right people;
- Clinicians are supported to improve interpretation of outcomes through highquality audits and registries; and
- Australians get the information they need to make informed choices about their health care.

Access to medicines

27. The PBS was first introduced by the Chifley Labor Government and has provided Australians with free or subsidised medicines for over 65 years. It has contributed significantly to the good health outcomes Australians enjoy. It is underpinned by the National Medicines Policy.

28. Labor's reforms in partnership with the medicines industry have ensured the sustainability of the PBS to this point. However, over the next decade many of the new medicines that are expected to become available will be more specialised and targeted, increasing pressure on government resources and the PBS to ensure Australia does not miss out on new medicines at the same time as maintaining a robust system for entry. This is especially so for cancer and other medicines that treat life-threatening illnesses.

29. Labor will protect and strengthen the PBS to ensure it can fund breakthroughs in medicines for all Australians who need them and respond to future challenges.

30. Labor will ensure all Australians get affordable and timely access to essential medicines through the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme (PBS)

31. Labor will ensure equitable access to medicines is not undermined by international treaties.

32. Labor will ensure the safety of medicines available in Australia and support measures that encourage their safe use. Measures that streamline the registration and listing of new medicines, while maintaining world-class safety and quality, will also be supported.
33. The National Medicines Policy and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme are underpinned by the community pharmacy network and pharmacists, who are medicines experts. Primary care innovation should include better utilisation of this infrastructure and workforce.
34. Clinical trials give Australians access to world-leading treatments and drive innovation in medicines, and will support measures to maintain and expand clinical trials and patient access to them

Palliative care

35. Palliative care is an important part of the aged and health care systems. Labor believes individuals nearing the end of their lives and their families should be able to access the highest standards of palliative and end-of-life care, whether they are at home, in residential aged care, in community or acute facilities or institutions.
36. Labor believes each individual should be given the opportunity to plan for the final stages of life and be given appropriate personal control of the types of medical treatments and interventions they receive during this period. Labor will expand the availability of advance care planning, ideally through tools such as the My Health Record and residential aged care inductions, and work toward harmonisation of advance care planning laws.
37. To maximise quality of life until the end Australians must be supported to talk about their values, wishes and preferences for care at the end of life. Labor will promote community awareness about palliative care and advance care planning to encourage families to discuss the wishes and preferences for the final stages of a person's life. Labor is also committed to promoting better support for clinicians and other care providers to build their communication skills so all are competent and confident in encouraging, facilitating and conducting conversations about end-of-life care preferences.
38. Children and young people, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, culturally and linguistically diverse communities, members of LGBTQI communities and people living in rural and remote areas have particular end-of-life care needs. Labor will ensure culturally safe practices at end-of-life are applied, including reflecting this diversity in end-of-life care services and recognising the role trauma can play in the end-of-life experience.
39. Labor believes palliative care is core business for aged care and will, in conjunction with States and Territories, support the availability of high quality palliative and end-of-life care across aged care, including within people's own homes, enabling older Australians to have a good death, better support their families and carers during the dying and bereavement processes.
40. Labor believes that investing in community palliative and end of life care and supporting the families and carers of Australians who are in the end stage of their lives is essential to achieving better end of life outcomes.
41. Infrastructure development within the health system will include consideration of palliative care requirements.

42. Labor believes people must have 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 in terms of 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.

Embedding innovation, quality and safety in health care

43. Labor will:
- Build the framework needed for health care innovation in preventive health, primary care, community health and hospitals with a focus on improving quality and safety;
 - Strengthen cooperation on health care innovation between governments by reintroducing evidence-based incentives and targets into Commonwealth/State funding agreements that give priority to access and quality and safety of health care provision;
 - Ensure health innovation includes a focus on making our health care system culturally safe and free from racism;
 - Seek opportunities to ensure the health system integrates care across all levels of the health system, the aged care and disability systems, and all life stages to enhance physical, mental and social health and wellbeing;
 - Strengthen the primary care system to ensure improved coordination and identify gaps in service delivery, with a view to addressing unmet need, preventing avoidable hospitalisation and setting supportive environments that provide opportunities for health promotion, disease prevention and injury prevention;
 - Create more opportunities for consumers, health care professionals and other key stakeholders such as health and medical researchers to participate in improving our health care system;
 - Collect and use data to encourage a focus on health outcomes and value-based care; and
 - Invest in public health and medical research and its translation into practice.

Investing in public health and medical research

44. Australia has long boasted some of the best scientists, researchers and medical pioneers in the world. The successes of our researchers — both as individuals and as part of organisations — have meant less disease, better treatment and improved quality of life for Australians.
45. All Australians benefit from health and medical research, particularly when that research is translated into improved health care, aged care, or better prevention strategies to address chronic disease risk factors such as diet, alcohol, tobacco and physical inactivity. Our national economy also benefits as research findings lead to the development of innovative new industries and better health outcomes. Research needs to be embedded throughout the health system and actively involve all health professionals.
46. Health and medical research improves the safety, quality and effectiveness of programs and services. Translating research findings quickly and efficiently into changes in clinical practice is one of the keys to improving patient outcomes and reducing wasted spending. Health and medical research sits at the core of all health system improvements and research needs to be embedded throughout the health system and actively involve all health professionals.

47. Labor will enhance Australia’s reputation as a world leader in high quality, innovative research and development activities. We will actively support research excellence and translation through funding streams including the National Health and Medical Research Council and the Medical Research Future Fund. We will provide support for research that addresses the growing health burdens facing the nation and that builds on our scientific capability. While encouraging business and not-for-profit funding for health and medical research, we will also ensure an ongoing commitment of public funding, including for:
- Health systems research;
 - Discovery and early stage research;
 - Genetic research;
 - Research led by and focussed on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people;
 - Research on determinants of health and the conditions they cause;
 - Preventive health measures and policy interventions to promote health; and
 - Conditions or diseases less amenable to treatment by drugs and medical devices, or areas that do not attract commercial interest.
48. Labor will enforce the ban on the cloning of human beings, consistent with NHMRC and other expert advice.

Investing in digital health

49. Information and communications technology play a crucial role in health care by improving coordination and reducing duplication to deliver better health outcomes.
50. To drive better use of information and communications technology in health, Labor will:
- Continue to build the digital health record system while ensuring appropriate privacy and security protocols protect consumers’ rights and their sensitive medical information;
 - Educate all Australians on the benefits of an electronic health record that will improve the coordination of care, eliminate duplication, and reduce the likelihood of errors;
 - Work with health care professionals to disseminate health and related education via technology and increase utilisation of digital health, including uploading of required data;
 - Integrate digital health records with hospital, pathology, diagnostic imaging, aged care, medicine compliance and other clinical systems, and where appropriate, seek to deliver more health care solutions into people’s own homes;
 - Work with States and Territories to introduce electronic health records and integrate them with national systems including the My Health Record;
 - Prioritise interoperability so information can be shared across our health care system;
 - Expand the rollout of TeleHealth services for specialist care where the efficacy is already proven; and
 - Encourage processes to facilitate better information sharing between patients, health providers, hospitals, pharmacies and insurers.

The health workforce

51. Australia's health care system relies on a highly skilled, trained, educated and supported health workforce.
52. All efforts should be made to ensure there is an adequate supply of appropriately and well-qualified doctors, nurses, midwives, ambulance officers, allied health professionals, community and health support workers, aged care workers and other health professionals in all parts of the nation, including a vibrant health and medical research workforce, so all Australians can get the health care they need where they need it.
53. Labor will:
 - Restore a national approach to health workforce planning, including better co-ordination across the training pipeline, to ensure an appropriate supply and targeted distribution of Australia's health workforce and better transition into practice;
 - Improve access to training in regional, rural and remote Australia and encourage a wider availability of places for new graduates across health professions;
 - Expand Australia's health workforce where shortages exist — by educating and training more doctors, nurses, midwives, allied health professionals and community and health support workers and better using the skills, expertise and experience of existing health professionals;
 - Strengthen the capacity of the health workforce by investing in generalist pathways and team-based models of patient-centred care, preparing Australia's health system for future demands;
 - 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;
 - Encourage diversity at all levels of the health workforce;
 - Increase the numbers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people at all levels of the health workforce, with an ambition to achieve parity across all professions; and
 - Ensure that cultural safety training be provided to staff as part of the accreditation process for health services.

Doctors

54. Labor will:
 - Recognise the unique and vital role general practice plays in our health care system and encourage more medical students to pursue general practice;
 - Ensure Australia educates and trains enough doctors with the right skills, including general practitioners with advanced skills training, to meet the needs of patients throughout the nation;
 - Provide incentives and programs to increase the numbers of doctors in remote, rural and regional Australia;
 - Work to improve the retention of doctors in the workforce and in the study of medicine;

- Deliver high-quality training facilities for general practitioners and other specialist training; and
- Work to increase the numbers of doctors and other health providers who provide high quality treatment for mental health conditions.

Nurses and midwives

55. Nurses and midwives make up over half of the health workforce. They play a critical role in the health care system.
56. Labor supports expanded education, training and employment opportunities for nurses and midwives throughout the health care system. Labor will:
- Provide nurses and midwives with the clinical education, training, opportunities and support they need to expand their valuable role;
 - Address existing and emerging nurse workforce challenges with particular focus on areas of anticipated workforce shortage, including by making sufficient university and vocational education and training places available to nursing and midwifery students;
 - Expand and support the primary care nursing workforce, ensuring there is an appropriate staffing and skills mix and where appropriate support the expanded role for nurse practitioners via access to Medicare and the PBS;
 - Drive national consistency in nurse workforce education and role utilisation and development;
 - Improve nurse workforce attraction and retention; and
 - Build nurse workforce leadership capacity to support workforce development and health service reform.

Allied and other health professionals

57. Allied health professionals are critical to good health outcomes for the community. They undertake significant work, both in their own right and in multi-disciplinary teams, across primary, secondary and tertiary care.
58. Labor will:
- Provide allied and ancillary health professionals with the clinical training they need, including through adequate supervised practice placements;
 - Facilitate research to identify and address gaps in allied health service delivery, particularly in regional, rural and remote communities;
 - Better integrate allied health professionals into local primary care services; and
 - Make sufficient university and vocational education and training places available for allied health professionals across the nation.
59. Public health and health promotion professionals play a key role in prevention, protection and health promotion and will support their training and work.

Community and health support workers

60. The community health workforce includes a range of professions who work across the health spectrum. They are often the first point of call for patients, particularly for vulnerable population groups. Labor will work to ensure they are included and valued as part of the health system.
61. Health support workers do important, valued work in our hospitals and in the health community. Without the contribution of these workers, the health system could not function properly.
62. Labor supports fair pay and conditions and dignity at work for health support workers. Labor will support these workers and their unions to ensure our high-quality public health care system is maintained.

Addressing health inequality

63. Creating a more equal society is the most important factor in enhancing health. Labor will bring national leadership to improve the health of all Australians. Health is an important determinant of equity and health inequalities must be reduced across the whole of our community.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health

64. In 2008 Labor initiated a national partnership between federal, State and Territory governments to address the shameful gap in life expectancy and health outcomes between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and other Australians. The annual Closing the Gap address to Parliament is our national report card on progress in achieving Closing the Gap targets in health. Unfortunately, progress has been too slow and our commitment needs to be renewed.
65. Labor's approach to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' health is built on:
 - A commitment to Closing the Gap targets;
 - An evidence-based approach to policy and programs that establishes clear targets and accountability mechanisms;
 - A commitment to fully implement the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Plan and Implementation Plan, which set out the strategy for meeting those targets;
 - An understanding that healthy lives are heavily influenced and determined by the social, cultural and economic determinants of health and easy access to culturally safe health care;
 - Respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander leadership and the importance of cultural competency within the health care system;
 - A commitment to working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and community controlled health organisations to improve health outcomes, noting the positive impact Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander-led health and related services have; and
 - A commitment to address systemic racism and ensure the entire health system is equipped to provide safe, culturally responsive and effective health care to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.
66. Labor will emphasise:
 - The social and cultural determinants of health;
 - Building Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander-led research, evidence, translation, evaluation and monitoring capability for stronger impact;

- Engaging Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander leadership;
- System-wide changes that embed cultural safety and responsiveness across the health system and remove racism and other structural barriers to health access and outcomes;
- Implementing programs that underpin a healthy start to life;
- Preventive health, by addressing the social, economic, environmental and cultural determinants as well as specifically addressing common risk factors such as tobacco use, alcohol misuse, poor diet and physical inactivity, including amongst young children;
- The impact of incarceration on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health, including for the families of those incarcerated;
- Mental health and wellbeing, with specific regard to addressing the unacceptable tragedy of suicide, particularly amongst young people;
- Addressing diseases with a high prevalence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, such as vision loss, otitis media, acute rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease, as well as emerging diseases such as HIV and sexually transmitted infections;
- Cultural safety within the health workforce, increasing the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health care professionals, and supporting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health organisations; and
- Improving coordination between public, private and non-government health care providers, including Primary Health Networks and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community controlled health services.

Regional, rural and remote health

67. Australians living in remote, rural and regional locations typically have poorer access to health services, higher out-of-pocket medical expenses, poorer health outcomes and a lower life expectancy than those living in metropolitan and urban centres.

68. Labor will:

- Develop a new National Rural Health Strategy;
- Improve access to health care, including using telemedicine and other infrastructure platforms where appropriate;
- Address barriers to people in remote, rural and regional communities getting maternity, mental health, dementia and palliative care services, including by providing services where people live or nearby wherever possible;
- Act to reduce the rate of suicide in rural communities, especially among young people and particularly young men, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and young lesbian, gay bisexual, transgender and intersex people;
- Take account of the needs in remote, rural and regional Australians in dealing with alcohol and other drugs;
- Build on Labor's record in cancer care and improve survival rates for remote, rural and regional Australians;
- Increase the number of health professionals working in remote, rural and regional areas, including through:

- Promoting opportunities for medical, nursing, midwifery and allied health students to be educated and trained in regional, rural and remote communities and encourage them to return to those areas once their education and training is completed;
- Promoting opportunities for medical graduates to remain in regional, rural and remote communities by supporting regional specialist training programs with a focus on generalist specialities;
- Ensuring medical, nursing, midwifery and allied health workforce planning for remote, rural and regional communities recognises geographically specific health workforce shortages;
- Improving workforce data quality in regional, rural and remote communities to inform workforce strategies;
- Working with local governments, Primary Health Networks and GP groups to develop community-specific models for GPs and other specialists to practice in areas of shortage;
- Supporting a national rural generalist pathway and program to ensure people living in regional, rural and remote communities have access to health services which align with community needs; and
- Ensuring adequate governance of health services for remote, rural and regional communities, particularly in primary care settings.

Women's health

69. Australia needs better health outcomes for women, and targeted policies to help ensure the health system is more responsive to their needs. Labor will:

- Recognise that gender inequality is a key determinant of poor and unequal health outcomes for women and encourage all health services to be gender responsive – not just those targeted to women;
- Update and implement the National Women's Health Policy;
- Take account of the needs of lesbian, bisexual, transgender and intersex women, including the provision of culturally appropriate health services;
- Support women's ability to have control over their own fertility, including women with disability, by ensuring women and girls have access to the sexual and reproductive health services they require across the life course;
- Improve services and choices in health care available to women;
- Support the important role of Breast Screen Australia as well as other cancer screening, treatment and support services;
- Encourage greater investment in gender-specific research to identify differences and disparities in health and care;
- Continue and extend efforts under the National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children;
- Recognise the many health needs of women across their life span and ensure attention is given to unique women's health conditions such as endometriosis, poly-cystic ovarian syndrome and ovarian cancer, that have in the past attracted little public investment;
- Support research services for older women managing menopause; and

- Ensure those experiencing eating disorders – which affect all age groups and genders but are most prevalent in women – have access to evidence-based early interventions and treatments and work to address social and cultural norms that contribute to body image concerns among young women.

Maternal and child health

70. Interventions to improve the health of mothers and their babies can have a profound lifelong impact. Labor will:
- Provide leadership on a National Maternity Services Plan that meets the needs of all women in Australia;
 - Promote healthy lifestyles before and during pregnancy, including addressing risk factors including alcohol and tobacco use;
 - Promote maternal and child nutrition, including support and encouragement of breastfeeding;
 - Implement policies to address peri-natal mental health and to improve prevention, early detection and support services for pregnant and new mothers;
 - Promote awareness of stillbirth and implement policies to reduce the rate of stillbirth in Australia;
 - Improve the information available to mothers about the options available for childbirth regardless of income or geographical location and ensure access to available options including birthing on country programs where appropriate;
 - Support the ability for midwives to maintain access to Medicare and PBS services;
 - Ensure access to continuity of care models for pregnancy, birth and the postpartum period;
 - Deliver special programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mothers and babies, to reduce mortality rates and improve health;
 - Support programs to increase the proportion of children born at the right gestational age and a healthy birth weight; and
 - Concentrate and coordinate efforts across the first 1000 days of a child’s development.

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex health

71. "Minority stress"—the effect of being subjected to pervasive prejudiced attitudes and language from childhood on—generally leads to higher rates of mental illness and suicide in LGBTIQ communities. Derogatory language that children are exposed to from childhood causes LGBTIQ people to experience poorer general and mental health outcomes.
72. As a result of this and other factors, LGBTIQ people have specific and unique health needs.
73. Labor will develop a national LGBTIQ health plan to:
- Address the particular health needs of LQBTIQ people, working in partnership with these communities and LGBTI health bodies;

- Support LGBTIQ health and mental health peak bodies including intersex organisations to continue to provide support to intersex persons and their families and advocate on intersex issues;
- Require that medical professionals through professional development maintain a strong understanding of health issues specific to LGBTIQ individuals and communities in order to prevent misinformed and inappropriate medical treatments and procedures;
- Support programs to prevent suicide, and for improved mental health, for high risk groups, including LGBTIQ Australians and ensure a person-centred strategy for supporting positive mental health outcomes in the LGBTIQ community;
- Provide better for the needs of young LGBTIQ Australians, particularly in rural, regional, outer urban areas and within Indigenous and ethnic communities;
- Ensure that Medicare and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme continue to implement anti-discriminatory policies for LGBTIQ Australians and that same sex couples and their families are not discriminated against in their access to or use of Medicare or the PBS;
- Work to break down barriers to social inclusion for all LGBTIQ Australians; and
- Consider the social determinants of health in formulating LGBTIQ health policy.

74. Labor acknowledges the right of all Australians, including transgender and gender diverse people, to live their gender identity. For many, this includes accessing specialist health services and for some people can involve gender affirming medical technologies. Cost should not be a barrier to accessing these services. Labor commits to removing, wherever possible, barriers to accessing these services and consulting with experts in government. This should materialise in a focus on creating fair, equal and affordable access to medical care and treatments relevant to trans and gender diverse Australians.

75. Parents of intersex children can be pressured to hormonally or surgically intervene on their children if they don't receive medically correct advice, information or support about how to parent an intersex child. Labor will ensure deferral of non-necessary medical intervention on infants and children with intersex variations until such time as the person concerned can give their informed consent is supported. Labor commits to promote and support a human rights-based patient consent model for accessing lifetime medical treatments and procedures. Labor will prohibit modifications to sex characteristics undertaken for social rationales without informed consent and ensure intersex persons' right not to undergo sex assignment treatment is respected.

Men's health

76. Australia needs better health outcomes for men. Recognising men are generally worse at seeking care when it is needed Labor will:

- Update and fully implement the National Male Health Policy, including an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander male health policy with a focus on valuing young men;
- Develop and implement policies to improve male mental health and prevent male suicide, particularly in rural areas;
- Support policies to address the gap in life expectancy between males and females;
- Implement policies and programs to improve detection of prostate cancer including treatment, support and research; and

- Consult with the relevant communities about the specific health needs of gay and bisexual men, and men who are transgender or intersex, and about the provision of culturally appropriate health services, and ensure their appropriate resourcing and promotion.

Senior Australians' health

77. Longer lives present both opportunities and challenges for our health care system. Senior Australians face distinct health challenges and conditions that require targeted care and support.
78. Labor will:
- Promote healthy, active ageing and social inclusion and provide greater opportunities for senior Australians to control their own health care and treatment choices;
 - Ensure greater coordination across the system to ensure senior Australians receive the highest quality of continuous care;
 - Support improved consumer education and self-management to help people better manage their chronic conditions;
 - Ensure senior Australians are supported to make informed choices about their care; and
 - Work to improve access to health care in aged care facilities.

The health of people with disabilities

79. The National Disability Insurance Scheme provides opportunities for people with disability to participate more fully in work and the community.
80. People with disability experience many health challenges and their experiences of the health care system can be fragmented and discriminatory. This often includes denial of the care they need when and where they need it.
81. Labor will:
- Promote and support appropriate health screening and preventive health care for people with a disability;
 - Better integrate the care provided to people through the National Disability Insurance Scheme and Medicare; and
 - Improve access to health care services including mental health services and medical devices for people with disability not eligible for the National Disability Insurance Scheme.

Young people

82. Young people have specific health needs. Addressing the physical and mental health needs of young people can improve their educational outcomes, employment prospects and social engagement, which also benefits the broader community. Labor will:
- Place a particular focus on young people's health needs, including addressing physical and mental health needs, providing culturally sensitive and age appropriate services, providing impartial and confidential health advice, ensuring the privacy of health records, delivering

evidence-based drug and alcohol prevention programs, sexual health services and promoting a healthy lifestyle;

- Adopt an integrated health-based approach to youth mental health and suicide that works with existing community structures, including addressing depression, coping with stress, body image, eating disorders, neglect, abuse, drug and alcohol problems, access to firearms, bullying, issues with social media, homophobia and other forms of discrimination; and
- Recognise the need for age appropriate residential care facilities for those with major disabilities requiring respite or long-term residential care.

Health priority areas

Chronic disease

83. Levels of chronic disease, such as cardiovascular disease, cancer, type 2 diabetes, asthma, hearing and vision loss and kidney disease are largely preventable and correlate strongly with socio-economic status in Australia, disproportionately disadvantaging poorer communities both economically and with regard to health outcomes. Chronic pain is also increasingly a significant challenge for many Australians. Chronic disease has become the leading cause of preventable death in Australia and one of the greatest challenges facing our health system, responsible for 90% of all deaths and 85% of the burden of disease.

84. Labor will address the chronic disease challenge by:

- Targeting the causes of chronic disease, particularly in economically disadvantaged and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, by working with local government, Primary Health Networks and the primary health care sector more broadly;
- Improving access to primary health care multi-disciplinary teams and exploring and trialling innovative models for management of chronic disease, including coordinated case management, involving the community and not for profit sectors where appropriate;
- Supporting early detection of those at high risk of developing chronic disease and ensuring they are well managed, including self-managed, to prevent disease onset and avoidable hospital admissions;
- Leading the world in action to reduce rates of smoking, particularly among groups which continue to smoke at higher levels such as people with mental illness;
- Developing preventive health policies and solutions, including those that focus on obesity and physical inactivity;
- Addressing substance abuse issues and their impacts on chronic disease management;
- Responding to the escalating social and economic issue of chronic pain by working with the States and Territories and the health sector to empower consumers and health professionals to access and provide best practice pain management and reduce unintended consequences of over reliance on medications; and
- Responding to chronic life-limiting conditions such as chronic heart failure, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, renal and liver disease, dementia, diabetes, multiple sclerosis, motor neurone disease and HIV/AIDs with palliative care interventions where appropriate.

Improving mental health and suicide prevention

85. It is estimated one in five Australians experience mental ill health every year. Mental ill health can vary in complexity and severity. Mental ill health can also be persistent or episodic in nature.
86. The latest ABS figures reveal around eight Australians die from suicide every day.
87. Labor will focusing on research, improving data collection and access to evidence-based services that targets those most at risk to reduce Australia's heartbreaking and confronting suicide rate.
88. We support the establishment of evidence-based care for any Australian with or at risk of an eating disorder. To achieve this Labor will focus on how health providers can provide early intervention initiatives, appropriate treatment as well as enabling sustainable recovery
89. Labor acknowledges the mental health needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are significantly higher than those of other Australians.
90. Regardless of where older Australians live, whether that be at home or in a residential aged care setting, mental health services must be available for everyone that needs them.
91. A strong primary health care system with universal provision of GPs, community health care and other primary health services is an integral component of the support provided to people experiencing mental ill health or at risk of mental ill health.
92. Labor will build on its strong legacy of investments in mental health and remains committed to long-term mental health reform. We will focus on the delivery of a more integrated, cross-sector and whole-of-government mental health care system which is centred on evidence-based, early intervention and prevention as well as the provision of more intensive and better coordinated support services for people living with mental ill health.
93. Historic reforms like Labor's National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) will help to achieve better outcomes for people with severe, complex and persistent mental ill health by helping them get timely support and access to appropriate services.
94. Labor will place a focus on providing psychosocial support for those people living with episodic mental ill health who will not be eligible for the NDIS. This will ensure vulnerable Australians are provided with a safety net of community-based services that may be at risk of falling through the service gap. Mental health services should be less crisis-driven and more preventative and recovery-driven. Supporting people to participate in the community, particularly through employment and education should be a key feature of Australia's mental health system.
95. Investing in community mental health services and support for families and carers of Australians living with mental illness is critical to ensuring all people who are suffering from mental illness get the resources and the information they require, from early intervention to recovery, including the most effective care and support options.
96. Labor will:
 - Lead and promote reform of Australia's mental health service system;
 - Continue to support awareness activities to break down the stigma around mental ill health;

- Support mental health research to build the evidence base for improvements in service delivery;
- Work to ensure that when a vulnerable Australian puts their hand up for help there are appropriate and relevant mental health services for them to access;
- Develop and deliver policies and programs to support and promote good mental health and wellbeing and to encourage Australians to seek mental health care early;
- Ensure people experiencing mental ill health can get more and better co-ordinated services, both clinical and non-clinical, and improve the lives of the most disadvantaged and socially excluded;
- Target support to people who need it most including young people, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex people, and those living in socio-economically disadvantaged communities that are currently underserved;
- Provide more support for mental health services in rural, regional and remote areas to improve equality of access for communities across the country;
- Build the capacity of Australia’s mental health workforce so people can get mental health services when and where they need it;
- Help to prevent and address homelessness among people with mental illness;
- Improve support for people with mental ill health to participate in the workforce;
- Provide respite and support for family members and carers of people with mental ill health;
- Break down barriers to seeking care by reducing the stigma around mental health through ongoing public education activities;
- Monitor the implementation of the National Disability Insurance Scheme to ensure people continue to get support for mental illness at an appropriate level; and
- Improve access and affordability for assessment for the Disability Support Pension on mental health grounds

97. Labor continues to support the need for a strong independent agency to ensure there is effective monitoring, assessment and reporting on the mental health system in a way that provides greater transparency and public accountability.

Reducing the harm of drugs and alcohol on our communities and health system

98. Labor will respond to the harm caused by alcohol and other drug misuse with prevention programs, early intervention, effective treatment and harm minimisation policies. Labor will adopt evidence-based policy for dealing with alcohol and other drug related harm.

99. Labor will:

- Support implementation of the National Drug Strategy including support services, harm minimisation, demand and supply reduction, law enforcement and national and community campaigns and interventions;
- Support implementation of a National Alcohol Strategy that includes evidence-based measures to prevent and reduce alcohol-related harms, including alcohol related violence;

- Strengthen work to limit alcohol advertising to children and work with State, Territory and local government to reduce children’s exposure in other settings;
- Recognise comorbidities around mental illness and alcohol and drug misuse; and
- Re-establish a national policy focus on addressing the impacts of alcohol and other drugs on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities.

Improving oral health

100. Dental health is important to overall general health. It is strongly linked to socio-economic status. Labor will address the dental health needs of all Australians. The lack of appropriate dental care for many disadvantaged Australians represents a significant gap in the provision of universal health care. Labor believes universal access to dental care combined with strong prevention interventions will ensure a healthy, productive nation. Labor's Child Dental Benefits Scheme (CDBS), which has now seen millions of services delivered to children, was a significant step forward in this process.

101. Labor will:

- Improve the delivery of dental services in Australia and work with the States and Territories to improve oral health outcomes for disadvantaged Australians and reduce public dental waiting lists;
- Enhance and promote the CDBS to achieve better oral health outcomes for children; and
- Deliver fairer and timely access to dental care by taking steps towards the establishment of universal dental care, beginning with the expansion of the provision of dental care to the most vulnerable in our community and also focus on prevention of oral diseases.

Improving sexual and reproductive health

102. To improve sexual and reproductive health for all Australians, regardless of sexuality, sex characteristics, disability, gender or gender identity, Labor will:

- Develop a national sexual and reproductive health strategy for all Australians, including reviewing the availability of sexual and reproductive health services;
- Work with States and Territories to remove the GST on menstrual products, including tampons, napkins, menstrual cups and reusable pads;
- Work with States and Territories to improve the accessibility, legality and affordability of surgical and medical terminations across Australia, including decriminalisation in all States and Territories and the provision of abortion in public hospitals;
- Improve access to surgical and medical terminations for women in rural and regional areas, including through the improved access to tele-abortion.
- Work with States and Territories to implement safe access zones for women seeking termination services and the staff of those services, to protect their health, safety and welfare;
- Support universal access to modern contraceptives and promote advice on the safe use of contraceptives, particularly by improving awareness and uptake of highly effective long acting reversible contraceptives

- Support the rights of women to make decisions regarding reproductive health, particularly the right to choose appropriate contraceptives and termination and ensure these choices are made on the basis of sound psychological and medical advice;
- Support improved uptake of the HPV vaccine;
- Support improved access to STI screening, management and treatment; and
- Support research into the causes of infertility and work to ensure access to assistive reproductive technology programs is not determined by economic circumstances or any form of discrimination, whether on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or relationship status.

103. Labor has a proud record in HIV policy. Bipartisan national leadership in partnership with affected communities and other organisations, clinicians and researchers has prevented a generalised epidemic.
104. HIV notifications, however, remain too high. Labor is especially concerned that HIV notifications have steadily increased among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and are now double the rate of other Australians. Notwithstanding these challenges, Australia has an unprecedented opportunity to end HIV transmission. Labor commits to the United Nations Political Declaration on HIV and AIDS, which provides the global framework for action on HIV, including through the UNAIDS Fast-Track 95-95-95 targets to end the HIV epidemic. Labor’s commitment to making HIV history will include restoring the capacity that the Liberals have cut from HIV peak organisations; funding new efforts to promote HIV prevention, testing, and treatment in ‘hidden populations’; and ensuring affordable access to pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) via the PBS.
105. Needle and Syringe Programs have been important in the prevention of HIV and other blood-borne viruses among people who inject drug. Labor will maintain these services in order to prevent transmission.
106. Labor acknowledges that the Australian Red Cross Blood Service has previously recommended that the current 12 month deferral period for men who have sex with men is excessive and beyond what is required to maintain a safe blood supply, and notes that the Blood Service is currently reviewing the deferrals policy again. Labor will act urgently on any advice from the Blood Service and the Therapeutic Goods Administration to reduce the deferral period for men who have sex with men. This will increase blood supply and reduce the inequality and social harm caused by this discriminatory policy.
107. Labor will ensure Australia’s donor deferral policies are deeply evidence-based. They should provide for the highest standards of safety and the largest supply of blood products, and avoid needless exclusion of prospective donors.
108. Labor will support and promote the importance of education to empower Australians to make safe, informed decisions about sexual and reproductive health.
109. Labor will ensure sex education includes all sexualities and gender identities. Labor will ensure the sex education curriculum is kept up-to-date and reviewed regularly by both non-government organisations and experts working in LGBTI health.

Rare diseases

110. People with rare disease and cancers with low survival rates often have very complex needs and face unique challenges. Unfortunately, in many cases the health system is not equipped to respond to the needs of those living with rare diseases. In recognition of this Labor will:
- Develop a National Rare Disease Policy; and
 - Provide greater opportunities for referral, diagnosis and access to treatment for Australians living with a rare disease or low-survival-rate cancer.

Building Australia's role in global health

111. Labor has a strong track record when it comes to foreign aid investment. Supporting access to safe and affordable health care is important for Australia's foreign policy because it promotes health and wellbeing in the region, and thus economic growth.
112. Labor will:
- Continue to invest in global health programs and projects in developing countries in our region;
 - Support surgical education, training and workforce development to reduce the shortage of trained and skilled national clinicians in the region, which reduces countries' capacity to deliver health care to their populations;
 - Support the development of health care infrastructure in the region;
 - Continue to be an active participant and supporter of the World Health Organisation;
 - Continue to support the important role that the Sustainable Development Goals have in improving health internationally and domestically; and
 - Continue to support women's health programs including for sexual and reproductive health.

Chapter 9: A fair go for all

The contemporary challenge

1. Fairness is at the heart of Labor's purpose. The rapidly changing nature of our families, our economy and our labour market demand new approaches to achieve a fair society.
2. After a quarter-century of continuous economic growth, inequality is at a 75-year high. Nearly three million Australians live below the poverty line, and hundreds of thousands of Australians are unemployed. The mining investment boom is over and established manufacturing industries are in decline, while technology is driving the creation of new industries. Old jobs are disappearing, making way for new jobs that require new skills. Increasing casualisation and the rise of the 'gig' economy mean that secure, full-time jobs are hard to find, especially in some regions of Australia.
3. For all the success Australians have achieved, the rewards are not as widely spread or as fairly shared as we would like. A long period of economic growth has lifted incomes for many people. Yet poverty and disadvantage remain acute and entrenched in some parts of Australia. Understanding the complex causes of social exclusion and disadvantage is essential. People can get trapped in a spiral of disadvantage caused by family circumstances, low expectations, poor housing, unemployment, age, illness or discrimination. When a location has a high level of more than one type of disadvantage, it can have a compounding affect. A child's earliest years fundamentally shape their life chances, and being born into a disadvantaged area can be detrimental to their chances throughout life. Certain groups are more likely to experience disadvantage and social exclusion, including jobless families, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, LGBTI people, people with mental illness or disability, new migrants and refugees, and people experiencing homelessness.
4. Around the world, the Global Financial Crisis and its aftermath have dramatically shifted the discussion about the policies we need to build stronger economies and fairer societies. Issues that were once seen as more moral rather than economic challenges – rising unemployment and reduced living standards, increasing inequality and eroding social mobility, persistent poverty and disadvantage – are now central to global economic and social policy debates. There is now a widespread consensus that for economic growth to be robust and sustainable it must be inclusive. It must improve living standards and opportunities for everyone. It is now beyond doubt that inclusion is a prerequisite for stronger economic growth rather than a consequence of it.
5. Labor firmly believes government is responsible to ensure secure jobs and living standards are protected. Labor will develop policies to protect and expand decent, secure jobs, prepare Australians for the jobs of the future and improve living standards.
6. A strong social safety net is central to alleviating poverty and reducing inequality. Australia has one of the most well-targeted social security systems in the world. It is affordable, it is sustainable, and it must be fair. Labor will fight the Conservatives' campaign to demonise social security recipients. Labor in government will not pursue any expansion of the Cashless Debit card or community wide income management without clear evidence of community benefit and informed community consent. Labor will ensure proper community consultation in the implementation of any quarantining of social security.

7. Our social safety net is critically important and it should never be undermined. It needs to be adequate and to adapt to the changing labour market. In contrast to the Conservatives' approach, Labor policy must address the complex causes of disadvantage.

Labor values

8. What Australians have long called 'the fair go' is at the heart of Labor's identity and the centre of our vision for the nation.
9. Fairness is essential to all our policies. We will work tirelessly to ensure every Australian has the opportunity to share in our national prosperity. This means developing policies and providing services which improve the lives of our most disadvantaged citizens and ensuring no Australian is left behind. It also means addressing inequality and all the social and economic costs of that inequality.
10. First Nations' peoples have a special place in our nation as Australia's first peoples and as custodians of the oldest continuing cultures in the world.
11. First Nations' peoples experience particular disadvantage when compared to other Australians. Labor will work in partnership with First Nations' peoples to achieve the change they aspire to, for themselves and for their children, including Closing the Gap on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' disadvantage in Australia. 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.
12. Ongoing gender inequality and high rates of family and domestic violence is a barrier to the creation of a more just and equal Australia. Achieving gender equality and preventing violence against women and children is a national priority that requires enduring commitment from governments. Labor will act against the exploitation, including sexual exploitation, of women and children, either in Australia or overseas.
13. Affordable and secure housing is essential to wellbeing, participation and inclusion. All Australians should get safe, affordable and appropriate housing throughout their lives. Addressing homelessness a high priority for Labor.
14. Families are essential to our communities and our society, and should be supported to give their children the best opportunities in life. This includes a strong family payments system that alleviates child poverty by helping low and middle income families meet the costs of raising children.
15. Families come in many shapes and sizes, including families headed by same-sex couples, and that their needs are diverse too.
16. People with disability have the same rights as all Australians to participate fully in all aspects of social, cultural, economic and community life. Australians with disability should be supported and actively encouraged to make sure they can have full choice and control over their lives.
17. A creative nation is a productive nation. Australians need to engage in a range of activities, including artistic, cultural and sporting activities, to have a fulfilling life. The arts and creative industries are fundamental to Australia's identity as a society and nation, and increasingly to our success as a national economy. Labor will ensure Australia's cultural sector—incorporating all aspects of arts, cultural heritage and the creative industries—has the skills, resources, and resilience to play an active role in Australia's identity and future. Our creative industries are

important to the wellbeing and fulfilment of Australians; they contribute to social cohesion and are increasingly important to our economic success, driving innovation and lifting productivity. Consistent with its proud history of support for the arts, Labor will develop and champion innovative and forward-looking national cultural policy that celebrates Australian art and stories.

18. Sport improves health and fitness and has the power to bring communities together, crossing cultural, religious and political divides. It teaches self-discipline and teamwork to our children and often is a source of immense national pride.
19. Labor is a party of opportunity for all. All Australians should have the opportunity to work, to learn and to participate fully in family and community life. Spreading opportunity requires growing participation in work and the economy and better support for families to share opportunity with their children. It also requires the broad range of activities and services that make life liveable and fulfilling.
20. Our commitment to social justice means we measure ourselves by our treatment of those among us who are most marginalised. Addressing the root causes of poverty, disadvantage and social exclusion is essential to Labor's cause.
21. Labor is a party of compassion. Not everyone is able to perform paid work. These Australians deserve respect and ongoing support, including financial support. Carers deserve the same opportunities as other Australians to participate in work and the community, and live a fulfilling life.
22. Labor has always stood for equality. Labor has helped people overcome disadvantage based on class, gender, sexual orientation, disability, religion, cultural background and racial prejudice. We have always pursued the fair go, tolerance and respect. We oppose all attempts to divide Australians by pandering to prejudice. Australia's diversity is one of the greatest sources of strength in our nation. Our national unity is based on mutual respect, shared values and a commitment to work together to build a stronger Australia.
23. Australia is an inclusive and multicultural country. Labor upholds these values. Immigrants and refugees have made an important economic and social contribution throughout our nation's history. Australia's diversity is a source of national strength and a critical factor in nation-building. Labor supports a multicultural society underpinned by a respect for Australian values and a model of democratic citizenship that moves beyond the formal recognition of rights and responsibilities to active and participatory citizenship.
24. For the Australian people to have confidence and trust in the integrity of our migration system, Labor believes it must be built upon rigorous procedures and processes that protect our national interest and our national borders while also treating individuals with fairness, dignity and humanity. Labor believes in dealing with the complex issue of those seeking Australia's protection by giving expression to the values of compassion, fairness and generosity. These values are essential to the Australian identity. 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.
25. Citizenship is critical in our culturally diverse society. Australia should encourage all permanent residents to become citizens. Labor's citizenship process will focus on the principles underlying Australia's citizenship pledge: Australia's democratic beliefs and laws, and the rights, responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship. Australian citizenship is a critical part of

encouraging participation in the Australian community. Labor will remove unnecessary and unintended barriers to citizenship, particularly for vulnerable groups of migrants.

26. Labor will recognise and protect human rights. This actively helps create a more inclusive society. Labor has a Human Rights Framework to increase community awareness of human rights and to provide greater scrutiny of compliance with our international human rights obligations.
27. Community and public services are important in helping individuals and connecting people. Community and public services provide essential support to the most disadvantaged in our society. Community and public services meet the direct needs of individuals and create social cohesion in communities. Developing a highly skilled workforce in community and public services, and a strong and sustainable community and public sector, is vital to meeting the nation's challenges. Labor will work in partnership with these sectors to address complex contemporary challenges.
28. Labor will act against all forms of discrimination, vilification or harassment and harmonise anti-discrimination laws and procedures.
29. Labor supports the appropriate protection of the religious freedom of all people.

Labor priorities

Creating an inclusive Australia

30. Labor will give every Australian the help they need to access the opportunities society has to offer. Our emphasis is on supporting people to enable them to take up available opportunities for work in order to help them improve their circumstances. It recognises that policies and programs need to work in a cohesive and complementary way to deal with the variety of challenges which vulnerable Australians and disadvantaged people face. It requires sustained action across all levels of government and with the private and community sectors.
31. All Australians should be able to participate in economic and community life at all levels, including through employment, volunteering, community service and education. Social inclusion requires that people have the capabilities, opportunities, responsibilities and resources to participate and are supported to do so.
32. 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.
33. Labor is committed to a social security system which keeps people out of poverty, whether they are unemployed or in retirement, that is why the previous Labor government undertook a review of the age pension and increased the rate of the pension so that Australians could have a decent life in retirement.
34. Labor notes that after a quarter of a century with no increase to the rate of Newstart payments, the level of income for unemployed Australians is shamefully low by international standards.
35. Labor will urgently complete a review into the inadequacy of Newstart payments and make recommendations within the first 18 months of government, on how best to address this. The review should include broad consultation and surveying of unemployed Australians about how the

low rate of Newstart impacts on their health, ability to re-enter employment and to afford basic necessities, with the responses to be publicly reported.

36. Labor will make sure people who unable to work or who are unemployed get adequate financial support. Labor will also make sure people who are looking for work get the support they need to find and keep a job.
37. Labor will make Australia more inclusive. Labor will:
- Support families and create strong and cohesive communities;
 - Make our economy competitive and strong;
 - Create the opportunities and resources for every Australian to participate in the economy and community life; and
 - Ensure services which are provided to all Australians meet high standards.
38. Disadvantage is often a result of multiple, complex and interconnected barriers to participation. Labor will act on evidence about the causes and consequences of social and economic disadvantage. Labor will:
- Support families to give their children the best opportunities in life, including a safe home, a good education, positive role models, and help with parenting skills;
 - Support people who do not have a source of income from employment to increase the work opportunities available to them;
 - Improve the life chances of children at greatest risk of long-term disadvantage, including through the National Child Protection Framework;
 - Reduce the incidence of homelessness;
 - Improve outcomes for people living with disability or mental illness and their carers;
 - Close the gap in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' disadvantage;
 - Break the cycle of entrenched and multiple disadvantage in particular neighbourhoods and communities;
 - Ensure fair services by maintaining front line access to government services in regional and rural Australia; and
 - Ensure that every Australian has the opportunity of engagement with their community by facilitating connection with local community organisations and services.

Multiculturalism

39. Australia is a multicultural country. Multiculturalism enriches our economy and our society. Labor knows that modern Australia and multicultural Australia are the same thing. Labor's approach to multicultural policy is to stop treating multicultural Australia as if it is a minority group but to bring it to the centre of the definition of modern Australia.
40. Labor will combat racism and respond to expressions of intolerance and discrimination with strength and, where necessary, the full force of the law.
41. A multicultural society delivers social, cultural and economic benefits for all Australians.

42. Labor will ensure government services are more responsive to the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse Australians.
43. Labor’s policies will continue to celebrate, embrace and harness multicultural Australia and reflect the benefits of multiculturalism to our nation, respect our cultural diversity, and harness the economic potential of our people. Labor will continuously improve treatment of newly arrived refugees and humanitarian entrants as they make new lives in Australia, including:
- Providing practical settlement services, English language tuition, case management where required and encouragement and facilitation for social inclusion, leading to full participation in Australian society; and
 - Better employment outcomes for newly arrived refugees and higher employment participation in the long-term.
44. Labor policies will reflect a commitment to equity of opportunity and equality of outcomes for all Australians and will take into account impacts and consequences on people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.
45. Labor will ensure systemic discrimination does not present as a barrier to the full participation of all Australians including people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and will work within a framework that achieves substantive equality.
46. Labor will ensure people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds are represented in leadership roles and are included in decision making processes.
47. Labor’s policies will reflect the benefits of cultural diversity to our nation, be inclusive of the needs and aspirations of people from culturally diverse backgrounds, and harness the economic potential of our people.

Fairness

48. Fairness in Australia is built on five pillars: economic growth, equitable social policy, quality government services, strong families and communities, and working in partnership with all sectors of the economy and community:
- **Economic growth** — making our economy strong and competitive. To improve social outcomes over time and between generations, government economic strategy needs to be inclusive, and deliver full employment with sound fiscal and macroeconomic policy settings;
 - **Equitable social policy** — creating the opportunities and resources every Australian needs to participate in the economy and community life. This includes providing an adequate social safety net. It requires adequate support for those who are unemployed, people with disability and carers, people on low-incomes and people marginally attached to the labour market through local skills development, training and employment. Labor knows people on Newstart are doing it tough. Labor will help people to strengthen their capability, resilience and independence;
 - **Quality government services, a strong independent and appropriately resourced public service** – ensuring services which are provided to all Australians are appropriately funded to meet high standards, especially for those Australians who need them most but may have

difficulty accessing them. Labor will ensure the quality and accessibility of mainstream services and target the right support directly to the most disadvantaged individuals and communities;

- Labor will build a world-class education system which prepares children for work and life, including through lifting the quality of education in the most disadvantaged areas. Labor will deliver world-class health and community services which improve life outcomes, particularly for the most disadvantaged and people with disability, including through expanded primary and preventative health services, linking people to the range of supports they need before crises occur, and at critical life transitions. Labor will improve the supply of affordable and accessible housing. Australia must close the gap for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in areas including life expectancy, education, health, housing and employment;
- **Strong families and communities** — supporting families to give their children the best opportunities in life and creating strong and cohesive communities, especially in areas experiencing entrenched and multiple disadvantage. Labor will support families to give their children the best opportunities in life through paid parental leave, better quality childcare, and strong and targeted family payments and family support programs. This requires supporting vulnerable families and children at risk by ensuring family support programs focus on vulnerable people, reduce red tape for service providers and ensure payments are spent in the interests of children. Labor will ensure Australians on low or fixed incomes get fair and equal financial products, including emergency relief, no- and low-interest loan schemes, matched saving schemes and financial literacy support; and
- **Partnership for change** — creating new and innovative partnerships with all sectors of the economy and community, so all levels of government, businesses and not-for-profit organisations are working together to build a stronger, fairer Australia. This includes maintaining a strong and sustainable community sector, including smaller, not-for-profit, locally-based organisations that can rally the support of local communities. It requires working in partnership with the community sector and its representatives, including workforce representatives, to develop solutions to our nation’s complex issues, and formalizing the relationship between government and the community sector by building on the National Compact between the Australian government and the third sector. Labor will deliver sustainable funding, driven by best outcomes at a local level that protects a diversity of services which are embedded in their community. Labor will encourage community organisations to work together, and not against one another, to deliver for the most vulnerable members of our society;
- Labor will investigate new models of social enterprise and social investment. We will work with philanthropic foundations and individual donors in areas of national priority like reducing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander disadvantage and improving child health outcomes. We will effectively coordinate action across sectors to prevent and reduce homelessness; and work together with business to help Australians living with disability and mental illness to participate in work and community life.

Human rights

49. A Human Rights Framework that reflects our international obligations is necessary to deliver our commitment to fundamental rights across social and economic policies. We are committed to promoting awareness and understanding of human rights, supporting the international human rights instruments to which Australia is a signatory, and properly funding and supporting the Australian Human Rights Commission, an independent agency that plays a critical role in our society. Labor will adhere to Australia’s international human rights obligations and will seek to have

them incorporated into the domestic law of Australia and taken into account in administrative decision-making and whenever new laws and policies are developed.

50. Labor introduced a Human Rights Framework that:
- Invested in a comprehensive suite of education initiatives to promote a greater understanding of human rights across the community;
 - Through the National Action Plan on Human Rights required that each new Bill introduced into Parliament is accompanied by a statement of compatibility with our international human rights obligations; and
 - Established a new Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights to provide greater scrutiny of legislation for compliance with our international human rights obligations.
51. Labor will:
- Consolidate federal anti-discrimination laws into a single Act to remove unnecessary regulatory overlap and make the system more user-friendly;
 - Review legislation, policies and practices for compliance with the seven core UN Human Rights treaties to which Australia is a party (which are listed in the framework); and
 - Review the Human Rights Framework and consider whether it could be enhanced through a statutory charter of human rights or other similar instrument.

First Nations Peoples

52. Labor supports the recognition of First Nations peoples in the Australian Constitution. This will be an important step towards a more reconciled nation based on strong relationships of mutual respect. Labor supports meaningful and substantive change to recognise the unique and special place of First Nations peoples and to reflect our nation’s fundamental belief in equality and non-discrimination. Labor will implement the Uluru Statement from the Heart’s sole proposal for constitutional recognition – a First Nations’ Voice to Parliament – in genuine partnership with First Nations peoples as well as building public support for change.
53. Labor commits to holding a referendum to enshrine a First Nations’ Voice to Parliament in the Constitution.
54. The 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 supports welcome to country ceremonies at significant public events.
55. Labor acknowledges the First Nations status and aspirations of Indigenous peoples, as well as their contribution to Australian society.
56. Reconciliation is an important vehicle for healing and justice in Australian society. Labor will support First Nations peoples, the broader community and corporate and non-government sectors to promote reconciliation.
57. Labor supports mainstream funding and service delivery with a strong focus on positive outcomes for First Nations peoples.

58. Labor will comply with the Racial Discrimination Act in the development of policies relating to First Nations peoples.
59. Labor supports the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Declaration affirms the entitlement of First Nations peoples to all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognised in international law and provides an aspirational framework for future dialogue. Australia's formal support was welcomed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, key First Nations people, UN experts and the First Nations Social Justice Commissioner. This support underlines Labor's desire to work in good faith with First Nations peoples, acknowledging our relationship will be tested and evolve over time.
60. Land and water are the basis of First Nations spirituality, law, culture, economy and wellbeing. Native Title and land rights are both symbols of social justice and a source of valuable economic opportunity for First Nations Australians.
61. Labor seeks a relationship where First Nations peoples and communities are the architects of their place in Australia and are equal partners with government in the development and implementation of policies that affect their way of life and livelihoods.
62. Land rights and Native Title are property rights under Australian law. Labor will work to accelerate the resolution of outstanding land and Native Title claims in partnership with other stakeholders. Negotiation produces better outcomes than litigation. Land use and ownership issues should be resolved by negotiation wherever possible.
63. Labor supports the statutory recognition of inalienable freehold title under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976.
64. First Nations peoples have a right to live on their traditional lands. Labor will provide essential services to remote communities.
65. The principle of subsidiarity, where decision making is devolved to the local level rather than imposed by a central authority, will guide the actions of those within government agencies responsible for the administration of First Nations Affairs.
66. Government administration will focus on achieving the direct participation of First Nations communities through consultations, negotiations, partnerships, and the facilitation of the devolution of decision making at regional and local levels.
67. Policies for remote communities must be relevant to their circumstances. We will move to negotiate with relevant Indigenous communities, and create explicit policies and programmes for the future support and development of remote Indigenous communities.
68. Labor will support families and communities across remote Australia to live on country in places where they can live comfortably, plan their lives and their diverse futures, and engage successfully with the wider community.
69. First Nations cultures and languages 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 peoples. Labor supports initiatives to strengthen the rich and diverse cultural practices, knowledge systems and cultural expressions of First Nations peoples.

70. The National Congress of Australia’s First Peoples is the national peak representative body of Indigenous Australian. Labor will support the National Congress of Australia’s First Peoples, which gives First Nations peoples a forum to express their views and aspirations, and will work with other existing institutions and bodies at the national, State, and regional level.
71. Community control and direct involvement of First Nations peoples in the planning and delivery of programs and services is important. Labor will invest in high performance community controlled Indigenous organisations to deliver the services First Nations peoples want and need.
72. Labor acknowledges the historic injustices of the past committed against First Nations peoples 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 history and culture of First Nations peoples and their contribution to the Australian story, as well as acknowledging events of national significance. Closing the Gap
73. Closing the gap in life expectancy, employment, health and education outcomes between First Nations peoples and other Australians is a national priority. Closing the Gap requires enduring commitment from all levels of government and the corporate and non-government sector, and in partnership with Indigenous peoples, to deliver the change they seek.
74. After decades of underinvestment and neglect, major reforms and unprecedented investment should be made in education, health, employment, housing and services, governance and infrastructure.
75. Labor’s commitment to Closing the Gap is evidence-based and includes measurable, open and transparent targets. The Closing the Gap targets are:
- Close the gap in life expectancy within a generation;
 - Halve the gap in mortality rates for Indigenous children under five within a decade;
 - 95 percent of all Indigenous four-year-olds enrolled in early childhood education ;
 - Close the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous school attendance within five years;
 - Halve the gap for Indigenous children in reading, writing and numeracy achievements within a decade;
 - Halve the gap for Indigenous Australians aged 20-24 in Year 12 attainment or equivalent attainment rates; and
 - Halve the gap in employment outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a decade .
76. Labor supports developing three additional Closing the Gap targets in partnership with First Nations peoples and organisations:
- To increase participation in higher and further education, by ensuring greater opportunity for Indigenous students to continue their learning in the fields of their choice;
 - To improve access to services for First Nations people with disability, by ensuring 90 per cent of eligible Individuals will receive funded support under the National Disability Insurance Scheme by 2020; and

- To address the high rates of engagement of First Nations people, particularly young people, in the criminal justice system, as well as the unacceptably high rates of Indigenous children in out of home care.
77. All governments should be held accountable for their progress to Closing the Gap for First Nations peoples. Labor will coordinate a national approach to achieving the Closing the Gap targets and will work in partnership with First Nations peoples to achieve long-term and measurable improvements with an independent and regular reporting framework, including through the annual Close the Gap Report to Parliament.
 78. Labor puts families at the centre of our work to Close the Gap, and will work with First Nations families to give children the best start in life. This requires a comprehensive early childhood strategy for Indigenous children, including wider provision of antenatal care services, sexual and reproductive health services for Indigenous women and maternal and child health services.
 79. Indigenous early years services, including the Children and Family Centres, are critical to help families give children a strong start in life so they are healthy, strong in their identity and ready for school.
 80. Indigenous women and children suffer more violence than other women. Labor pledges to work in partnership with First Nations peoples to reduce violence against women and children.
 81. Too many Indigenous children are in the child protection system. Labor will improve child safety and reduce the number of children entering care. Labor will work in partnership with Indigenous communities to ensure children in care maintain contact with their culture, language and community.
 82. Labor will convene a National Summit on First Nations' Children aimed at addressing high rates of child removal, improving child safety and addressing the large numbers of First Nations' children in detention and out of home care.
 83. Levels of incarceration of First Nations peoples, particularly young people, are unacceptably high, and continue to rise. The House of Representatives Standing Committee Report Doing Time — Time for Doing and the 1992 Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody identify the systemic causes of incarceration experienced by Indigenous communities.
 84. Australia needs to address First Nations peoples' interaction with the justice system including lower rates of offending and victimisation and better community safety. Labor supports justice reinvestment and the development of a justice target under the Closing the Gap framework to ensure coordinated action, accountability and progress to reduce the disproportionate incarceration rates of First Nations people. Suspicious deaths in custody should also be treated in a manner that maintains public confidence in the justice system.
 85. First Nations peoples experience a higher burden of illness, die at a younger age than other Australians and too often do not get adequate health services. Addressing the health status of First Nations peoples requires a comprehensive approach beyond health services to include cultural wellbeing and connection to the land, education, environmental health and employment and training opportunities, as discussed in Chapter 8.
 86. Education and training is fundamental to improving employment opportunities and reducing First Nations peoples' disadvantage. Between 2007 and 2013, Labor increased Indigenous student

numbers in higher education by 26 per cent. It is essential children go to school each day. Labor will work in partnership with Indigenous communities and schools to support families and children to engage with schooling and improve educational outcomes, as discussed in Chapter 7.

87. Labor will improve job readiness, employment and business opportunities for First Nations peoples to improve employment opportunities through a range of strategies and policy approaches discussed in Chapter 5.
88. Labor delivered the Apology to Australia's First Nations Peoples, in particular the Stolen Generations. Labor will work in partnership with the Stolen Generations members and their families to comprehensively respond to their needs as a distinct group. Labor supports the Healing Foundation and its work to aid healing in Indigenous communities, and the programs arising from the Bringing Them Home Report.
89. To continue to support healing of Stolen Generations members and their descendants, Labor will deliver compensation to Stolen Generations in Commonwealth Territories; establish a \$10 million Healing Fund, to be administered by the Healing Foundation.
90. Sport is vital to positive outcomes in health and mental health, stronger cultural identity and social inclusion. Labor will support First Nations peoples' participation in sport to contribute to Closing the Gap in First Nations peoples' disadvantage.

Rights and Opportunities for People with Disability

91. People with disability have the same rights as all Australians.
92. Government should help remove barriers to people with disability exercising those rights and ensure they receive the support they need to participate fully in society.
93. Labor will ensure people with disability and their families are not treated like second class citizens, but get equal opportunities to participate in all aspects of social, cultural and community life, and to be free from discrimination in our workplaces, services and communities.
94. People with disability and their families will be supported as individuals to have choice and control in their lives.
95. Services for people with disability will be tailored to individual circumstances to improve opportunities to participate in work and in the community.
96. Mainstream community services will be inclusive and accessible to citizens with disability and their families. Labor will help improve their capacity for this.
97. People with disability are persons before the law. Labor will promote their right to make choices for themselves.
98. Labor will implement the 'National Decision-Making Principles' published in the Australian Law Reform Commission's (ALRC) 2014 report, *Equality, Capacity and Disability in Commonwealth Laws*, namely:
 - Everyone has an equal right to make decisions and to have their decisions respected;

- Persons who need support will be given access to the support they need in decision-making;
 - A person's will and preferences will direct decisions that affect their lives; and
 - There will be appropriate and effective safeguards in relation to interventions for persons who may require decision-making support.
99. These principles promote the autonomy and independence of persons with disability, and are underpinned by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities. Australia is a signatory to this Convention.
100. 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.
101. In consultation with people with disability, Labor will improve the range, diversity and quality of services for people with disability, including by delivering income support and employment services; focusing on early intervention, individual and personalised choice and control; and working cooperatively with State and Territory governments to expand accommodation options, personal support including in-home support and individualised arrangements to support community participation and inclusion.
102. Labor will improve access to buildings, including dwellings, communications, transport, health care, aids, equipment, recreation, public space, and the justice and education systems, for people with disability and their families.
103. Australians with disability will be assured quality care and support, free of abuse and violence. A Labor Government will establish a Royal Commission into Violence and Abuse against People with Disability to allow people with disability, their families and carers to be able to present their shocking instances of abuse to the highest level of inquiry. They have a right to be heard, to be believed, to seek justice and to live lives free of abuse. Labor will not allow these sickening crimes to be swept under the carpet.
104. Collaboration between people with disability, their families, advocacy groups, the workforce and their unions, and service providers is essential to for high quality support services which enable people with disability to reach their goals and aspirations, and maximize opportunities for full participation and inclusion in the community.
105. Labor will ensure all people experiencing a disability have every opportunity to participate in employment and in the community, receiving care and supports including cultural specific services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and people from multi-cultural backgrounds.
106. Organisations of people with disability and families should be part of a vibrant community sector and have a strong, united voice to be able to provide advice to government and to strengthen the capacity for people with disability to exercise genuine choice and control over their lives. This is in line with the United Nations convention.
107. Advocacy is essential to support people with disability and safeguard them from abuse, neglect and exploitation. Labor will strengthen advocacy within the sector.

108. People with disability and families will be able to choose to become members or to receive advice and support from organisations specialising in a particular disability, as well as from organisations specialising in population groups.
109. Labor respects the roles of advocates for people with disability and family based organisations and will strengthen them to be as effective as possible.
110. Labor will ensure there is a policy agency that will lead and adopt an “Inclusion for All” approach to improve access and inclusion of people with disability to government policy and decision making, including through community education programs.

National Disability Insurance Scheme

111. Labor created the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) – the largest ever reform to Australia’s disability support system.
112. The National Disability Insurance Scheme will transform the lives of around 475,000 people with disability, their families and carers, and give people with disability more choice and control over their lives.
113. Labor created the National Disability Insurance Scheme 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.
114. Labor created a fully funded National Disability Insurance Scheme for people with disability and will ensure that commitment continues.
115. Labor will ensure the NDIS delivers on its promise to people with disability and will roll out the NDIS in full.
116. As a core business of Government, Labor will ensure the National Disability Insurance Agency is appropriately resourced and supported to develop and deliver high-quality plans for NDIS participants. Labor will maximise the effectiveness of the NDIS by ensuring strong links between the NDIS and the full range of government and community services.
117. Labor will create new types of user-led services to ensure people with disability have the choice and control over the services they receive.
118. All Australians deserve to have the peace of mind that if they or a loved one acquires disability; they will get the support and care they need to participate in the community.
119. The National Disability Insurance Scheme is an important economic reform that will create jobs and unlock the productive potential of thousands of people with disability and their carers.
120. Through the National Disability Insurance Scheme, Labor will stimulate innovation and expand services, creating new, skilled job opportunities for Australian workers to meet the expanding demand from people with disability and families.
121. Labor will also work to ensure job opportunities created through the National Disability Insurance Scheme deliver attractive 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 also work to address the growing casualisation and Uberisation in NDIS services.

122. As the National Disability Insurance Scheme is rolled out across Australia, Labor will support present and future service providers to better attract, develop, train and employ a skilled workforce that will deliver the integrates supports and services people with disability expect.
123. Labor strongly supports the vital work performed by all staff in the sector and will address the capacity, skill and remuneration issues affecting the disability workforce due to the huge expansion of the sector under the National Disability Insurance Scheme. Ongoing workforce attraction and retention is necessary to ensure quality care and outcomes for people living with a disability. Labor will 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. Labor will
- Enhance skill levels and continuing professional development of the workforce by ensuring appropriate accredited vocational training for workers entering the sector, and examine options for ongoing accredited training for all workers to build career paths in the NDIS, including through a portable training entitlement;
 - Protect, maintain and ensure scope to improve employment standards through the National Disability Insurance Scheme funding mechanisms, with proper regard to relevant industrial instruments;
 - Ensure that any worker delivering NDIS-funded supports is deemed to be covered by their relevant Award as a minimum;
 - Support employment and training models to enhance job security and minimise the spread of casualised and insecure work;
 - Develop best practice standards and accreditation of supports in consultation with stakeholders so quality controls are established, maintained and properly funded;
 - Direct funding to client services and limit administrative and brokerage costs; and
 - Prioritise accessibility of accredited training and continuing professional development for the workforce through Labor’s investment in rebuilding public TAFE.
124. Labor will support workforce development for the NDIS including an appropriate training entitlement for NDIS workers that is cumulative and portable and provides all NDIS workers with both foundation, and ongoing accredited training to build careers and specialisations in disability support.
125. Labor will work closely with the States and Territories on the details of the full rollout of the NDIS, based on evidence about high level of need for services across Australia’s cities, regions, rural and remote areas.
126. Labor will ensure Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples with disability fully benefit from the National Disability Insurance Scheme.
127. Labor will ensure LGBTIQ people with disability fully benefit from the National Disability Insurance Scheme.

128. Labor will ensure Cultural and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) people fully benefit from the National Disability Insurance Scheme.
129. Labor will invest in disability research. Research, evidence and information are essential to support service innovation, planning and quality, as well as informed choice by National Disability Insurance Scheme participants.
130. People with disability and their families know best what will help them to live full lives as independently as possible in the Australian community.
131. Labor will promote peer support and will work with people with disability, their families and carers to develop consumer demand and ensure people with disability and families are exercising full choice and control in their lives.
132. Labor acknowledges the challenges facing the rollout the of the NDIS and will work with people with disability, their families, carers and advocates, to improve the implementation of the Scheme and ensure the NDIS delivers on its promise. Labor will also work with the States and Territories to ensure the NDIS works effectively with other systems, like health, mental health, education and carer support, so people don't fall through the cracks. National Injury Insurance Scheme
133. Labor will ensure the National Injury Insurance Scheme (NIIS) complements the National Disability Insurance Scheme.
134. A person-centred National Injury Insurance Scheme 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.
135. The National Injury Insurance Scheme should be based on the recommendations of the Productivity Commission, covering the four main causes of catastrophic injury which require a NIIS, namely motor vehicle accidents, medical accidents, workplace accidents, and general accidents occurring in the home or community.
136. 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.
137. Labor will work with the States and Territories, as well as key sectors and industries, to develop and implement the National Injury Insurance Scheme as a federated model of separate State-based no-fault schemes to provide lifetime care and support for people who have sustained a catastrophic injury.
138. The National Injury Insurance Scheme is critical to a sustainable National Disability Insurance Scheme. It will also aid development of a modern rehabilitation system to provide necessary early intervention for people with acquired disability.

National Disability Strategy

139. 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.

140. Labor will act on the National Disability Strategy’s six priority areas to improve the lives of people with disability, their families and carers:
- Inclusive and accessible communities — the physical environment including public transport; parks, buildings and housing, digital information and communications technologies; civic life including social, sporting, recreational and cultural life;
 - Rights protection, justice and legislation — statutory protections such as anti-discrimination measures, complaints mechanisms, advocacy and the electoral and justice systems;
 - Economic security — jobs, business opportunities, financial independence, adequate income support for those not able to work, and housing;
 - Personal and community support — inclusion and participation in the community, person-centred care and support provided by specialist disability services and mainstream services and informal care and support;
 - Learning and skills, early childhood education and care, schools, further education, vocational education, transitions from education to employment and life-long learning; and
 - Health and wellbeing — health services, health promotion and the interaction between health and disability systems, wellbeing and enjoyment of life.
141. Labor will work with States and Territories to reduce the over-representation of people with disability, particularly people with cognitive impairment, in the justice system, both as victims and offenders.
142. A Labor Government will set the benchmark and lead by example wherever appropriate in demonstrating the value people with a disability bring to our community through employment, recreational and social participation.
143. The National Disability Strategy will guide Labor’s work with States and Territories to bring about change in all mainstream services and programs as well as community infrastructure. Labor acknowledges too many people who need supports or services, but who are not NDIS participants, are falling through the cracks because of the way the NDIS has been rolled out. A Labor Government will work with the states and territories to ensure better services for people living with a disability and/or mental ill health who are not eligible for the NDIS

Supporting Our Carers

144. Families and carers contribute valuably to our society. Carers should have rights, choices, opportunities and capabilities to participate in economic, social and community life.
145. People who care for sick and elderly relatives and people with disability and mental illness deserve acknowledgement and support for the job they do and their selfless contribution to Australia.
146. 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 anxiety, depression and chronic grief.
147. Carers play an invaluable role in providing care and support to loved ones, and deserve the same opportunities as other Australians to participate in work and the community, and live a meaningful life.

148. Carers need effective employment conditions including transition to work when caring responsibilities change.
149. Labor will consult with carers, their representative peak bodies and service providers to identify and overcome impediments, including inflexible working arrangements and financial and practical support for carers in our community.

Financial Security for People with Disability and Carers

150. The Disability Support Pension and Carer Payment are and should remain an essential part of our social safety net for people who need it.
151. Labor will ensure the Disability Support Pension and Carer Payment are properly indexed, so they keep pace with the cost and standard of living.
152. Labor will fight any attack on the Disability Support Pension and Carer Payment that will leave vulnerable people worse off.
153. Labor believes the administration of social security payments for people with disability, those with ill health and carers should be fair, reasonable and compassionate. As well as flexible enough to respond to individual circumstances.

Older workers

154. Many Australian workers work long hours in physically, mentally and emotionally taxing jobs for decades during their working lives. Many Australian workers approach the end of their working lives with significant barriers to paid work, with many ending up out of the workforce before they reach retirement age.
155. The inability of some workers to continue in the careers that they have developed over their working lives due to injury, illness, technological change and other factors has significant impact on their retirement incomes. Labor acknowledges the unique needs of these workers who are forced into late career transitions and who face significant labour market barriers.
156. Labor will review the support provided to workers who face significant labour market barriers late in their working lives and the impact that this has on their standard of living, access to the workforce and preparedness for retirement.

Homelessness

157. Homelessness is a significant, destructive and growing social and economic problem within Australia. It is unacceptable that in a country endowed with significant wealth and opportunity that many of our fellow Australians have nowhere to call home. It is an inalienable human right for all Australians to have access to safe and affordable housing. There is no greater example of increasing inequality that many of our fellow Australians have to resort to sleeping on the streets, couch-surfing or living in overcrowded, unhygienic and unacceptable housing conditions while many others live in unimaginable luxury and privilege. Homelessness is an outcome of inequality, driven by a significant shortage of affordable, secure, long-term housing. Homelessness affects the whole country; in cities, in country towns, and particularly in remote Australia where many Indigenous Australians continue to live in unconscionable conditions.

158. A Labor Government will develop and implement a national plan to reduce homelessness through the Council of Australian Governments. Labor will work with the States, Territories, business, financial institutions faith groups and other NGOs to substantially reduce homelessness in the short to medium-term. Failure to effectively address homelessness is a failure of government and society and stands in contrast to the ethos of a “fair go.”
159. The causes of homelessness are complex and varied. Homelessness can result from:
- Poverty;
 - Unemployment, underemployment and loss of income;
 - Wage stagnation, casualisation and ineffective and unequal bargaining rights
 - Alcohol and drug addiction;
 - Family and domestic violence;
 - Life events such as family breakdown or death of a spouse;
 - Mental and physical illness;
 - Disability;
 - Premature exit of young people from out-of-home care;
 - Inadequate support for people transitioning out of prison;
 - Inadequate retirement savings, particularly among older women;
 - Lack of affordable and suitable rental housing; and
 - Discrimination based on race, age, sex characteristics, gender, gender identity or sexuality.
160. Homelessness is a driver of poor health outcomes, exacerbates chronic disease, reduces education opportunities and increases incarceration of vulnerable homeless Australians. Reducing homelessness results in substantial long-term savings to government through reduced expenditure in health, education and justice budgets.
161. Labor will work with the States, Territories and non-government organisations in a cooperative and accountable manner to reduce homelessness. Labor will:
- Provide funding for stable, affordable and long-term housing, emphasising the principles of ‘Housing First’ which includes recognition that housing is a human right, providing a stable independent home with intensive personalised support and case management to homeless people with multiple and complex needs;
 - Expand models of support to end homelessness long-term, and provide increased access to initiatives such as Common Ground and Youth Foyers;
 - Increase funding for early intervention and homelessness prevention services through a Safe Housing Fund to increase transitional housing options for women and children escaping family and domestic violence young people exiting out-of-home care and vulnerable older women on low incomes who are at risk of homelessness;
 - Ensure people experiencing homelessness or at risk of homelessness have increased access to mainstream social services, such as employment including health and legal services;
 - Better integrate service provision, particularly through place-based responses, and provide sustainable and accessible outreach support; and

- Encourage private sector investment in homelessness support services and affordable rental housing for low-income households, the working poor, Social Security recipients and Australians with a disability.
162. Lack of access to affordable rental housing is a major driver of homelessness. Labor will work co-operatively with the States and Territories to ensure people who are homeless or at risk of homelessness are prioritised in the allocation of all social housing (public and community) and provision of tenancy support services.
163. Labor will support research and data collection on homelessness to create more reliable and timely data which will help optimise government policies and set targets for the reduction of various forms of homelessness and the expansion of social and community housing.
164. Labor will develop policies to address the ‘funding gap’ for community housing and work with financial institutions including industry superannuation funds to increase institutional investment in the National Housing Finance and Investment Corporation to increase housing supply for low-income and social security recipients.
165. Mental illness is a cause of homelessness, and can be exacerbated as a result of homelessness. Labor will enhance services to people with a mental health condition or disorder who are homeless or at risk of homelessness.
166. There is a significant connection between homelessness and people being subjected to discrimination and harassment for being same-sex attracted or transgender and specifically understands the discrimination and exclusion affecting transgender people seeking to access support. Accordingly, Labor will work with affected communities to enhance housing support for LGBTIQ Australians.
167. Labor acknowledges that young lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people are at significantly higher risk of homelessness, and commits to support dedicated services aimed at addressing this issue.

Labor’s National Housing Strategy

168. Having an affordable, secure and appropriate home with reasonable access to services is essential to financial, social and emotional wellbeing. All Australians have the right to secure, affordable and appropriate housing throughout their lives. Having a genuine chance to live near job opportunities is essential for Australians’ social and economic participation. For too many people, the housing pressures they face are getting worse, not better. Australia is in a housing crisis – a crisis of supply a crisis of affordability and a crisis of suitability and sustainability. Housing inequality is the single biggest driver of intergenerational inequality and requires a range of social and economic policy to provide fair and equitable access to housing to arrest this growing inequality.
169. Australia’s housing affordability crisis requires national leadership and commitment. Labor will provide that leadership and commitment.
170. Improving housing affordability is a challenge requiring co-operation and complementary policies across all levels of government.
171. A Labor Government will work with the States and Territories to reach a National Housing and Homelessness Agreement (NHHA) which includes performance and accountability measures. A new

approach is needed. Labor will seek to strengthen measures in the current agreement across the housing affordability spectrum, including:

- Planning reform;
- Inclusionary zoning; and
- Accelerated release of State and Territory government owned land for housing development. All these areas of reform are critical for lowering the cost and increasing supply of new affordable housing stock.

172. Labor will strengthen the oversight of the housing sector, including appointing a dedicated Minister for Housing and Homelessness whose remit will be to coordinate all aspects of Commonwealth housing policy.

173. Labor will re-establish the National Housing Supply Council with broad terms of reference whose task will be to provide robust, evidence-based, independent advice to government on housing supply and demand, housing affordability issues and progress against benchmarks and targets under the National Housing and Homelessness Agreement (NHHA).

174. The NHHA should bring together a range of policy approaches. The NHHA is the mechanism to commit all governments to joint action on housing policy and reforms including:

- Expanding the supply of public social housing, particularly affordable rental housing for low and very low-income households and Australians relying on social security payments;
- Delivering more efficient and effective housing, land and infrastructure development;
- Reforms aimed at expanding the public and not-for-profit community housing sector;
- Better integrating housing and other services to strengthen communities and build safe and healthy neighbourhoods close to jobs;
- Expanding institutional investment particularly from banks, superannuation funds and other financial institutions in public and affordable housing;
- Working with faith-based institutions to develop a partnership with government that increases access to surplus church land for community housing while ensuring churches maintain title of the land and receive a return on their assets while increasing the availability of land for community housing stock;
- Preventing and reducing homelessness including couch surfing, overcrowding;
- Improving and increasing culturally appropriate housing outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, particularly in remote communities;
- Addressing the serious shortages of housing for people with disability and ensure people with disability have choice and control over their housing needs;
- Addressing the serious shortages of housing for people with disability and ensure people with disability have choice and control over their housing needs;
- Identifying measures to increase Social Impact Investing in the areas of housing and homelessness;
- Examining the potential to increase rental housing stock through Managed Investment Trusts and institutional build-to-rent opportunities;

- Coordinating the development of minimum property standards that address health, safety and energy efficiency; and
- Identifying areas of cooperation to improve housing affordability for first-home buyers, including examining the impacts of duties, concessions and first-home buyer incentives.

175. Public housing plays a fundamental role in relieving homelessness and providing affordable housing to generations of Australians. Public housing has been residualised and marginalised and become the housing option of last resort. While the States and Territories are responsible for the management of public housing, Labor will work with State and Territory governments and NGOs to develop policies to support, maintain and grow public housing stock.

176. Community housing is the only social housing sector that is growing even though this is at the expense of public housing density. The immediate intervention the Commonwealth Government can make in the provision of social housing is to support growth in the not-for-profit community housing sector.

177. Growth in the community housing sector is slow, uncertain and constrained by lack of policy certainty and lack of low cost, long-term finance. Labor will support the community housing sector through policies that:

- Assist the sector to access long-term, low cost finance at scale through a bond aggregator and a support mechanism that addresses the funding gap which limits the growth in housing stock for low-income and Social Security recipients;
- Are durable, long-lived and will survive changes of government;
- Provide ongoing government subsidy to house low-income households;
- Encourage availability of low-cost land and/or redevelopment sites for social housing located close to employment, education, health and other services;
- Ensure community housing organisations accessing government funding remain not-for-profit organisations;
- Ensure community housing tenants have adequate protections and policies, and regulators are properly resourced to monitor the activities of community housing organisations; and
- Encourage and work with community housing providers to ensure specialist disability accommodation is included in any government supported community housing projects, recognising community housing providers can assist with improving systems and scale efficiencies to reduce costs over time for the provision of specialist disability accommodation.

178. Labor will work with banks, industry superannuation funds and other financial institutions to encourage greater private investment in the affordable rental sector. There is an opportunity to develop an alternative investment class that increases housing stock while providing stable, long-term, reliable returns on investment.

179. More households are renting and the rights of renters must be protected. Labor will work with the States and Territories, and tenant representative organisations to:

180. Introduce national tenancy standards for all residential tenancies, including caravan park residents, boarders and lodgers, to ensure tenants' rights are protected in matters such as eviction, unfair rents, repairs and maintenance, quality of rental accommodation, appeals and bond security;
181. Ensure all tenants have access to affordable, independent review mechanisms for resolving tenancy disputes in relation to evictions and unfair rents, no grounds termination, bond or rent disputes; and
182. Support the regulation of tenant databases through stronger privacy protection including independent monitoring of compliance and access to affordable dispute resolution processes.

Housing for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people

183. Secure, affordable and culturally appropriate housing in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, particularly remote communities, is critical to Closing the Gap in life expectancy between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and other Australians. Safe and secure housing underpins all the other Closing the Gap targets, and therefore access to housing and a reduction in overcrowding will be added to the "closing the gap" indices reported to Parliament.
184. Labor will work with the States and will invest in new housing and in refurbishing existing housing stock to address chronic overcrowding in remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.
185. Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people live in cities and regional centres, and the housing challenges faced in these communities differ greatly to those in remote communities. Labor will work with Aboriginal owned and controlled community housing providers to deliver accessible, affordable, culturally appropriate and secure housing to meet the social, cultural and economic aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.
186. Labor supports the aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, including in remote communities, to home ownership. Labor will work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to support this aspiration and increase home ownership rates.

Gender equality and women's rights

187. Labor has a proud legacy of advancing women's rights and a long-held commitment to policies that underpin gender equality. Courageous and inspirational women throughout our history have made great achievements for the equality of women and men in Australian society.
188. Much remains to be done to eliminate discrimination, achieve equality and ensure Australian women enjoy the same opportunities, resources and rewards as men:
 - Rigid gender stereotypes and social norms limit women's opportunities and participation in Australian society;
 - Women remain underrepresented within civic and corporate institutions, and in leadership and decision-making;
 - Women experience unacceptable high levels of harassment and violence;
 - Care responsibilities are disproportionately held by women and remain undervalued;

- Women experience economic insecurity throughout their life cycle as they are disadvantaged by the gender pay gap, unpaid labour and the gap in retirement incomes; and
- The impact of gender inequality is compounded for women experiencing intersecting disadvantage and discrimination, including First Australians, culturally and linguistically diverse women, women with a disability, rural and regional women, lesbians, bisexual women, transgender and gender-diverse or intersex people.

189. 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 leadership and improve health and wellbeing.

190. Gender equality benefits both women and men and leads to a more prosperous and fair society by improving Australia's productivity and competitiveness, preventing violence against women and strengthening social cohesion.

191. Labor will work to achieve gender equality in Australia through:

- A comprehensive approach to reducing gender pay inequity;
- An industrial relations system to promote pay equity; protect a minimum level of standards for the most vulnerable workers, many of whom are women; and to provide employees access to family friendly conditions such as extended unpaid parental leave, and flexible and part-time work to support people to manage the competing interests of work and family;
- Regulation and education for employers to promote equal opportunity, gender pay equity and work and family balance;
- Policy and law to promote diversity, including through the participation of women on company boards by aiming to increase the representation of women on Australian Government boards to 50 per cent within the first term of a Labor Government;
- Investigating and implementing strategies to combat sexual harassment;
- Working to combat gender norms and stereotypes that harm women, girls, men and boys, including through support for education in respectful relationships;
- Maintaining a fair government-sponsored paid parental leave scheme;
- Improving the accessibility of affordable quality childcare, outside hours school care and vacation care;
- Promoting equal educational and training opportunities for women, particularly for women who have spent time out of the workforce to care for their children;
- Recognising and valuing women's paid and unpaid work;
- Supporting and encouraging men to take an increased role in care giving and domestic labour;
- Ensuring the Australian Bureau of Statistics collects and publishes gender-disaggregated data on unpaid work performed at home and in the community;
- Investigating and implementing strategies to improve women's retirement incomes, including superannuation;
- Providing women with financial literacy and superannuation information and tailoring that information to their needs, having regard to the disproportionate representation of women

in part time and casual work and the long-term implications for their financial security and superannuation;

- Ensuring all employees, including those who worked minimal hours in part-time or casual work will continue to receive compulsory superannuation contributions; and
- Applying sophisticated gender analysis and impact assessment to new policy development and legislation.

Preventing Violence against Women and Children

192. Addressing family violence must be a national priority. Family and domestic violence will only be prevented by working in partnership with all Australians and requires changing attitudes through teaching respect in our schools, our sporting clubs, our military, our workplaces and the media. It requires confronting and addressing gender inequality which lies at the core of violence against women.
193. Labor will prioritise full implementation of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010-2022* and will work in collaboration with the States and Territories to evaluate State-specific progress, and to develop a successor to that National Plan. National leadership is required to coordinate judicial and social services reform across jurisdictions to better deal with family violence and sexual violence in a new comprehensive national strategy. Labor will:
- Support victims and survivors of family violence by resourcing community legal assistance including culturally-appropriate support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people;
 - Improve the capacity of the judicial system to deal with family violence;
 - Deliver more certainty for homelessness services supporting women and children escaping family violence situations;
 - Enable women and their children experiencing family violence to remain safely in their current home and community;
 - Establish greater perpetrator accountability mechanisms and divert perpetrators from the path to violence;
 - Address fragmented responses to family violence;
 - Support sound research and ongoing measurement to underpin policy approaches, identify emerging challenges and track progress;
 - Deliver primary prevention initiatives by investing in national education campaigns, community programs and early intervention;
 - Support victims and survivors of sexual violence through specialist services including targeted prevention of sexual violence;
Provide culturally competent support;
 - Demonstrate national leadership in preventing technology-facilitated abuse; and
 - Ensure safety planning resources can be used by domestic violence victims facing reproductive coercion.
194. Specialist women-led family violence services across Australia play an important role, particularly in facilitating a holistic approach to supporting women and their needs when escaping family violence.

Labor will prioritise funding to these organisations for this purpose. Labor will promote sustainability and ongoing security for women’s services in Australia.

195. Labor will consult the many organisations working to address family violence and sexual violence, and will ensure women’s voices are heard in the development and delivery of our strategy. Labor aims to reduce gendered violence by improving how governments work together, increasing support and creating innovative and targeted ways to bring about change, and reduce gender inequality.

196. Labor will:

- Create and maintain the national apparatus needed to drive change culture and inform future responses;
- Maintain a strong focus on the prevention of violence, and the reduction of its incidence;
- Help family violence survivors avoid falling into poverty;
- Ensure policies and programs work for victims and survivors with special vulnerabilities (including migrant women, Indigenous women, women with disabilities, and LGBTIQ victims and survivors);
- Support respectful relationships and attitudinal change in our culture, institutions and in individuals, with a focus on young people;
- Deliver innovative services and integrated systems, helping victims to rebuild their lives supported by community-wide responses including specialist services;
- Continue to expand the evidence base;
- Reduce gender inequality, which is at the core of domestic and family violence;
- Implement the recommendations of the Senate inquiry into 1800 RESPECT Domestic and Sexual Violence Counselling Service; and
- Support a positive model of consent through research, education and legislative reform

197. Labor recognises that the annual rate of violent death and injury of women is an unacceptable national crisis. Labor will work with OurWatch, ANROWS and Crime Statistics Australia to collect, publish, promote and monitor data on violence against women. It will also work with states and territories to ensure funding to collect data and prevent violence is sustained and enduring.

198. Forced Marriage is an abuse of human rights with disproportionately affects young women and children. Individuals forced into marriage are often denied access to education and employment and can be subject to ongoing domestic violence. Labor will act to prevent this practice from occurring.

Children and Families

199. Every child has the right to a safe, healthy and happy childhood. Labor will support families to give their children the best start in life, and will work to protect children at risk from disadvantage, neglect and abuse. Labor understands that in order to have the best start in life, children need resilient, happy, loving families and communities.

200. Children can become vulnerable when their needs are considered secondary to the priorities of their parents and carers, institutions, governments, cultural and economic interests. All children, regardless of their background, should be valued, respected, and their needs and rights recognised.
201. Labor believes in a holistic approach to early intervention and family support, services and information for families with children, and that services should recognise and empower families to make decisions about the support and service provision they need.
202. 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.
203. Labor created the National Child Protection Framework – it represents the highest level of collaboration between governments and with non-government organisations to improve the way agencies, payments and programs interact to support all children, help prevent abuse and better protect children identified as being at risk.
204. Labor will:
- Prioritise policy approaches that improve the wellbeing of children across government.
 - Listen and learn from the experiences of children;
 - Improve prevention and early intervention through a national, collaborative approach;
 - Deliver more effective responses for children in care and leaving care – in that respect Labor believes in the importance of state, territory and Commonwealth governments working together on child protection and will seek to improve cooperation between jurisdictions to achieve that objective;
 - Improve outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children; and
 - Attract and retain a skilled professional workforce to improve child protection systems.
205. Labor is proud of the Gillard Labor Government’s establishment of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse which has given a voice to victims and been integral to the healing process. Labor will build on the work of the Royal Commission by implementing measures to ensure institutional abuse of children cannot happen on this scale again.
206. A Labor Government will work with state and territory governments, institutions, survivors and victims to address each of the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse. This includes:
- Working to implement a national redress scheme;
 - Working with the states and territories towards a national system of working with children checks;
 - Working with the states and territories to ensure institutions that engage in child related work to retain records for at least 45 years to allow for delayed disclosure by abuse victims and limitation periods for civil action;
 - Ensuring clear ministerial responsibility for childrens issues, including the National Framework for Child Safety; and
 - Annual public reporting on the implementation of the recommendations.

207. A Labor Government will implement the National Redress Scheme in a way that puts the interest of survivors of institutional child sexual abuse first, including
- Seeking agreement from states and territories for improvements in the scheme, including in relation to the maximum payment, indexation of past payments and access for people in prison;
 - Improving the process for survivors getting access to redress and having control over their information;
 - Working with states and territories to ensure counselling and support is adequate and meets the needs of survivors; and
 - Holding institutions to account for their participation and conduct under the scheme.
208. 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. This includes harmonisation and best practice for fees, document access and format, as well as support for all families impacted by adoption and procedures for inter-country adoption. These will prioritise the best interests of the child and ensure adequate safeguards against child trafficking risk.
209. Children have a right to the care and the protection of their family of origin and these connections remain important when this care is not possible.
210. Children, both in Australia and internationally, need of either adoption, foster or institutional care because of circumstances their families face. Separation can be prevented with appropriate early intervention and social and economic support for the family.
211. Connection to culture, country and kin is critical to the wellbeing of First Nations children. We recognise the need for Indigenous led services and recognise that the number of children in out of home care in Australia, particularly First Nation Children, is unacceptably high.
212. Labor will convene a National Summit on First Nation’s Children within the first 100 days of a Labor Government to identify new approaches to reduce the rates of child removal.
213. Labor will develop a national approach to children and the law, which will:
- Recognise the best interests and wellbeing of the child as a primary consideration;
 - Set standards for court procedures where children are involved as witnesses, victims or offenders;
 - Set standards for support, counselling and rehabilitation services for child victims and offenders within the criminal justice system, particularly as they relate to the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Institutional Response to Child Sexual Abuse;
 - Support research into causes of juvenile crime; and
 - Continue to support the work of the National Children’s Commissioner.
214. Labor will protect children from exposure to inappropriate material over the internet, at home, school and at other public access points.

215. Too many Australian children are living in poverty. Labor will seek to significantly reduce the proportion of children living in relative poverty.
216. 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.
217. Where adoption arrangements already exist between Australia and other countries, Labor will seek to ensure these arrangements are expanded to allow for inter-country adoption by LGBTIQ parents on an equal basis to cisgender heterosexual people. Where Australia seeks to enter into new inter-country adoption arrangements, Labor will seek to ensure all new agreements treat LGBTIQ parents equally.

Young Australians

218. Australia needs better representation of young Australians in national debate and policy development.
219. Labor will engage with young Australians, including through social media and new technology.
220. Labor will support young Australians to reach their full potential, by investing in education, training and employment to build resilience so our young people can successfully negotiate the many transitions through life.
221. Labor will particularly focus on young people's health needs, including physical and mental health, drug and alcohol education, the promotion of positive body image and a healthy lifestyle.
222. Australia needs to prevent and reduce the damage being caused by the increased sexualisation of children in the media and popular culture.
223. Street violence can affect Australians of all ages. Labor will work in partnership with young people to prevent street violence and the perceptions of street violence in our community so young people are not disproportionately affected by street violence either as victims or perpetrators.
224. Labor will ensure a national voice for the Australian youth sector by maintaining the Minister for Youth.
225. A Labor Government will ensure the interests of young Australians are represented at the highest levels of government, and work with the States and Territories, business and the community to:
 - Address issues faced by young Australians;
 - Support young Australians to participate in government and the political process; and
 - Combat youth unemployment.

LGBTIQ Australians

226. LGBTIQ Australians deserve the same respect and human rights as every other Australian including: bodily autonomy; self-determination; and legal recognition.

- 227. Labor recognises the hurt and damage that the Coalition Government's postal survey caused to LGBTIQ Australians, their family and friends.
- 228. Labor will work closely with the LGBTIQ community in developing policy to address issues affecting their community.

Support for the Community Sector

- 229. Labor supports a vibrant, strong and innovative community sector.
- 230. The sector makes an enormous social and economic contribution. It provides frontline services to our most vulnerable people including early intervention, crisis support and legal assistance for those at risk of homelessness, escaping domestic violence or who are excluded from their communities. The sector builds the capacity of communities to respond to entrenched and emerging social challenges and create opportunities for the participation and inclusion of all Australians.
- 231. Support for the most vulnerable and marginalised people in our communities is always best provided in a partnership between the Government and not-for-profit community sector.
- 232. Labor will develop and maintain a genuine partnership based on mutual respect and trust, providing the opportunity for the sector to have strong voice in the design and implementation of social policy and programs.
- 233. Labor will create a platform to consider sector-specific challenges, including the uncertainty and loss of capacity caused by recent funding processes, the lack of a clear pathway on regulation, the role of volunteering and innovation in service delivery, as well as the critical role of advocacy in developing and implementing effective policies and programs to achieve real outcomes for those most at risk of social exclusion.
- 234. Labor will work with the community sector and its workforce representatives to establishing a new model for funding these types of services that better addresses the needs and interests of the people they support and the local communities in which they work. Funding of community services such as early intervention and crisis support services in our community should be: accessible; sustainable; focus on collaboration rather than competition between providers; support local and diverse service provision; recognise the range of services required for effective early intervention including legal assistance; and recognise not-for-profit organisations are always better positioned than for-profit corporations to provide these crucial frontline support services.
- 235. In the procurement of human services, Labor will remove the practice of competing on labour costs by ensuring tenders and grant programs are sufficient and appropriately funded to provide for adequate and safe staffing levels, and fair and reasonable wages and conditions.

Removing discrimination

- 236. Labor will continue to prohibit discrimination on the basis of a person's sexual orientation, gender identity or intersex status, and will remove such discrimination from Commonwealth legislation.
- 237. All people are entitled to respect, equality, dignity and the opportunity to participate in society free of hatred or harassment and receive the protection of the law regardless of their origins, perceived

race, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex status, disability, age or ethnicity. In support of this, Labor reaffirms:

- 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.
- Labor policies will enable migrants and refugees to contribute to social, economic and political life by removing barriers to access and participation

238. Consistent with this belief, in 2007 Labor audited Commonwealth laws to identify discrimination against same sex couples. In 2008, Labor passed laws to remove discrimination from 84 pieces of Commonwealth legislation. In 2013 Labor amended the Sex Discrimination Act to outlaw discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or intersex status.

239. Labor believes no faith, no religion, no set of beliefs should ever be used as an instrument of division or exclusion, and condemning anyone, discriminating against anyone, vilifying anyone is a violation of the values we all share, a violation which can never be justified by anyone's faith or belief. Accordingly, Labor will review anti-discrimination laws to ensure that exemptions do not apply to employment in, access to and the delivery of essential social services.

240. Labor is proud to have led the fight for marriage equality through collective action, quality campaigning and a commitment to equality for all. Without Labor, and without the trade union movement, marriage equality would not have become a reality for LGBTIQ Australians on 9 December 2017. Labor welcomes and celebrates the achievement.

Justice in the community

241. Access to justice is essential to the rule of law and integral to the enjoyment of basic human rights. It is an essential precondition to social inclusion and a critical element of a well-functioning democracy.

242. Labor will ensure our justice system is fair, simple, affordable and accessible, and based on principles of early intervention to help people resolve problems before they escalate and lead to entrenched disadvantage.

243. Labor will support programs known to be effective at early intervention and targeting disadvantaged communities. Such as the integrated services provided by community legal centres, including health justice partnerships, legal partnerships with financial counsellors, and other integrated service models.

244. People on the margins of society often have the highest levels of interaction with the justice system. Australia's system of justice should provide security for all Australians, protect property, deter and prevent crime, compensate victims and rehabilitate offenders. Labor will address the causes that push people to the margins of society, including poverty, social exclusion, racism and other forms of discrimination, and lack of access to employment, healthcare and education.

245. Labor will proactively engage and adequately resource Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations and Aboriginal Legal Services to provide early legal assistance which may prevent the escalation of issues in areas such as child protection, housing and tenancy, social security, and other areas identified by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

246. Labor supports a charter of rights for the victims of crime based on the United Nations Charter of Victims' Rights (Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power 1985), and laws providing for victim impact Statements, the provision of witness support and information, and standards for the treatment of victims by the criminal justice system.
247. Labor will work closely with the states to develop appropriate and respectful ways for people who experience a disability to legally submit evidence in court that takes into account personal circumstances to allow respectful interaction and participation in a fair non-threatening way.
248. Labor will ensure the Commonwealth's investigation, prosecution, defence and judicial processes are separate, independent, adequately resourced and appropriately accountable.
249. The independence of the judiciary is fundamental to the rule of law and our democratic society. The courts should be accountable. 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. Labor will work with the judiciary to ensure the judicial system is efficient and adequately funded. Labor will work with the courts to evaluate and improve service delivery.
250. Labor will adequately resource and support the leading law enforcement agency of the Commonwealth, the Australian Federal Police.
251. Labor holds that respect by politicians for the separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary is integral to our democratic system of government.
252. Labor embraces the rule of law and endorses the basic principles of justice. These principles include that people accused of a criminal offence are not compelled to incriminate themselves; that they are not subject to prolonged detention without charge; that persons charged with a criminal offence are presumed innocent until proven guilty before an independent court; that after being charged, they are informed of details of the charge within a reasonable time; that charged persons are tried without undue delay; that they are given a fair trial including, in the ordinary course, the right to see and hear the evidence against them; that people charged with serious criminal offences are provided with legal representation if they are unable to afford legal representation of their own; that people shall not be found guilty of any crime, the elements of which did not constitute a crime at the time of its commission; that people convicted of a criminal offence shall have the right to appeal against conviction and sentence to a higher court; that no penalty heavier than what was applicable at the time of the commission of a crime shall be imposed on a convicted person; and that evidence obtained illegally, by torture, coercive techniques or by improper investigative practice is inadmissible.
253. Labor will provide national leadership to resource our system of legal assistance services, in partnership with the States and Territories. Labor will support Legal Aid Commissions, general and specialist Community Legal Centres, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services, Family Violence Prevention Legal Services, clinical legal education schemes and pro bono clearing house services.
254. The legal profession plays a fundamental role in the provision of access to justice. Labor supports the creation of a modern, efficient and accountable national legal services market regulated by an independent body, to achieve full accountability and maintain the independence of the legal profession.

255. Law reform is an ongoing process in a healthy society, and we will continue to reform laws and legal system to reflect the traditions, values and aspirations of all Australians, and meet the needs of our modern democratic society. Labor will adequately resource the Australian Law Reform Commission and ensure its structure and operation ensure that provide independent and comprehensive advice on all aspects of law reform.
256. Labor recognises the importance of strategic policy, advocacy and law reform by legal assistance services in identifying and remedying systemic issues which reduces demand on frontline services and benefits government and the broader community. Labor is committed to protecting and upholding the right of the legal assistance sector to undertake this work.

Custody and sentencing

257. Sentencing should achieve deterrence, punishment, retribution and rehabilitation. Labor supports the just and humane treatment of accused people in custody and offenders in prison. Labor will conform to Australia's international human rights obligations and strive for world's best practice in its treatment of prisoners.
258. Prison is a last resort. Labor supports the appropriate use of noncustodial sentencing options for all offenders. This principle is particularly important for young people, and all effort should be made to divert children from long-term involvement in the criminal justice system. How the criminal justice system treats juvenile offenders greatly influences whether they will re-offend. Labor will take all reasonable steps to ensure minors are not incarcerated in adult prisons.
259. Labor opposes mandatory sentencing and detention regimes; they are often discriminatory in practice, conflict with the role of the judiciary as an independent arm of government, and have not proved effective in reducing crime or criminality.
260. Labor supports:
- Efforts to reduce the unacceptably high rates of incarceration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and in particular, young Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people;
 - Special attention to prevent deaths in custody, particularly among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, including the establishment and maintenance of a Custody Notification Scheme;
 - Training police and prison officers to understand Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' culture and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' social context;
 - Efficient, culturally appropriate and sustainably funded legal assistance for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people that recognise the over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people within the criminal justice system;
 - International treaties allowing the repatriation of Australians in overseas prisons;
 - Consistency in sentencing with a sufficient degree of appropriate discretion so as to enable sentences to be tailored to the circumstances of each individual case; and
 - Programs consistent with victims' rights, based upon restorative justice. Restorative justice to encourage community spirit and responsibility in the offender and to restore the victim and the community to their pre-offence State of security.

Family law

261. The best interests of children and their safety should be the paramount consideration in resolving Family Law disputes. Resolving family disputes should focus on counselling and family dispute resolution, with litigation as a last resort. Labor will ensure community-based services such as counselling and family dispute resolution are accessible, affordable and equipped to resolve entrenched disputes.
262. Labor will develop and implement measures to ease the anxiety and stress of family breakdown. In particular, Labor will ensure:
- The rights of children are paramount;
 - There is a just division of relationship property;
 - The important and valuable contribution of a partner to family care and homemaking is recognised;
 - The Family Law system protects those at risk of family violence or child abuse;
 - The particular needs, customs and practices of diverse cultures are appropriately respected;
 - Children are not disadvantaged by the structure of their family or by the circumstances of their conception – children come from diverse families;
 - Disputes are resolved in a timely, effective and affordable way; and
 - Litigation in the family law court system is efficient and streamlined.
263. Over forty years ago the Whitlam Government established the Family Court of Australia. Labor continues to recognise the importance of a specialist family court system at the federal level, presided over by judges with the appropriate training, experience and personality to deal with the complex cases they hear, to develop family law jurisprudence, and to administer a properly functioning family court system. Labor is committed to maintaining an adequately resourced and specialised family court system, and will continue to investigate, consult on, and where appropriate progress, legal and administrative reforms to improve the operation of the Family and Federal Circuit Courts.
264. Labor acknowledges the advocacy of survivors of family violence, and further recognises that existing Family Court processes can cause victims further trauma.

A nation built on migration

265. 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.
266. 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.
267. 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.

268. 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.
269. 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.
270. 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.
271. 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.
272. 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.
273. 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.
274. 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.

275. 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.
276. 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’.
277. Australia must not harm people seeking refuge.
278. Family reunion for migrants and refugees is important to successful settlement.
279. 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.
280. 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.
281. 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.

Humanitarian Migration Program

Australia’s responsibility as an international partner

282. 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.
283. 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.
284. 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 consider such refugees for inclusion within the increased humanitarian intake.

285. 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.
286. 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.
287. 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.
288. 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.
289. 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.
290. 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.
291. 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.

292. 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.
293. 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
294. 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.
295. 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.
296. 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

297. 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.

298. 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.
299. Labor supports the existing definition of ‘serious harm’ and ‘persecution’ including the current risk threshold of the ‘real chance test’.
300. Labor will support a humanitarian migration program that reasonably responds to international humanitarian crises as they arise.
301. 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.
302. 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.
303. Labor aspires to progressively increase Australia’s government funded humanitarian intake to 27,000 places per year.
304. Labor aspires to progressively increase the community sponsored refugee program intake to 5,000 places per year.
305. 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.
306. Labor will abolish Temporary Protection Visas and Safe Haven Enterprise Visas and transition eligible refugees onto permanent visa arrangements.

Refugee Assessment

307. 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.

308. 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.

309. 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.

310. 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.

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

312. 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.

313. Labor will abolish this fast track assessment process.

314. 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.

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

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

317. Under legislation passed by Labor, complementary protection claims should be considered by way of the protection visa framework.

318. Labor will work to ensure asylum seekers have access to appropriate, independent, government-funded legal advice while working through their claims for protection.

319. 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.

320. 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.

Settlement of Refugees

321. 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.
322. 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.
323. 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.
324. 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.
325. 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

326. 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.
327. Labor will ensure asylum seekers who arrive by irregular means will not be punished for their mode of arrival.

328. 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.
329. 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.
330. 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.
331. 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.
332. Labor will not pay people smugglers to engage in any form of people smuggling.

Immigration Detention

333. 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.
334. 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.
335. 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.
336. 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.
337. Unlawful non-citizens will be subject to mandatory detention where they present a proven unacceptable risk to the community.
338. 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.
339. 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.
340. 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.
341. 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.
342. 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.

343. 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.
344. 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.

Sport

345. Labor will encourage a life-long love of sport and entrench sport and physical activity as an essential part of the preventative health agenda. Labor will support opportunity and access to participate in sport and physical activity for all Australians. Sport is vital to physical and mental health, social inclusion, tourism, education, community capacity building, multicultural affairs, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs, LGBTI affairs, regional development, trade, foreign affairs, and creating cultural identity.
346. Sport is important for social inclusion. Labor will ensure all levels of sport in Australia are inclusive of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and all culturally and linguistically diverse Australians. Indigenous participation in sport and active recreation will contribute to Closing the Gap in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander disadvantage.
347. Labor condemns sexual violence or derogatory behaviour towards women, or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex Australians and supports initiatives to eradicate such behaviour. Labor will ensure all levels of sport in Australia are inclusive of Australians who are lesbian, gay or bisexual, transgender or intersex and will:
- Work with all national sporting bodies to deliver gender and violence education programs and challenging prejudice programs, covering homophobia, biphobia and transphobia, for players, coaches, managers and promoters across all sports and levels; and
 - Require effective policies and practices to prevent discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or intersex status (including women athletes with intersex variations), whether affecting participants in sport or their families, or employees and volunteers in the sector, including by making such action against discrimination a condition of Commonwealth funding.
348. Sport and physical activity is essential for the physical and mental development of children. Labor will help young Australians, including young people in regional areas, to participate in physical activity and to compete in recognised sporting competitions.
349. Labor will support women’s participation in sport – from the grassroots level to elite competition – the promotion of women’s sport and efforts to increase its media coverage and profile in Australia. Labor supports greater leadership and mentoring opportunities for women in sport.
350. Labor will support access and opportunity to participate in sport for people with disability. Labor supports establishing strong high performance pathways for athletes with disability.

351. Volunteers make an invaluable contribution to all levels of sport. Labor will continue to support their efforts as coaches, officials, administrators and a broad range of other roles.
352. Labor will support improved water safety for all Australians, especially children and other vulnerable groups.
353. 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. Success for Australians in international sport encourages participation in grassroots sport and creates role models for young Australians to be physically active. Labor will strengthen Australia's sporting systems and will ensure the Australian Institute of Sport is a world-class facility for elite athletes.
354. 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.
355. Climate change is already having impacts on Australian sport, including through heatwaves and other extreme weather events. In partnership with other levels of government and sporting bodies, Labor will lead development of responses to minimise these impacts.
356. Labor will address the issue of illicit drug use and binge drinking by athletes and in the wider community.

Arts and culture

357. Arts and culture are essential to the good life; while a creative nation is a prosperous nation. All people can participate in arts events and education and express their creativity in an array of different cultural forms. Labor will not only support artists, we will strengthen communities and develop a creative culture so Australians are ready for the challenges and opportunities of life. Australia's cultural institutions play an important role and Labor will support these institutions to collect, preserve and make available Australia's cultural heritage. Arts and culture also contribute to innovation and lift productivity.
358. Labor will build on and further develop Creative Australia, the national cultural policy adopted by Labor in 2013.
359. Arts and creativity play an important part in the daily lives of all Australians, and Labor will integrate arts and culture policy within broader social and economic goals. Australia needs stronger links between creative culture and action to lift productivity, spread innovation and strengthen community cohesion.
360. Labor will:
 - Ensure what the government supports — and how this support is provided — reflects the diversity of a 21st century Australia and protects and supports Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people culture;
 - Encourage the use of emerging technologies and new ideas in new artworks and the creative industries, and enable more people to enjoy and participate in arts and culture;

- Support excellence and world-class endeavour and strengthen the role for the arts in telling Australian stories here and overseas recognising the important role that the arts can play in Australia's diplomatic efforts around the world;
- Increase and strengthen the capacity of the arts to contribute to our society and economy;
- Invest in the cultural inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in all the national cultural institutions;
- Provide sustainable funding for the national cultural institutions;
- Ensure Australia's national cultural institutions are supported to continue growing their important collecting, exhibition and education functions; and
- Put in place safeguards to protect the authenticity and originality of First Nations art, artworks and cultural/heritage goods from inauthentic imports and practices.

361. Australia needs:

- Greater participation of all Australians in Australia's cultural life, especially in disadvantaged and marginalised communities;
- An active role for public arts and culture programs in schools, in regional communities and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, and throughout our cities and suburbs;
- The Australia Council funded and operating as an independent and expert grant making body which works closely with arts organisations and individual artists;
- Great national collecting institutions able to tour their collections to be open to all Australians;
- The film and television industry supported and funded, encouraging increased private investment, training further talent and assisting market development through Australian local content requirements on free to air and pay television as well as diverse new technologies;
- Australian stories being created and told by Australian performers and crew in Australian film and television production; and
- A thriving grassroots music scene, keeping venues open and musicians in work, to allow our music sector to reach its full potential.

362. Labor will improve access to local markets and support for independent and emerging artists building overseas careers.

363. The legal framework of copyright is necessary to ensure the income generated by arts, culture and heritage is fairly distributed between the creators and the institutions and entrepreneurs who make it available. A successful copyright framework will support the education, arts, culture, and heritage of Australia by:

- Developing and maintaining a national identity in the Australian creative industries;
- Protecting the intellectual property rights of content creators;
- Supporting new and emerging Australian creative talent;
- Meeting consumer expectations of speed to market;
- Securing the supply and diversity of Australian-produced intellectual property;

- Promoting competitive, sustainable and innovative Australian creative industries; and
- Promoting exports of Australian creative product to foreign Territories.

Animal welfare

364. 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. Labor will:

- Establish an independent office of animal welfare;
- Phase out cosmetic testing on animals or on products used in the production of cosmetics; and
- Oppose any 'Ag-gag' legislation.

Fair and equal government services

365. Labor embraces new technologies to provide convenient, more efficient and more effective delivery of services through the Express Plus apps and the MyGov portal. MyGov now provides citizens with easier, faster and secure access to Medicare, Centrelink, Child Support, DVA, NDIS, PCEHR and ATO. There are currently 5.8 million active MyGov accounts.

366. 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.

367. Labor will:

- Ensure government service delivery is appropriately resourced to deliver quality and timely services to Australian citizens;
- Increase the skills and capacity of staff in all areas of customer engagement;
- Maintain a robust, responsive and contemporary digital information system;
- Maintain a network of accessible service centres throughout Australia capable of providing real time performance information to citizens;
- Pursue a Service Delivery Reform agenda to improve choice and standards in delivery;
- Establish an e-citizen's Charter promoting transparency, accountability and democratic participation;
- Redirect resources saved by digital service delivery to deliver intensive case management programmes for those in greatest need and to ensure digitally excluded citizens are not disadvantaged;
- Integrate, where practical and appropriate, Department of Human Service digital services with other government digital platforms;
- Develop a departmental e-Government research centre laboratory in line with international best practice from within existing departmental resources. The laboratory will conduct research aimed at continuously improving DHS digital service delivery; and

- Protecting the integrity and privacy of the personal records of Australians using government services by keeping all data and processing work associated with the delivery of government services within the public service.

Chapter 10: Strong democracy and effective government

The contemporary challenge

1. Australia's democratic institutions are at the core of our shared values in a constantly changing society and economy. There is a desire to improve how we deliver democracy as Australia's population, society and economy are constantly changing. New technologies and global pathways interact with a growing population and a more open marketplace of ideas and products. Social and other forms of decentralised media are now increasingly the norms of content creation and information sharing. We need modern democratic engagement and service delivery systems that better reflect what Australia looks like today and into the future.
2. Our public services and institutions are critical to creating the Australia of the 21st century and beyond. The Australian Public Service delivers vital services to the community, protects our borders and our national interests, safeguards our national assets, undertakes the research and planning that prepares us for the future and delivers programs that benefit all Australians.
3. Long term planning to fund the public service is necessary. This will ensure the public service can attract and retain the high skilled employees needed to provide high quality policy solutions and better services. Wage freezes, arbitrary caps on staff numbers, cuts to employment conditions and underfunding have all had a deleterious effect on staff morale and the ability of governments to deliver their core programs and adequately prepare for our future.
4. Labor will strengthen Australian democracy and give Australians a real say in shaping our future. Since before Federation, Labor has supported and respected Australia's democratic institutions, values and the Westminster Parliamentary tradition from which they are derived.

Labor values

5. Australia's Constitution and Federation need to be modernised to resolve the funding and administrative problems that prevent government effectively dealing with the challenges of today. Our constitutional framework should recognise our role as an independent nation and our federal funding and administrative structures reflect our status as a nation, not as a number of colonies.
6. Government should be transparent and driven by electoral mandate, not hidden and unaccountable. Government should be free of the vested and sectional interests that undermine the ability of government to act in the national interest, whether through donations to political parties, lobbying activities, or restrictions on freedom of information.
7. Democratic and accountable government demands the highest standards of transparency and probity in the conduct of government and public services. It creates a vital role for our public media and broadcasting in informing and educating our citizens. An effective democracy also requires a healthy electoral process and a flourishing civil society.
8. Elections and voting are essential to democracy. Ensuring all Australians can exercise their democratic franchise regardless of social class, race or background is an enduring Labor value.

9. Government at its best is an enabler: providing the necessary regulation and opportunities for achieving our broader social democratic goals. Labor will shape government so it delivers through collaboration and partnership and encourages deliberative solutions to complex challenges.
10. Labor will uphold and strengthen the role of the Australian Parliament as a critical expression of our democracy. Labor will treat the essential role of Parliament and parliamentarians with dignity and respect and ensure Australia's First Nations have a voice to that Parliament.
11. Labor's tradition of nation-building extends beyond our essential economic and physical infrastructure. Labor will invest in public services and institutions, the community sector, our national and community media and broadcasting infrastructure. This is necessary to foster a fair, inclusive and well governed society.
12. The Australian Public Service should be efficient, high quality, effective and accountable. The public service should be protected from interference from government, the private sector and political parties. The delivery of Government programs is the core business of the work of the public service. This should be delivered by the Australian Public Service, except where there are strong public policy reasons not to.
13. Decisions to contract government services externally should only be taken in limited circumstances, and subject to a robust, transparent public interest test, not used as a mechanism to erode or diminish the work of the public service and should not be used as a vehicle to cut wages, conditions or job security for people doing public sector work.
14. Labor will foster a culture of integrity within Commonwealth public institutions – a culture of openness and honesty, transparency and accountability, with the highest ethical standards and zero-tolerance for corruption. Labor will enhance public confidence in public administration by establishing a National Integrity Commission, and by continuing to support the Australian National Audit Office, the Australian Public Service Commission, the Independent Parliamentary Expenses Authority, Parliamentary Estimates, the Commonwealth Ombudsman and other integrity measures which help to create this culture of integrity.

Labor priorities

Open and accountable government

15. In Government, Labor strengthened citizens' rights of access to Government material and documents.
16. Labor will continue to promote transparency and accountability by maintaining and promoting a transparent culture across Australian Government agencies and will continue to support robust mechanisms for Public Interest Disclosure, Freedom of Information and mechanisms for receiving, investigating and prosecuting complaints concerning alleged corruption in public office or administration.
17. Labor will observe the United Nations Convention Against Corruption and will establish a National Integrity Commission while also continuing to develop and implement other measures of and implementation of a national anti- corruption plan.

18. Labor will ensure continue to promote Australia’s international engagement on anti-corruption matters, including through active engagement in the Open Government Partnership.
19. Labor established whistle-blower protection in the public sector when last in office. However, there still needs to be whistle-blower protections across the private sector and Labor commits to deliver this.
20. Corruption prevention and education are important integrity building measures in addition to corruption investigation, detection and enforcement. Labor will ensure all bodies that have special powers to inquire, investigate, and make findings in relation to alleged corruption, are required to have regard to the rules of evidence and natural justice.
21. In office, Labor established a Code of Conduct for Ministers and their staff. Ministers, staff and all members of Parliament should follow clear standards relating to their behaviour, contact with lobbyists, receipt of any gifts, and disclosure of any potential conflicts of interest which may affect them carrying out their public duty.

Government procurement

22. Labor will promote a procurement strategy to safeguard and grow skills, investment and jobs, under existing international obligations, so Australian businesses can compete locally and internationally and so we can advance our broader economic objectives. As the biggest purchaser of services, the Federal Government has an important role to play to ensure where possible services are sourced locally.
23. Labor will take into account a range of considerations when determining what constitutes good value for money, not just purchase price. Government agencies will not be forced to choose the cheapest supplier whether at home or abroad when that choice would cost taxpayers more in the long run because the products or services on offer are inferior in quality or have high ongoing costs. Agencies will also not be forced to choose the cheapest supplier when this would have detrimental social or environmental effects. Agencies will be required to consider all direct and indirect benefits and costs over the whole life of each product and service, including jobs, skills and investment, along with the performance history of each prospective supplier (including industrial relations, environmental and, where appropriate, community engagement).
24. Labor will ensure industries that derive their business and profits from the Australian community contribute economically and socially into the future.
25. Labor will abolish the Average Staffing Level cap in the public service that is creating perverse incentives by forcing government agencies to hire contractors, consultants and labour hire employees, often at greater cost to perform work that could be done more effectively by public servants.
26. Labor will ensure all Federal Government agencies and associated supply chains respect and defend human rights, labour and environmental standards, support and eliminate discrimination in procurement.
27. Labor will ensure government procurement decisions consider the impact on public sector service delivery and policy development capacity. Procurement policies must not create perverse incentives that reduce the internal capability and corporate knowledge of government agencies.

28. Labor will:
- Be a model purchaser and deal with people who are fair employers (compliant with industrial legislation, Awards and Agreements, Workplace Health and Safety standards, freedom of association including collective bargaining rights, and superannuation and workers compensation legislation) throughout the life of the contract;
 - Give preference to companies that provide sustainable (i.e. over the life of the contract) employment opportunities for local workers
29. Value for money and compliance with government policy and the Fair Work Act are important in procurement processes. This is why Labor introduced Commonwealth Procurement Guidelines requiring suppliers comply with workplace relations laws.
30. Labor will ensure Government procurement decisions are based on ethical as well as value for money considerations and commits to update and reintroduce the Commonwealth Procurement Guidelines, the Fair Work Principles a cleaning procurement framework that meets the principles that underpinned the Commonwealth Cleaning Services Guidelines. This will strengthen the compliance with labour standards in the cleaning industry and ensure that government cleaning contracts support decent work. Labor will ensure procurement requires consideration of human right, labour and environmental standards.
31. Labor will use existing procurement mechanisms such as multi-user lists and coordinated procurement, or if necessary introduce a pre-qualification system, to require prospective tenderers to demonstrate their compliance as a condition of the ability to tender. Labor's changes to the FMA Regulations to allow the issuing of the Commonwealth Cleaning Services Guidelines is an example of the government acting where there is demonstrated non-compliance with the Fair Work Principles in particular sectors. To ensure compliance, this process needs to be transparent, and be subject to oversight by a tripartite body where appropriate. The previous Labor Government established the Productivity Consultative Committee which included representatives of unions, business and the government to advise on areas of concern. Labor will consider industry-specific procurement strategies and plans for industries that are prone to insecure work, vulnerable employment and worker exploitation.
32. Labor will continue Australian Industry Participation Plans for public and private procurement. Australia needs a more diversified economy that is not entirely dependent on commodity exports, sustaining high-skill, high-wage jobs, so we need to be clever in our purchasing. This is true of private purchases and even more for government procurement, because governments' buying power extends throughout the economy. Labor will ensure Australian Industry Participation Plans are part of the project development stage and not an afterthought.
33. Direct government procurement represents only a proportion of the money the Australian government spends each year. Labor will also examine extending procurement policies (including those that promote good workplace relations outcomes and Australian industry participation) to other areas of expenditure including grants and other funding. Labor will investigate ratifying ILO Convention 94, on the payment of market wages in government procurement, as an additional measure.
34. Labor will strengthen transparency and accountability in monitoring and reporting on government contracting and restore the transparency of the tender and reporting system by:

- Overhauling the reporting of procurement data and procurement management systems, which would require procurement government spending data to be collected on a central database, including tender notices, contract reporting and consultancy spending;
 - Clearly defining contractors and consultants and establishing broader reporting categories to ensure all data is adequately captured and transparently reported; and
 - Requiring agencies to keep records of sub-contractors used and properly track the status of their non-APS workforce including the number, level, cost and length of service of labour hire staff and contractors.
35. To further enhance transparency, Labor will ensure agencies keep records of, and make available on request, the details of any sub-contractor engaged by a contractor in respect of a Commonwealth contract for procurement. Labor will ensure the public service implements procurement transparency and will ensure recipients of public funding aren't prevented from public advocacy or the voicing of concerns.
36. Labor will improve opportunities for Australian companies to compete for business through the Procurement Coordinator it established. The Procurement Coordinator will review and advise on practices across government; handle and review complaints; aggregate procurement information and submit an annual report to the government.
37. Labor will use procurement to support the growth of the Indigenous business sector and will urge States and Territories to implement similar reforms to their procurement policies.
38. Labor will:
- Ensure government procurement delivers world-class public services, through fair and open procurement processes free of corruption and discrimination;
 - Ensure a robust objective public interest test occurs in all cases. The test must take into account economic, social and environmental outcomes, including access to and quality of services, impact on regional areas and on local jobs, privacy provisions, risks and consequences, the protection of workers' wages and conditions, and the costs and benefits to the public;
 - Lead on sustainability and ethical procurement practices, including:
 - Establishing a Textile, Clothing and Footwear (TCF) Ethical Procurement Register requiring all companies that tender for Government contracts in the TCF industry to hold Ethical Clothing Australia accreditation and be on the register;
 - Requiring successful TCF suppliers and their supply chains to remain accredited and be transparent to ensure that ethical standards are monitored and met throughout the life of the contract;
 - Requiring the purchase of locally manufactured textiles clothing and footwear (where the required goods are manufactured locally, meet all requirements of bid specifications, there is a genuine market, and the procurement will be consistent with our international obligations) by all Government departments and agencies;
 - Requiring contractors on publicly funded projects to purchase locally manufactured TCF from businesses which are accredited by Ethical Clothing Australia (where the required goods are manufactured locally, meet all requirements of bid specifications, there is a genuine market and the procurement will be consistent with our international obligations);

- Providing important financial support to Ethical Clothing Australia;
 - Lowering the threshold from \$4million to \$1million for procurers being required to consider the economic benefit a tender provides for TCF contracts or clarifying that the \$4 million threshold can apply to an aggregated total procurement across government;
 - Requiring all Government Departments and Agencies when procuring from the Whole of Government Arrangement to factor in their value for money considerations that purchasing 100% Recycled Australian made copy paper provides distinct environmental, social and economic benefits including by participating in closed loop recycling; and
 - Comparing the definition of Small and Medium Enterprises in Australia to the prevailing definition in the United States and examining any barriers to harmonising it.
- Ensure Government entities enforce supply chain reporting requirements, including mandatory reporting requirements and penalties for non-compliance under a Modern Slavery Act. The establishment of an Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner will lead our efforts to abolish modern slavery in Australia and abroad.
39. In its role as a major purchaser of goods and services, government can play a role in fostering Australia’s manufacturing, service and information industries, particularly for emerging industries or companies. For goods or services to be ethically sourced, suppliers must be good corporate citizens who comply with the law in all matters, most notably laws regarding tax, trade practices, corporations, industrial relations, consumer affairs, environment and immigration.
40. Suppliers are encouraged to support social and community outcomes including efforts to close the gap in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s disadvantage, gender equality, supporting people with a disability, gender equality, ensuring the equal and fair treatment of LGBTIQ employees and assisting the long-term unemployed to find work.
41. Labor will require:
- Commonwealth procurement rules and codes to reflect government policy on ethical procurement and require that companies respect human rights, labour standards and environmental standards;
 - Principal suppliers to the Commonwealth to comply with procurement policies by requiring all sub-contractors involved in the principal’s supply chain to the Commonwealth to comply with all materially relevant laws as those laws apply to the principal itself;
 - Agencies not enter into contracts with suppliers who have had a judicial decision against them (not including decisions under appeal) relating to employee entitlements and have not paid the claim; and
 - Agencies seek to confirm a tenderer has no such unsettled judgements through a declaration on the matter from all tenderers.
42. Labor will ensure small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are able to engage in fair competition for government business. Labor will require government officials undertaking procurement to ensure procurement methods do not unfairly discriminate against small and medium enterprises.
43. SMEs play a crucial role in innovation-based jobs and economic growth. Therefore, Labor will prefer Australian-based SMEs for procurement contracts, noting that such a policy will support Australian jobs and business and is consistent with Australia's trade obligations.

44. Labor will better coordinate Commonwealth procurement and where it is sensible to do so, consider options to use model terms and conditions to help business and contractors.
45. The Australian Government is a significant influencer of the Australian building and construction industry as a major procurer of construction services for infrastructure and community projects. Under Labor, Commonwealth Government procurement of construction services will be leveraged to improve the industry by mandating, monitoring and enforcing standards designed to
- Support best practice industrial relations and employment practices;
 - Address health and safety problems and unacceptable rates of industrial death and disease;
 - Tackle insecure work;
 - Boost diversity;
 - Stop wage theft;
 - Support local jobs;
 - Combat visa worker exploitation;
 - Encourage the hiring of apprentices;
 - Promote the use of Australian made products and materials;
 - Prevent non-conforming and non-complying building products; and
 - Encourage Australian Industry Participation.
46. Labor will pilot having the above procurement policy implemented and monitored by a dedicated Commonwealth Construction Procurement Officer. The *Victorian Local Jobs First Commissioner* and the *Office of the Chief Adviser- Procurement* in Queensland already operate in those jurisdictions. The Officer's role will be to help to deliver better outcomes through their procurement by providing advice and support and drive consistent and effective outcomes.
47. The construction industry is the major market for locally manufactured building products and materials including steel, aluminium, cement, glass and timber products. The Commonwealth Construction Procurement Officer will be a driver of Australian industry participation and a local industry advocate.
48. Labor will also consider requiring cascading statutory trusts for progress payments thereby ensuring workers and subcontractors get paid.

A dynamic, effective and modern public sector

49. Crucial to any good government is a professional bureaucracy. We need to refocus the Australian Public Service on what's most important – quality services for Australians, sound advice to elected representatives, and investing taxpayers' money in a careful and considered way.
50. The Australian Public Service and the wider public sector have a crucial role to play in serving our community and shaping the future of our nation. Public services will be properly funded to deliver quality public policy and services, foster innovation, achieve best practice and create quality jobs.
51. The Australian Public Service should be:

- Professional and apolitical;
- Strong, independent and well-resourced;
- Committed to equality and social cohesion as well as economic efficiency;
- Allowed and encouraged to provide frank and fearless advice;
- Accountable for meeting high standards of service delivery;
- Recruited from the brightest and best in the Australian community;
- A model employer including in providing secure jobs, consultation, internal communication, trade union engagement, and the conditions of employment and opportunities for advancement for its staff, including through continuous education and lifelong learning;
- Subject to democratic oversight through parliament and relevant bodies including the Auditor-General, the Australian National Audit Office, the Commonwealth Ombudsman and the Australian Public Service Commission;
- Subject to independent administrative review of its actions;
- A leader in environmental, social and governance best practice; and
- Fairly remunerated as a means to achieving the above.

52. 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.

53. Labor will work with key stakeholders, including trade unions, to ensure that the composition and organisation of the public sector aligns with the goals of government and the public interest.

54. Labor has always been a strong advocate and protector of the professionalism and integrity of the public service. We will work with the public service and unions to ensure the public service is efficient, effective and responsive to the changing requirements of the Australian people. Australians want:

- A career public service without partisanship;
- Public service employment principles that are fair and equal;
- A limit on and need for public scrutiny of senior public service remuneration;
- An ethos of public service;
- Relationships between the public service and elected representatives should be respectful and constructive;
- An effective and balanced approach to decentralisation and employment in the public sector can promote jobs in the regions. It should not undermine job security for existing officials; and

- Tangible outcomes where public money is expended.
55. Labor recognises that the 'efficiency dividend' (ED) is no longer an effective public policy measure for generating efficiencies. The ED has had a damaging effect on public sector jobs, service delivery and policy capacity. Labor will, working with trade unions and employees, take meaningful steps to replace the ED by preferencing genuine targeted efficiencies which will allow Australian Public Service agencies to effectively deliver government services and develop public policy. Labor will not proceed with the Coalition's 0.5 per cent additional efficiency dividend in 2019-20.
 56. Taxpayer money is being wasted on contractors, consultants and labour hire firms to undertake work that should be done by public servants. This increases job insecurity and often comes at a greater cost. Labor will ensure contracting and labour hire is not used as a vehicle to cut wages, conditions or job security for public servants, including by government agencies being required to ensure labour hire firms pay the same wages and conditions to directly employed public servants. Further, Labor acknowledges the detrimental impact outsourcing and labour hire on core capabilities within the public service and will develop a Workforce Strategy to address current and future capability requirements and rebuild internal capacity.
 57. Labor will ensure agency and portfolio reform delivers better services and policy capability. Portfolio savings measures, moves towards e-gov and digital transformation must not undermine service quality, accessibility and public sector capability. This requires ensuring transformation is delivering real efficiencies before savings take effect.
 58. Labor will push for more transparent and regular reporting of remuneration paid to senior executives appointed to Government Business Enterprises and across the Commonwealth.

Workers' rights

59. Inequality in Australia is growing and is a threat to a fair and inclusive society.
60. Working people have to be able to participate in the democratic process, this is necessary to supporting Australia's social cohesion.
61. In this context, Labor recommits itself to policy that delivers the principles outlined in Article 2 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights:
 - Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable condition of work and to protection against unemployment.
 - Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
 - Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity and supplemented if necessary by other means of social protection.
 - Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.
62. Labor will coordinate and promote policy development and implementation, with adequate funding, to ensure government services advance these policy aspirations in practice.
63. Labor will work to ensure workers and unions have a strong role to play in policy development and Government decision-making processes.

64. Labor will support the work of the International Labour Organisation, particularly within our region to improve international labour standards and champion respect for internationally respected workplace rights.

Progressing constitutional reform

65. Australia needs constitutional reform to modernise our democratic structures and make our public administration more effective, efficient and prepared to deal with the challenges of the future. First and foremost, our Constitution should reflect Australia's status as a parliamentary democracy and an independent nation.
66. Labor supports the recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the Australian Constitution. The recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the Australian Constitution is an important step towards a more reconciled nation based on strong relationships and mutual respect. Labor supports changes to reflect the unique and special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in our nation including through a voice to the Parliament. Labor will develop a concrete proposition for constitutional recognition in genuine partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the first step to building broader public support for change.
67. Modernising our Constitution also entails a transition to an Australian Republic, with an Australian Head of State, who can fully represent our traditions, values and aspirations as a nation. Labor will hold a national vote to give every Australian voter a voice in the process of becoming a republic with an Australian Head of State. If the result is yes, Labor will consult with the Australian people, other political parties and the States and Territories as to the form the Republic should take. A member of the Labor ministry will promote community debate about the advantages and disadvantages of the various republican models. When detailed constitutional changes are prepared Labor will initiate an appropriate secondary referendum under section 128 of the Constitution.
68. Constitutional reform should be underpinned by popular ownership of the reform agenda, broad political support and effective community education. Constitutional reform should:
- Entrench the principle of one vote, one value for all elections, to ensure equal participation for all regardless of place of residence;
 - Allow simultaneous, fixed four-year terms for the House of Representatives and the Senate;
 - Prevent the Senate rejecting, deferring or blocking appropriation bills;
 - Remove the barrier on election to parliament of a person holding an office of profit under the Crown, provided that office is relinquished on election not nomination;
 - Allow all Australian citizens to contest Commonwealth elections;
 - Remove racially discriminatory provisions from the Constitution, in particular by amending or removing section 25 and section 51(xxvi) to ensure they cannot be used to discriminate against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people Australians;
 - Provide a voice for First Nations to the Parliament;
 - Make clear the capacity of the Commonwealth and the States and Territories to work together using the full range of cooperative schemes to achieve harmonised laws and national enforcement regimes; and

- Recognise the role of local government.

69. Labor will use the Council of Australian Governments process to modernise our Federation and improve the delivery of important services in areas like health, education, transport, water, emergency services and equality for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Reforming electoral law

70. Labor supports the fair, open and transparent operation of our electoral system and to the essential democratic principle that every person should have the right to full participation in it.

71. Labor will ensure all Australians, particularly first-time voters, people from non-English speaking backgrounds, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, people in remote locations and young people, are not excluded from the electoral system.

72. Labor will improve the integrity of the electoral system and, most urgently, restore transparency, openness and accountability to the funding and disclosure regime creating greater transparency and restoring faith in the democratic system.

73. Labor will implement best practice electoral and political regulation reforms, recognising the need to both strengthen integrity and accountability measures for parliament, while safeguarding the vital role of civil society advocacy in a healthy democracy. Labor will:

- Ensure the security and integrity of the Australian electoral process is protected from interference from home and abroad;
- Encourage public debate about reform of our electoral laws including enrolment and electoral participation;
- Ensure disadvantaged groups are not excluded from the democratic process;
- Labor will ensure the capacity of Australians to participate in the electoral system is undiminished, maximising opportunities for enrolment and involvement in our electoral process for all Australians;
- Remain committed to constitutional reform to allow simultaneous, fixed four-year terms for the House of Representatives and the Senate;
- Continue to build confidence in the system by effectively investigating and reporting all claims of electoral malpractice;
- Commit to advance the cause of making electoral enrolment and voting as quick, simple and flexible as possible, seeking to maximise the franchise consistent with maintaining the integrity of the system;
- Reduce the donation disclosure limit from the current level of \$13,800 (indexed to inflation) to a fixed \$1000;
- Prohibit the receipt of foreign donations;
- Ban 'donation splitting' where donations are spread between different branches of political parties and associated entities to avoid disclosure obligations;
- Ban the receipt of anonymous donations above \$50;
- Link public funding to campaign expenditure;

- Introduce new offences and increased penalties for abuses of the political donation disclosure regime;
- Develop a system of real time reporting of donations and contributions supported by an administrative funding model;
- Work to harmonise and align disclosure laws across all State and Territory jurisdictions, to be reported to and by the Commonwealth;
- Seek to limit the level of federal campaign expenditure, through the introduction of spending caps; and
- Support an effective and practical public funding system of elections as a tool to minimise the influence of vested interests in the democratic process.

74. Labor will protect the important role of the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) in ensuring the integrity of the electoral system. Labor will ensure the AECs independence is respected and protected. Labor will provide the Commission with the appropriate funding needed to meet its responsibilities. Labor work towards the highly desirable goal of a single national electoral roll capable of serving the needs of States and Territories funded and maintained by the AEC.

Ensuring women’s equal place in a stronger democracy

75. Labor will promote the equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes.

76. 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.

77. The impact of legislation and the allocation of public resources are not always gender neutral and can exacerbate existing inequality. Labor will apply sophisticated gender analysis to policy development of the government by:

- Introducing gender responsive budgeting practices, including restoring the annual a Womens Budget Statement;
- Undertaking gender impact assessment on all new policy development and cabinet submission; and
- Provide an annual update to Parliament to report on gender equality targets and indicators.

78. Labor will work to ensure equality for women by:

- Introducing a national Gender Equality Strategy to guide whole of government efforts to achieve gender equality;
- Maintaining an active role in international forums to promote the rights of women including institutions formed under the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women;
- Ensuring the Sex Discrimination Act and the powers of the Commissioner are adequately protecting women against harassment and discrimination on the basis of gender and family responsibility and that the Sex Discrimination Commissioner is adequately resourced to do so;
- Supporting women’s representative organisations to participate in policy development;

- Applying sophisticated gender policy advice and analysis to policy development of the government;
- Supporting and promoting women's leaders in all facets of Australian society through a range of regulatory and educative measures;
- Supporting the greater representation of women in all of Australia's parliaments and local councils;
- Promoting diversity in corporate Australia, including in appointments to boards and at the executive level;
- Adopting a 50 per cent gender diversity target for government boards to be achieved within the first term of a Labor government and 40 per cent for women's representation in Chair and Deputy Chair positions on government boards by 2025; and
- Recognising the particular issues faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, women of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, women with disability, rural women, elderly women, young women, lesbians, bisexual women, trans women or women with intersex variation and ensuring government policies and programs are funded, accessible and appropriate to their needs.

79. Labor will require as a condition of all federal grants and other financial support to organisations that they perform their contracts in accordance with State, Territory and national anti-discrimination laws and fulfil relevant reporting requirements to the Workplace Gender Equality Agency

80. Labor will require the public service to be model gender equitable employment practices, including by adopting a target of 50 per cent representation of women in senior public service roles by 2025.

LGBTIQ place in a stronger democracy

81. Australia should be a society that embraces diversity. Labor will support lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer Australians and ensure they are safe, valued and respected.

82. The Yogyakarta Principles - including the 2015 amendments 'plus 10' - application of International Human Rights Law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity, gender expression and sex characteristics provide a substantial guide to government in understanding Australia's human rights obligations to LGBTIQ Australians and their families.

83. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer Australians and their communities contribute much to Australian society.

84. Labor will work with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer Australians and representative groups to:

- Expand integrated advice and support services for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer Australians, and ensure their engagement in the policy development of government;
- Support lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer Australians with particular needs, such as those who are young, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and those living in rural, regional and remote Australia;

- Strengthen laws and expand programs against discrimination and harassment on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, sex characteristics and queer status; and
 - Support and engage with communities and stakeholders to provide input into government decision-making.
85. Statistical information about the Australian LGBTIQ community is important for service and policy planning, and also recognises the importance of collecting information in a way that respects privacy, does not inadvertently place people at risk, and does not lead to unintended consequences. Labor will work with expert statisticians within the ABS to ensure statistics are collected sensitively and to the extent appropriate to assist in informing service and policy planning.
86. Labor will strengthen support for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer Australians by integrating advice and support services and ensuring they are engaged in the policy development of government.
87. Labor condemns sexual violence, or any derogatory behaviour and harassment towards all people. Such actions cause harm. Labor will pursue policies to prevent such harm.
88. Labor will:
- Coordinate and promote policy development and implementation, with adequate funding, to ensure government services advance these policy aspirations in practice;
 - Strengthen partnerships between the federal government and LGBTI community groups in the delivery of support services for LGBTIQ Australians and their families;
 - Resource a National Gender Centre to provide support and advocacy for transgender Australians, which could have an education and training role to promote awareness about transgender issues to the wider public;
 - Support national intersex-led organisations to provide support to intersex persons and their families, and advocate on intersex issues;
 - 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 binary male / female;
 - Ensure proportionality in the use of sex and gender markers on official documents so that any presence of such markers fulfils a genuine and proportionate need; and
 - Ensure that all people with intersex variations are able to exercise autonomy regarding sex/gender markers, and obtain identification options that match their sex characteristics and/or gender identities, as preferred.
89. Labor will build upon previous legal achievements to implement equality in practice, so every area of policy is inclusive of the needs and interests of all Australians-including lesbians and gay men, and bisexual, transgender and intersex people-without discrimination.
90. Labor will:
- Ensure the impact on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer people is considered in developing bills or regulations;

- Respond to the emerging issue of homelessness of trans people, and work to make culturally-appropriate and safe housing available;
- Ensure lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer Australians enjoy equality before the law, and have access to every state institution without discrimination; and
- Establish under *the Australian Human Rights Act 1986* a new Commissioner for Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Intersex Status issues, to work across government and the private sector to reduce discrimination;

91. Labor acknowledges the Darlington Statement as a guide to intersex policy responses.

92. Labor opposes so-called ex-gay, reparative or conversion pseudo-therapies and their underlying ideology, recognising the harm that they cause, and will develop strategies to work with communities to prevent such harm and promote justice for LGBTIQ people affected by them.

Cultural Diversity and Inclusivity in a Stronger Democracy

93. Labor will promote participation of people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in decision making processes

94. Labor will promote and support inclusiveness of people from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) backgrounds in Australia’s parliaments, governments, senior levels in the private sector and community sectors

95. Labor will work to ensure cultural inclusivity in decision making by:

- Providing leadership on cultural diversity;
- Equipping and supporting leaders from diverse backgrounds;
- Supporting ethnic community representative organisations to inform policy development;
- Collecting meaningful data on cultural diversity;
- Moving beyond cultural celebration to cultivate organisational resilience in negotiating cultural differences;
- Supporting greater representation of CALD in all Australian parliaments;
- Supporting cultural diversity in corporate boards and executive levels; and
- Ensuring the impact on people from CALD backgrounds is considered in developing bills and policies.

Ensuring a voice for young Australians

96. Young Australians are not adequately represented in the political process – yet the long-term effects of legislative decisions will be felt most heavily by young Australians.

97. Labor has a proud history of advocating for the extension of the electoral franchise and will engage young Australians in the political system and empower them to drive and guide change. Labor will ensure young people are given opportunities to participate in the democratic process but does not support reforms that erode Australia’s compulsory vote.

98. Labor will promote the involvement of young Australians in decision-making processes and encourage the candidacy of young people across all levels of government.
99. Labor will ensure a national voice for young Australia by appointing a Minister for Youth.
100. Labor will establish a National Youth Advisory Body and support national youth affairs peak representative bodies to ensure the interests of young Australians are represented at the highest levels of government, and to assist the Minister for Youth. Labor is the party for young Australians and we should show it. Within six weeks of a federal election Labor will produce materials highlighting Labor's policy agenda for young Australians.
101. Labor will fight age-based wage discrimination, acknowledging that equal work deserves equal pay.

Australian media

102. The media, are experiencing major change, driven by digitisation, convergence of technology and globalisation of communications and information technologies.
103. Labor will ensure Australia has the regulatory processes and industry structures to support a strong, healthy, responsible and independent media operating in the public interest.
104. Labor supports the National Classification Code to classify content against the standards of morality, decency and propriety accepted by reasonable adults, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity and intersex status.
105. Labor will pursue policies to ensure Australians have a diverse range of information and opinion in Australia's media. Labor will ensure appropriate Australian content quotas. Labor will ensure advertising is properly regulated and reflects community standards.
106. Labor will ensure Australians will continue to enjoy coverage of premium sporting events on free-to-air television.
107. Labor will adequately resource the Australian Communications and Media Authority and give it sufficient regulatory powers to maintain appropriate community standards.
108. Labor will ensure local captioning in the broadcasting sector to ensure all Australians are able to enjoy television content.

National and community broadcasting

109. National and community broadcasting provide free-to-receive broadcasting services in the public interest, promote a vibrant Australian culture, and support social and cultural inclusion objectives.
110. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), including National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Television (NITV), are among Australia's most important public institutions. Labor will properly fund and support Australia's public broadcasters, to enable them to provide Australians with high quality broadcasting and digital media services, free from political and commercial interference.

111. Labor supports the independence of the ABC and the SBS. The ABC and SBS should be maintained as independent and comprehensive national public broadcasters, catering for a diversity of interests in the Australian community. Labor will never privatise our public broadcasters.
112. The SBS provides a unique national broadcasting service promoting multicultural Australia, and provides services to Australians from non-English speaking backgrounds which are not delivered by the ABC or the commercial broadcasting sector.
113. Labor will:
- Ensure public broadcasters cater to the needs of urban, regional and rural Australia, providing coverage of local news, current affairs and community activities, including production capacity in regions; provide programs and services relevant to young Australians; produce high levels of quality and distinctive local content; work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to provide services and programs relevant to them and their communities; provide comprehensive coverage of a broad range of sporting and artistic activities;
 - Ensure ABC and SBS board members and chairpersons are appointed on merit and ensure a staff-elected commissioner position on the ABC board;
 - Support and promote Australia’s external broadcasters in radio, television and digital platforms, which encourage awareness of Australian values around the world and build closer ties in our region; and
 - Ensure the ABC is never subject to privatisation and will remain a public asset owned by all Australians. This includes a commitment to never privatise any subsidiary or affiliate service of the ABC.
114. Labor will keep the ban on ABC advertising and sponsorship in place. Labor will not extend the current advertising quotas on SBS and will ensure SBS remains a properly publicly funded broadcaster.
115. Labor will provide significant and increasing triennial funding to the ABC and SBS so they can deliver quality public broadcasting services.
116. Labor will ensure the national broadcasters are able to exploit the potential of new technology to deliver attractive and innovative content.
117. Labor regards community broadcasting, which includes Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, radio for the print handicapped, LGBTIQ-focused, faith-based, and ethnic and multicultural broadcasting, as an essential component of Australian broadcasting meeting the needs of many diverse communities, and will continue to encourage its growth and development.
118. Labor believes community broadcasting’s access to multiple distribution platforms must be provided on a basis of parity with the national and commercial broadcasting sectors wherever it is practical to achieve; available on a free-to-receive basis; and affordable to community broadcasters.
119. Labor will provide adequate funding to ensure the effective ongoing operation and development of community broadcasting.

Vibrant community and not-for-profit sectors

120. Over the past generation, civic life in Australia has been under threat. Membership of religious organisations, unions and many other community groups has waned. On many measures, Australia has become more disconnected. Australia needs to build stronger community supports and increase social capital. This requires strong, vibrant, independent and innovative community and not-for-profit sectors.
121. Not-for-profit organisations contribute to good public policy, enrich our culture, protect our environment and promote health and wellbeing. Australian charities advocate on behalf of Australian communities including marginalised groups. Labor will continue to work to ensure that Australian Charities and not-for-profit organisations are able to participate in public debate and in policy making processes, in accordance with charities law, without being treated as if they have a partisan political intent or being subjected to unnecessary regulatory burden. Labor will safeguard the ability of charities and not-for-profits to collaborate in work that advances the public interest, including with international partners.
122. Labor will ensure no not for profit service providers that enter into government contracts or service agreements, or otherwise receive government funding, are subject to a ban on law reform or advocacy work as a condition of receiving funding (a so called 'gag clause')
123. The national framework for the regulation of not-for-profits should:
- Stimulate the establishment and growth of a broad range of community or not-for-profit organisations;
 - Foster the public advocacy role of the sector;
 - Encourage donor confidence; and
 - Set a reasonable standard for public disclosure and oversight.
124. The work of not-for-profit organisations complements the role of the public sector in the provision of essential services to the community; it should not duplicate or compete with them. The relationship between not-for-profits and the government should be one of partnership and respect.
125. Since its creation, the Australian Charities and Not-For-Profits Commission (ACNC) has operated efficiently and effectively, helping charities, donors and taxpayers. Labor supports the work of the ACNC to cut the paperwork burden on charities, and engage with States and Territories to reduce duplicate reporting.
126. Labor will ensure the ACNC has the resources and the powers to regulate charities and not-for-profits in line with the expectations of the public and the needs of the sector.
127. Labor will remove inconsistencies and overlaps in the reporting obligations of charities. Labor will develop a single national Associations Act, a consistent national approach to fundraising and other relevant regulatory requirements.

Australia Post

128. Australia Post is a critical part of Australian Infrastructure, delivering letters, parcels and services that are critical to Australian Communities and Businesses;

129. Labor will maintain Australia Post in full public ownership.
130. Labor will maintain Australia Post as the sole carrier of the standard-size, letter service and the sole issuer of postage stamps. Flat-rate postal charging arrangements will be protected to ensure universal, equitable to all Australians, metropolitan and regional.
131. Labor will encourage the growth of Australia Post's services and ensure Australia Post's community service obligations provide equitable access to a full range of postal services for all Australians.
132. Labor commits to ensuring community service obligations meet the needs of the Australian people, especially the standard of service on delivery of mail, and commits to have ACCC price over-sight on all letter delivery. Australia Post should maintain appropriate coverage of post office and post box outlets throughout Australia. Labor will ensure the ownership mix between corporate retail outlets, franchisees and licensed post office's is maintained.
133. Postal Services are the lifeblood of many rural and regional communities. Labor will work to maintain and strengthen the service offering of Australia Post in rural and regional Australia through Post Offices, including continually improving Australia Post's service delivery capabilities, and its digital services.
134. Australia Post employs thousands of Australians. Labor will work to protect the jobs of these workers, encourage Australia Post towards direct full-time employment rather than contract work, and endeavour to ensure contractors will not be used to undermine the current entitlements of direct employees.

Free speech

135. 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 free from violence, the fear of violence or the threat of violence.
136. Australia's anti-vilification laws strike an appropriate balance between the right to free speech and protection from the harm of hate speech. Labor has successfully stood and will continue to stand with the community against attempts to weaken the longstanding protections against racial hate speech in the Racial Discrimination Act.
137. When prejudice against LGBTIQ people contributes to harassment by the written or spoken word, such harassment causes actual harm, not simple simply mere offence, to people who have suffered discrimination and prejudice, and causes particular harm to young same-sex attracted, gender-questioning or intersex people. Labor considers such harmful harassment is an unacceptable abuse of the responsibilities that come with freedom of speech and must be subject to effective sanctions. Labor will ensure that anti-discrimination law provides such effective sanctions.
138. Uniform national defamation laws should provide a proper balance between freedom of expression, freedom of the press, public debate and the protection of the reputation of others. Whistle-blower protection laws, national shield laws to protect journalists, and harmonisation of shield laws nationally, are important protections for free speech.
139. Adults should be free to read, hear and see what they wish in private and in public, subject to adequate protection against persons being exposed to unsolicited material offensive to them and preventing conduct exploiting, or detrimental to the rights of others, particularly women and

children. The portrayal of violence and inappropriate content in all forms of media is a matter of concern. Labor will ensure appropriate controls that reflect community standards are in place to classify and protect all Australians, particularly children and young people.

Freedom of information

140. Freedom of Information (FOI) laws are essential to transparent and accountable government.
141. Labor will promote transparency and accountability by maintaining and promoting a pro-disclosure culture across Australian Government agencies.
142. Labor will:
- Preserve and strengthen the Office of the Australian Information Commissioner; and
 - Review the operation of Freedom of Information and pursue further reforms if necessary.
143. Labor supports the principles of open government. Labor will fully participate in the Open Government Partnership and will strengthen open government principles in the culture and practices of the Australian Public Service.

Privacy

144. 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.
145. 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.
146. 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.
147. 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.
148. Labor will maintain these objectives to ensure all personal data including health, financial and employment details are equally protected.
149. 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.
150. 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.

Fair access to bills and information for all Australians

151. Labor acknowledges the importance of all Australians having easy access to bills and other important information from their bank, phone, electricity, gas and other service providers. In many cases, the provision of this information is a requirement to assist consumers to understand the complex terms and conditions in their contracts.
152. In recent years, many customers have asked to have that information provided to them electronically. However, for many Australians this conversion to online provision of bills and information has been thrust upon them. For some of the most vulnerable groups in society, such as older Australians and those on lower incomes, this has created a barrier to accessing this vital information. In some cases, businesses are charging their customers a fee if they wish to receive their bills and other information in the mail, rather than online.
153. Labor will examine ways to ensure customers who wish to receive bills and other information in the mail are not charged unfair fees.

Chapter 11: Australia's place in a disrupted world

The contemporary challenge

1. The current global context is one characterised by disruption – one in which the magnitude and nature of change influences Australia’s strategic, economic and foreign policy interests.
2. This disruption is principally driven by changes in the balance of economic and strategic power, globally and in our region, economic and social inequality, the rise of nationalism and challenges to the liberal rules -based order which has characterised the post war period.
3. In addition, we are confronted by the rise of rogue states and non-state actors, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including the emergence of additional states with nuclear or improved nuclear weapons, refugee flows and climate change.

Labor values

4. Australia is a strong and independent nation, an enduring ally, a constructive regional partner and a good international citizen.
5. Australia’s place in the world is defined by our identity and power, and our foreign policy is motivated by our values and driven by our national interests.
6. Australia’s national interests are:
 - The security of the nation and its people;
 - The economic prosperity of the nation and its people;
 - A stable and co-operative strategic system in our region anchored in the rule of law; and
 - A constructive international order.
7. Labor believes the pursuit of these national interests necessarily encompasses the expression of Australian values. We deal with the world as it is but we seek to change it for the better.
8. The foundation of the values Australians adhere to is the intrinsic worth and dignity of each individual. We support democracy and democratic practices, the rule of law and the protection of human rights.
9. Labor will continue to advance Australian interests and values within the longstanding architecture of Australian foreign policy: our alliance with the United States, our region and multilateralism.

Labor priorities

The security of the nation and its people

10. The first responsibility of an Australian government is to protect the security of the Australian people and the integrity of Australian Territory. This imperative is central to Labor’s foreign, defence and national security policies.

11. 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 give 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, threatens Australia's and the region's security and potential prosperity.
12. The national security imperative encompasses the safeguarding of Australia's sovereignty. Australia's democracy and democratic institutions and democratic practices, including the rule of law and freedom of expression, are core to our national interests.

Cyber-security

13. Labor cyber security policy will be based on a defined national mission that ensures all Australians are kept safe online and that protects our national security and economic prosperity.
14. Cyber security threats challenge our national security, businesses, utilities, individuals, and our political systems. Labor will ensure national response capabilities to address cyber-attacks will be proactively maintained to be always up to date, and our institutional and legal arrangements are flexible and able to respond to evolving threats.

The challenge of terrorism

15. The growing presence of terrorism in the international arena and threats within our borders pose serious and complex security challenges.
16. Labor will support an integrated, comprehensive regional strategy, including cooperation with and capacity building for local security forces. To be effective, a comprehensive strategy against terrorism must deliver the resolve and operational capabilities to degrade and defeat terrorists and their networks before they present a threat to Australia or cause Australia harm, while promoting justice, the rule of law, genuine peace and inclusive development to counter terrorist narratives.
17. Labor will work with our regional neighbours to disrupt the efforts of terrorist organisations to recruit within the region. Australia's military and security assistance should promote these objectives. Labor will support greater economic, employment and educational incentives for young people across the region.

Extremism

18. The emergence and rising global influence of extremist non-state actors is a challenge for all nations, including Australia. Other non-state actors, especially civil society organisations, remain important agents for positive change through advocacy, institutional strengthening and citizen engagement.
19. Labor will address constructively and comprehensively the global and domestic security challenges to the safety and freedom Australians enjoy. Labor will wherever possible seek a bipartisan approach to Australia's security arrangements. Labor will uphold the rights and freedoms that define us as a democratic nation, living under the rule of law.

20. Labor will pursue new approaches to protect the safety of all Australians and defend our nation's security. Australians expect transparency and accountability in security and enforcement activities to the greatest extent possible. Labor will always work to ensure our national security laws include these democratic safeguards, while maintaining the necessary protections required to ensure successful security and intelligence operations, and protect the lives of those who carry them out.
21. Strong international institutional arrangements should give greater effect to international responses to security threats. Labor will respect and uphold these arrangements. Australia should work directly with regional Institutions to strengthen their capacity to deal with challenges facing the region, and ultimately Australia.
22. Labor will build effective partnerships with other countries to respond to common security challenges, including continuing close and deep engagement with the US as our most important security ally, with New Zealand, the UK and Canada as critical traditional partners, and further strengthen our ties with our Asian and other regional neighbours who are vital in ensuring a safe and secure region for us all. Labor will also look to build on cooperative security arrangements with our partners more broadly in Europe and the Middle East.
23. The safety and security of Australians and our economic and social wellbeing requires more than addressing the threat of war, terrorism and the existence of weapons of mass destruction. It also demands climate change action, natural disaster management, action against serious and organised crime including cyber and transnational crime and strong border control.
24. Labor will ensure our police and national security agencies have the powers and resources they need to keep our nation secure and our people safe. Labor will support Australian diplomatic, development and strategic capability to respond effectively to the influence of non-state actors on domestic, regional and global outcomes.
25. As the powers and resources provided to our security agencies increase, so too must the oversight of the Australian Intelligence Community. Labor will enhance existing mechanisms to ensure parliamentary and statutory oversight of intelligence agencies is commensurate with their responsibilities and powers.

Nuclear Disarmament

26. Eliminating nuclear weapons is a humanitarian imperative. Labor has a proud history of advancing nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation including the Canberra Commission in 1995 and the Rudd Government establishing the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND). A Labor Government will build upon this legacy.
27. Labor will act with urgency and determination to rid the world of nuclear weapons, ensuring Australia plays a constructive role to pursue the aim of nuclear weapon free world.
28. Labor supports strong measures, including sanctions, taken by the international community to force rogue nations, such as North Korea, to comply with international demands to cease development of weapons of mass destruction, come to the negotiating table and agree to a program of denuclearisation. A Labor Government will stand resolutely with our allies in preventing unacceptable threats to our region and to the global community.
29. Civil society and non-government organisations in Australia and internationally who form the global movement to secure a ban on nuclear weapons do important work. Labor applauds the

International Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), founded in Australia, for its work in campaigning for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

30. Given the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons, Labor welcomes the work by nations to negotiate and agree the Nuclear Ban Treaty. Labor supported the negotiations and regrets that Australia did not participate and was therefore unable to contribute to a constructive and effective outcome of a treaty that charts practical next steps and positively engages nuclear weapons states in doing so. The agreement underscores the international frustration at the lack of progress, and the need to refocus energy, on international efforts to progress nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.
31. The Nuclear Ban Treaty has important normative value. To be effective and constructive, action on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation must be universal and verifiable, building on existing safeguards and verification regimes. Action must be practical, cognisant of the contemporary security environment, and be capable of delivering measurable steps towards eventual eradication of nuclear weapons.
32. Labor will reinvigorate Australia's nuclear arms control and disarmament policies, especially by:
 - Working to restore confidence in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons;
 - Encouraging the nuclear weapon states to progress the implementation of the disarmament obligations under Article 6 of the NPT;
 - Strengthening the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty regime;
 - Supporting no first use obligations and investigating the possibility of an extended no first use regime;
 - Progressing the negotiation of the Proposed Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) aimed at prohibiting the production of fissile material;
 - Supporting the strengthening of existing nuclear weapon free zones and the creation of new zones;
 - Encouraging nuclear weapon states to make verifiable and irreversible reductions in all categories of nuclear weapons;
 - Supporting a nuclear weapons convention to bring all nuclear weapon states into the disarmament process;
 - Encouraging states possessing nuclear weapons to mutually reduce the role of nuclear weapons in national security policies and reduce the number of warheads on high alert and increase transparency on action to reduce the risk of accidental detonation of weapons.
33. Labor will support the development of a time-bound framework to negotiate practical, legally binding agreements to achieve these objectives and the aspirations of the Nuclear Ban Treaty, drawing particularly on the practical work of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.

Security Planning and Coordination

34. Australia needs a properly integrated national security policy, continually reviewed and adapted as required to meet changing security threats. Labor will enhance our national security by:



- Re-appointing an appropriately resourced and empowered National Security Adviser, which was abolished under the Coalition Government;
 - Creating a strategic policy framework for national security;
 - Reviewing the new Home Affairs portfolio arrangements to ensure they are fit for purpose, best meeting Australia's domestic security needs, and make any adjustments where required; and
 - Improving Australia's national crisis management arrangements.
35. Labor will ensure our defence forces, security agencies, police and emergency services are always appropriately resourced and given the necessary powers to respond to the security challenges we face as a nation. Labor will work closely with our neighbours, international allies and international institutions to meet the security challenges posed by terrorism.
36. 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 the powers that our security agencies and police have to fight terrorism and other threats to our national security are consistent with the long-standing values and hard-won liberties that help to define Australia as a democratic nation upholding the freedoms and the privacy of its citizens.
37. Enhanced powers require enhanced accountability. Effective oversight is not only necessary to safeguard our essential freedoms and privacy - it is necessary to ensure our security agencies and police operate at their best. Labor will strengthen the oversight arrangements provided by:
- The Independent National Security Legislation Monitor;
 - The Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security;
 - The Commonwealth Ombudsman; and
 - The Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security (PJCIS).
38. These oversight bodies must work collaboratively so that the Parliament, and through it the public, can have confidence that:
- Security agencies are operating effectively, efficiently, and within the scope of their powers; and
 - Security laws are appropriate and represent the least intrusive and most effective response to the threats faced by Australia
39. Labor will remove those restrictions that prevent the PJCIS from properly scrutinizing security agencies and security laws, and from working in full collaboration with the oversight bodies in their important ongoing work. These restrictions are no longer compatible with the role that the PJCIS and the Parliament must play in keeping both Australians and their civil liberties safe, and maintaining public trust in an environment where agencies have been provided with greater powers. Parliament, through the PJCIS, must be kept appropriately informed about Australia's security activities in order to ensure our laws meet the expectations of the Australian public
40. Labor totally repudiates the manipulation of fear, sectarianism or racism for political gain and any derogation of the democratic values we are fighting to defend. Australia needs national unity and

cohesion to respond to the threat of terrorism. Australia's counter-terrorism laws and other measures should not divide the Australian community or marginalise any part of it. Australia needs a national approach including engagement with local communities as valued contributors to and core components of our multicultural society, and partnership between Australian governments to address domestic terrorism.

41. The global nature and reach of various terrorist organisations means Australia will increasingly rely on global intelligence exchange—as well as support—for an expanding range of UN and multilateral measures to combat terrorist financing and outlaw terrorist organisations.
42. Labor will ensure Australia's cyber security arrangements are able to meet the challenges presented by the electronic environment, which is presenting additional opportunity and vulnerabilities for individuals, business and government, with sophisticated attacks coming from criminal groups and foreign governments.
43. Labor will work with industry to ensure there are sufficient measures in place to reduce the risk of toxic agents that could be weaponised or otherwise used as chemical or biological weapons. We will work to strengthen Australia's arms control and proliferation measures.

Strength, sustainability and self-reliance in defence

44. The foundation of Labor's defence policy is 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.
45. Within this self-reliant defence policy, strong bilateral and multilateral defence relationships are important to Australia's defence. Where appropriate, Labor will strengthen existing defence ties with our key allies and through the UN, as well as building new and strengthening existing relationships within the Indo-Pacific region.
46. The Australian Defence Force (ADF) should have the capability to make contributions to international operations led by Australia's key allies or the UN that meet Australia's broader national strategic objectives. Those contributions will be drawn from the forces and capabilities that are developed for the defence of Australia and for operations in our region.
47. Labor will ensure ADF capability development is directly related to Australia's strategic interests and appropriate regular strategic reviews are undertaken with public reports published.
48. Labor will maintain a strong, modern, and efficiently managed defence organisation that possesses the personnel, equipment and skills that are needed to meet the demands placed upon it by the Australian Government.
49. Labor is committed to achieving and maintaining spending on defence at two per cent of GDP.

Emergency management

50. Labor will provide strong federal leadership to promote an all-hazards approach to emergency management and disaster resilience that ensures prevention, mitigation and preparation to improve response and recovery.

51. Climate change is causing an increase in the number and severity of natural disasters affecting Australia. Labor will strengthen our emergency response capacity and work with the States to ensure capacity meets increasing demand.
52. Labor will implement the National Disaster Resilience Strategy that identifies priority areas to build disaster resilience in communities across Australia.
53. Disaster resilience is a shared responsibility for individuals, households, businesses and communities, as well as for governments. Labor will work with all levels of government to ensure local communities understand potential risks and are capable of addressing of them. Labor will support sustained behavioural change and enduring partnerships.
54. Labor will work with Australia's regional neighbours and partners to encourage the exchange of information, the sharing of capabilities and expertise, investments in building resilience including through Australian's international development program, as well as operational assistance and cooperation during emergency situations. Labor is proud of Australia's tradition of providing fast and critical support to our neighbours in times of disaster.
55. Mitigation is vital in preventing loss of life and damage to property caused by natural disasters. Labor will work with States and Territories to ensure national, State and local disaster plans, strategies and program funding reflect this.

Natural disasters and local government

56. Local governments are more often than not the first to respond to natural disasters. Labor sees local governments as a key partner in emergency management.
57. Labor believes local government's important role must be recognised, supported and directly funded, including for clean-up and reconstruction efforts, as well as being part of discussions with federal and State governments in terms of natural disaster funding distribution and mitigation.

Defence cooperation with Australia's neighbours

58. Labor will comprehensively engaging with other nations in the Indo-Pacific region, as part of its efforts to foster and preserve peace, prosperity, stability and security in the region. These efforts are fundamental to Australia's own national security.
59. Both bilateral and multilateral defence relationships are important to security for Australia and stability in Australia's strategic environment.
60. Security of the Pacific nations is essential for regional security and Australia's own defence. Labor supports the 'Pacific Maritime Security Program', the deployment of Navy personnel, surveillance assets and patrol boats in Pacific Island Countries to protect their sovereignty from threats such as smuggling, illegal, unrecorded and unregulated fishing and terrorism.
61. Labor will ensure defence cooperation does not contribute to any suppression or violation of human rights or democratic freedoms. Labor will closely monitor the human rights performance of foreign military and security forces with which Australia engages in defence cooperation. A key objective of Australia's defence engagement under Labor will be to promote the professionalisation

of military forces, adherence to the rules of armed conflict, and respect for the rule of law and human rights.

62. Labor will review arrangements to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness and human rights impacts of all international programs involving training of military and or police receiving Australian government funding.

Allied use of Australian facilities

63. 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:
- Use of Australian ports by foreign warships does not extend to the home porting of any of those vessels in Australia;
 - Staging of military aircraft through Australian airfields or airspace shall only be for such purposes as may be agreed beforehand by the Australian Government;
 - No nuclear, biological or chemical weapons may be stored or stationed in Australia; and
 - 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.

Defence Industry

The need for an Australian defence industry

64. Labor will foster a strong national defence industry. This requires a national consensus about the need for an Australian defence industry and a commitment to building this industry on the part of: the major political parties, the Department of Defence, the Australian Defence Force (ADF), other tiers of government, vocational and tertiary institutions, the existing defence industry itself and the relevant unions. In short, the building of an Australian defence industry must become a national mission.

The rationale for an Australian defence industry

65. To create this national mission the need for an Australian defence industry must be built upon a clear rationale. Accordingly Labor believes Australia needs a defence industry in order to:
- Provide the ADF with the world's best capability in order to keep our sailors, soldiers and aviators safe and successful on behalf of our nation;
 - Provide Australia with the sovereign capability to maintain and sustain the ADF and all of its equipment;
 - Enable Australia to project its strategic weight through an exporting defence industry; and
 - Build technological capability and workforce skills within Australia's broader industrial base.

The world's best capability

66. Australia's technical and industrial sector produces excellent high technology products. Our existing defence industry has designed, developed or produced content for land vehicles, surface ships, submarines and aviation which is regarded as the best in the world. Accordingly Labor believes an Australian defence industry producing equipment for the ADF means that Australia's sailors, soldiers and aviators will be equipped with the best.
67. Labor supports cooperative leading-edge science and engineering research that brings together industry, tertiary institutions and government that not only secures military capability but drives industry and export opportunities.

Sovereign capability

68. Modern military equipment which Australia acquires is complex and often includes content from around the world. A contemporary view of sovereign capability means being able to maintain and sustain the equipment which the ADF operates. Labor will ensure Australia has a defence industry which will always be able to provide our nation with this sovereign capability. We will require equipment to be manufactured in Australia to the greatest extent possible.
69. Greater export opportunities will help to sustain Australian defence industry over the long-term and improve our economic ability to invest in superior defence capability.
70. In addition, Labor will identify areas of critical national capability which are fundamental to maintaining Australia's defence sovereignty.
71. Where a critical national capability is identified, Labor will ensure that our sovereign capability enables us to design, build, maintain, sustain and upgrade the identified platform. This will require a commitment to ongoing investment and maintenance in the capital and workforce required to deliver this sovereign capability, including through the supply chain.
72. Australia's naval shipbuilding industry is a prime example of a critical national capability. Labor is committed to ensuring that this vital sovereign capability is delivered through investment in infrastructure, transfer of skills and technology to local works and businesses and rolling building program that delivers maximum productivity. This will not only deliver the capability that meets the Royal Australian Navy's unique needs, but do so at the lowest cost to taxpayers while opening opportunities for export.

Strategic weight

73. A strong, sustainable, defence industry with the capacity to export is key to growing Australia's regional and global strategic weight.
74. The strategic weight provided by an exporting defence industry complements the role played by the ADF in enhancing Australia's reputation as a capable and reliable international partner. Together, defence industry and the ADF both play a role in Australia's international reputation.
75. Labor will look to develop and implement policies that support the export potential of the Australian defence industry and enhance its global competitiveness. Labor will ensure all defence exports comply with the relevant legislative requirements and are only made to countries that share Australia's values, particularly with respect to democratic practices, the rule of law and the protection of human rights.

Australian industrial capability

76. As a high technology industry, Labor believes in the potential for defence industry to build technological capability and workforce skills within Australia's broader industrial base.
77. Labor will drive more responsive and efficient procurement processes within the Department of Defence to facilitate a strong, strategic partnership with industry. Fostering and drawing on the innovation and entrepreneurship of Australian companies is a crucial element in achieving this aim.
78. Labor will ensure that the Australian Defence Organisation has the appropriate science and engineering expertise to work with and support defence industry, based on medium to long-term requirements.
79. Consistent with Australia's international obligations, Labor will maximise the participation of Australian companies, particularly SMEs, in defence procurement and services contracts. Labor will support SMEs to ensure:
 - They have access to information regarding defence procurement;
 - They are more easily able to partner with large defence contractors in major defence contacts; and
 - Are not precluded from contracts to supply goods and services to the Department of Defence.
80. Labor will ensure contractual obligations arising from such arrangements are properly measured and enforced.
81. Labor will implement initiatives to facilitate the development of the skilled workforce to support a sustainable defence industry, including support for an effective apprenticeship, cadetship, training and education regime. As part of this, Labor will further invest in skilling our defence industry workforce, including mandating skills transfer as part of any major defence projects led by foreign primes, to ensure Australian defence industry is best placed to compete for projects internationally.
82. Labor will ensure the Department of Defence is a smart buyer, with the capacities and staffing necessary to ensure the nation's acquisition and sustainment decisions deliver value for money.
83. Labor believes all Australian defence companies should have robust and publicly available ethics and anti-corruption programs, in line with international best practice.

The economic prosperity of the nation and its people

84. While Australia is the 13th largest economy in the world in the world's fastest growing region, Asia, projections indicate that by 2030, in PPP terms, Australia will rank 23, immediately behind Thailand. Indonesia will rank 5th. The Asian Century continues to hold great economic promise for Australia, rapidly addressing our historic isolation from the centres of global prosperity. But it also creates new strategic challenges, because of profound changes to global power relations and a deeper and more complex exposure to global security threats.
85. The economic dimension of foreign policy, including and beyond trade, is profound. Economic power and economic relationships have strategic weight and influence. Effective foreign policy

recognises this fact and should seek to integrate economic and diplomatic objectives and strategies. Diplomacy, trade, development and economic policy are inextricably linked.

86. Australian foreign policy should be deeply engaged with the Australian business community and recognise a global economy that is increasingly characterised by trans-national value chains that cross state borders. Labor will drive growth in the Australian economy by working with the private sector to develop new markets and strengthen existing partnerships.
87. Labor will work within multilateral institutions like APEC and the G20 to promote inclusive and sustainable growth. Complex economic and fiscal challenges like tax base erosion and corporate profit shifting require an internationally coordinated response.
88. Labor will support measures to promote transparency in the extractives industry both in Australia and overseas so countries rich in natural resources benefit from greater economic and political stability.
89. Labor will support International trade and economic initiatives which promote prosperity, inclusive growth, create sustainable and clean energy economies and protect cultural and environmental assets. The Indo-Pacific region should be open to trade and investment and home to transparent, inclusive regional institutions. Labor will ensure bilateral, multilateral and regional trade agreements advance Australia's interests and support the rules-based trade system of the World Trade Organisation.
90. Labor will work through international economic forums to create a more stable global financial system and international trading regime.

A stable and co-operative strategic system in our region anchored in the rule of law

91. Labor has long understood the centrality of our region to Australia's security and prosperity and recognises it is in Australia's interests to be the natural partner for the region. Regionalism is a key Labor priority.
92. Labor's priorities for the region include:
 - The continuation and development of the liberal rules-based order that has underpinned stability in the region in the post war period;
 - The centrality of ASEAN as a key platform for regional stability and ASEAN nations as key bilateral relationships for Australia;
 - Our special relationship with Pacific island nations in our near region, and our relative position as a major regional economic power, and enhancing our international development and cooperation programs to support their stability, security and economic development;
 - The continued constructive engagement of the United States in the Indo-Pacific; and
 - Regional co-operation and engagement.

Constructive internationalism

93. Labor is a strong supporter of multilateralism. We believe Australia, and the world, benefit from an effective multilateral system. We are a founding member of the United Nations, a member of the G20 and an active player in many international institutions. Australia is not a global power but we have global interests.
94. We recognise the many challenges we can only be effectively met by way of international co-operation including: terrorism, climate change, growing economic inequality and many more.

Democracy and human rights

95. Labor supports the freedom of people everywhere to participate in the decisions that affect them and to have the government of their choice. Labor supports democracy as the preferred form of political participation. People have the right to self-determination and a freely expressed and legitimate voice in their government. Labor will support democratic transitions including through electoral assistance and other programs to assist countries seeking to build their democratic capacity.
96. A free press is essential to a democratic society. Labor will promote and defend freedom of political expression, freedom of the press and the rights of journalists, in Australia and overseas.
97. Promoting universal human rights is an essential foreign policy objective. Labor's diplomatic, economic and international development assistance goals recognise this. Labor will pursue effective human rights diplomacy that supports international and regional security in Australia's national interest.
98. To give focus to Australia's commitments on human rights Labor will appoint a Global Human Rights Ambassador, who will have specific responsibility for the advancement and protection of disability, LGBTIQ, ethnic and religious minority and other human rights.
99. Labor is strongly committed to promoting universal adherence to and implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other key human rights instruments. Labor will ensure all human rights instruments ratified by Australia are observed in domestic law.
100. Labor is concerned about human rights violations wherever they occur. Australia should be forthright about human rights violations overseas. Labor will raise these with the governments concerned including through bilateral representations and formal bilateral human rights dialogues as well as appropriate multilateral avenues. Labor supports stronger international mechanisms and processes for monitoring human rights violations and will encourage the development of regional dialogue on human rights issues in our region.
101. State repression of trade unionism is a violation of human rights. Core labour standards derive from fundamental human rights and Australia should pursue guaranteed respect for those standards and rights through international treaties. Labor will support programs to address abuse of labour rights in the Indo-Pacific region.
102. Labor will support neighbouring nations to develop national labour legislation, help partner countries to ratify ILO conventions, and encourage regional trade union cooperation. Labor will

restore and strengthen Australia's participation and support for these vital activities. Labor will support international efforts to eradicate the exploitation of child labour.

103. Labor will encourage Australian companies operating overseas to observe international human rights standards, including core labour standards, and ensure their operations do not directly or indirectly violate human rights or inflict unacceptable impacts on local communities and the environment. Labor will develop a National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights and strengthen the National Contact Point to ensure it operates in accordance with international standards.
104. Labor will work with Australian trade unions to build the capacity of trade unions in developing countries through development assistance and training, to complement Australia's interests and official development assistance goals.
105. 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. Labor will work first with our Pacific neighbours, our Indo-Pacific region and the nations of the Commonwealth to encourage the repeal of discriminatory laws, especially criminal laws against homosexual sexual conduct and most urgently against such laws where they impose the death penalty, and will encourage steps to implement the actions required by the Yogyakarta Principles. Labor will work strategically to support and assist both local and international civil society organisations in promoting LGBTIQ human rights.
106. It may be necessary and appropriate to impose targeted sanctions against governments that violate human rights. Labor will work with like-minded nations to formulate and implement these sanctions in a way which will not be to the detriment of the population of the country in question.
107. Australia should support international initiatives to advance the rights of Indigenous peoples and address Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander disadvantage. Labor supports the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
108. Australia should share our experiences of reconciliation, including the National Apology. Australia should seek to learn from the experience of other nations in reconciliation, truth & healing commissions and agreement making with Indigenous peoples. Labor supports efforts to Increase Indigenous participation in UN forums, including through contributions to the UN Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations.
109. Australia should be a global leader in championing gender equality and the economic, social and political empowerment of women and girls, and reduce levels of repression against women and girls in some countries. Labor will extend measures which reduce violence against women and girls, particularly to Australia's Pacific neighbours. Labor will support international campaigns to end:
 - Domestic and family violence;
 - Sexual exploitation of women and children, including sex tourism and trafficking;
 - Harmful practices including early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation;
 - Prohibitions on education and paid employment and restriction to access to medical services, in particular sexual and reproductive health services, for women and girls;
 - The denial of equal property rights for women;

- The unequal standing of women in judicial and political systems;
- The persecution of rape victims; and
- Any use of rape and sexual torture in war.

110. Peace is more sustainable and conflict zones become more stable when the United Nations' Women, Peace and Security framework is implemented. Labor will implement a gendered perspective into our national security, and will ensure this perspective becomes business-as-usual and is actioned in conflict zones, peace transition and resolution, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief.
111. Australia must oppose forced labour and slavery. Labor will campaign against forced labour and slavery, and for the rights of people in situations of forced labour and slavery through international forums, multilateral and bilateral frameworks and relationships. Labor will provide every possible support and assistance for people in situations of forced labour and slavery.
112. Australia must promote and protect the rights of people with disability, including through the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Labor will improve Australia's world-leading disability-inclusive aid program to strengthen opportunities for people with disability in the Indo-Pacific region and globally.
113. Australia must be unequivocal in its opposition to capital punishment, wherever it occurs. Labor will strongly and clearly its opposition to the death penalty, whenever and wherever it arises, and advocate its universal abolition, including through strong regional and global representations.
114. Torture fundamentally undermines human dignity and erodes the moral foundation of any institution, which engages in it. Labor will support efforts to end all forms of torture and cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment, in all circumstances.

International law

115. Labor strongly supports the maintenance of a rules based international order, auspiced and supported by multilateralism and the United Nations. Reform of the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council is essential for the UN to respond effectively to international challenges.
116. Labor supports strengthening the United Nations' capacity in preventive diplomacy and peace building, peacemaking, peace keeping and peace enforcement. This is necessary to respond to significant threats to international security that arise both from longstanding and new conflicts between and within states. Labor supports the UN Security Council's adoption of the doctrine of international humanitarian intervention known as 'The Responsibility to Protect'.
117. 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.

Strengthening our engagement with the countries of the world

118. Labor will strengthen Australia's ties with the countries of the world. Australia has a large immigrant population, global interests, and cultural ties to every part of the globe, and we have much to gain from improving our cultural and country-to-country relationships.

119. The United States remains our closest security ally, formalised through the ANZUS Treaty, and a vital global partner. Labor will maintain and strengthen Australia's close relationship with the US, a relationship founded on our people's common democratic values, our respect for the rule of law and our mutual commitment to international peace and security.
120. The US alliance is critical to Australia's national security requirements in vitally important areas such as intelligence, cooperation on terrorism, defence equipment, and the US' long-term role in underpinning broader stability in the region.
121. Labor supports active Australian participation in the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) – an important multi-lateral economic institution which offers a unique opportunity to drive economic growth in our region and improve living standards.
122. Labor seeks to strengthen economic, social, cultural and educational ties with countries including Japan, Korea, India and Indonesia based on mutual respect and a sense of genuine partnership in our own Indo-Pacific region. Labor supports enhanced cooperation through rules-based institutions and opportunities for regional engagement including the PIF, ASEAN, the EAS and APEC. In particular a Labor government will commit resources and pursue closer relationships and cooperation with ASEAN and its members. Deepening of relationships and mutual trust may mean that, one day, ASEAN membership could be a natural step, desired by our neighbours and seen as logical by Australians.
123. The re-emergence of China as a great power and global economic giant is one of the most significant developments of the 21st century. Australia and China share an overarching interest in a peaceful, stable and prosperous region. Labor will build on our long tradition and work to deepen and extend Australia's engagement with China.
124. As China grows, Labor will position Australia to benefit from this growth and preserve our core national interests.
125. Indonesia, as one of our nearest neighbours and the world's third largest democracy provides scope for increased trade and economic activity as well as deepening social and cultural ties. Labor will work to strengthen relations with the Indonesian government and support Australian businesses looking to trade with Indonesia.
126. Labor will ensure the languages of the region are taught more widely in our schools as part of Labor's Future Asia strategy and consistent with the indo-Pacific focus of our foreign policy.
127. Labor will promote Australia's Interests in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and the Americas. Labor will build strong partnerships with individual countries, including where there is a unique and long-lasting relationship as with the United Kingdom and New Zealand, as well as engaging with important regional institutions like the African Union and the Arab League.
128. The Muslim world encompasses more than 1.8 billion people and is important to Australia - in its connection with Australians of Islamic faith; in Australia's key neighbours and partners who are Muslim nations; and because global challenges require shared solutions. Labor will strengthen Australia's links with the Muslim world, including through the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.
129. 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.

Australian international development program

130. Labor supports an international development program of which all Australians can be proud, reflecting Australian values, history of generosity, regional engagement and our national interests.
131. The purpose of Australia's international development program should be to promote sustainable development and inclusive growth that builds human and social capital, thereby reducing inequality and helping people and nations to lift themselves out of poverty. This serves Australia's national interests by promoting stability and prosperity in our region and beyond. Labor will address the intractable problems facing developing countries that require global leadership and action, in areas where Australian resources can most effectively and efficiently make a difference. We will focus our efforts where there is greatest need, particularly in our near region, as well as in fragile and conflict-affected states.
132. Labor will rebuild and grow Australia's international development program and increase Official Development Assistance to internationally accepted levels in a timely manner. Australia should do its fair share internationally, and work with the international community to achieve the longstanding funding targets reiterated by the SDGs. 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.
133. Labor's international development program will focus in particular on working with regional countries to foster gender equality, to address the effects of climate change and to improve the health and education outcomes that are essential to the building of human and social capital.
134. Labor will set gender equality as a key objective of Australia's aid program and a hallmark of Australian international development assistance. Promoting women's economic empowerment is one of the most effective strategies to improve education for all young women and girls, reduce infant and maternal mortality, improve health – including preventing HIV/AIDS – and promote prosperity. Labor will ensure at least 80 percent of Australia's aid investments meet gender equality goals.
135. Labor will ensure Australia's international development program includes a specific strategy to assist those nations most significantly impacted by climate change while protecting existing development gains. Labor will assist communities to adapt to climate change, implement low-carbon development strategies, and build resilience to disasters and food insecurity, particularly in Asia and the Pacific.
136. Education, which must include special focus to ensure the education of girls, gives young people in developing nations the skills to build their own futures and, in time, escape poverty. Better development and delivery of education services is necessary. Labor will support reducing the barriers to children and adolescents attending school – such as child labour, child trafficking, child marriage, early pregnancy, safety to and from school, menstrual taboos and hygiene, the burden of domestic work, community attitudes and teaching practices, living with disability and the care provided to adults living with disability. There are unique barriers for adolescent girls that place them at risk and denies them opportunities to reach their full potential. Labor will take action to catalyse girls' empowerment internationally by:

- Strengthening the focus on adolescent girls in humanitarian responses;
- Supporting gender transformative vocational training and entrepreneurship;
- Increasing opportunities for girls to access ‘in demand’ jobs and run businesses;
- Increasing access to sexual and reproductive rights information and services;
- Working with boys, young men, families and communities to challenge sexist attitudes and behaviours; and
- Supporting girls to be change agents and the next generation of leaders.

137. Without health interventions at an early age, the potential quality of life for individuals is diminished and economic development is undermined. Health is an area in which Australia can make a real difference, and Labor will make health a priority of Australia’s international development program.
138. Labor will implement the Sustainable Development Goal process as a global blueprint to end extreme poverty. The SDGs will guide Labor’s plan for Australia’s international development program.
139. Labor will ensure Australian international development addresses:
- Climate change and sustainable agriculture, forest and fisheries management, acknowledging the significant impact of climate change and environmental sustainability on exacerbating poverty and inequality.
 - Water, sanitation and hygiene because of its critical importance underpinning outcomes in health, agriculture, food security and even education
 - Sustainable agriculture, fisheries management and protection and food security initiatives
 - The inclusion and empowerment of people with disabilities, a fundamental cross-cutting principle of Australia’s international development program, recognising the impact of poverty on people living with disability
 - The global pandemic of violence against women and children by supporting increased investment in evidence-based, holistic and long-term approaches to ending violence against women and children.
 - Infrastructure and economic development projects in partnership with international agencies and partners.
140. Labor’s international development program will promote human rights. All people should be able to lead healthy and prosperous lives with shelter, education, food and clean water, health and sanitation, and emergency services support - regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, disability, cultural beliefs, sexual orientation gender identity or intersex status.
141. Australia should lead in international development assistance, actively campaigning through international forums, multilateral and bilateral frameworks and our relationships with other countries. Labor will measure our efforts and be accountable against internationally agreed aid and development assistance targets and be able to report on how all of Australia’s work contributes to achievement of the SDGs, both through our international and domestic programs.

142. Labor will treat humanitarian and emergency response as a priority in Australia's aid program, and ensure we play a leadership role in securing global contributions to UN and other international appeals for funding, expertise and logistical support to deal with humanitarian emergencies.
143. Labor will rebuild the skills, expertise and credibility in the public service necessary to deliver a high-quality international development program. Labor will also:
- Enable evaluation of Australia's aid program, including the achievement of its purpose, its overall effectiveness, and growth trends;
 - Return transparency to Australia's international development program including in the Parliament with more robust, focussed oversight by a dedicated Parliamentary Committee mechanism; and
 - Invest in development research and ensure an evidence-based aid program.
144. Inclusive economic growth is the most powerful tool to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development. Investment in education, nutrition and health are necessary to this. Economic growth helps to create jobs, lifts household incomes and generates the government revenues needed to provide key public services such as hospitals and schools.
145. Labor will support good governance, accountability and anti-corruption measures through the development assistance program, particularly in fragile states. Labor believes the Yogyakarta Principles Plus 10 provide a substantial guide for government to apply in their planning, distribution and implementation of international development assistance in keeping with a high standard of commitment to human rights.
146. Labor will deliver Australia's overseas development assistance in partnership with nongovernment organisations and find new ways of working with non-government organisations and civil society so development assistance is well targeted and delivers value for money. Labor sees a balance between public, private and NGO delivery as part of a healthy Australian aid program and will ensure all organisations are held to high standards to promote accountability and ensure aid effectiveness.
147. Australia should take a leading role in promoting development, security and stability in the Pacific. Australia has a responsibility in the Pacific and the ongoing Strategic Development Partnership with our nearest neighbour Papua New Guinea is especially important. Labor will maintain Partnerships for Development with the eleven Pacific Island Government partners, working together to achieve improved living standards for people in the Pacific.
148. Labor will:
- Collaborate with the Government of Papua New Guinea (PNG), the Australian Rugby League Commission and Papua New Guinea Rugby League (PNGRL) to investigate the establishment of a PNG team in the National Rugby League (NRL) competition. This should be undertaken as a foreign policy initiative as well as a sports initiative aimed at building cultural and economic links between the two nations.
 - Support the PNGRL on initiatives to continue to strengthen their financial sustainability, governance, player and referee development so that the PNG Hunters team, which currently competes in the Queensland Rugby League's Intrust Super Cup, can continue to succeed in the Cup, and are well positioned to apply for an NRL Licence in the future.

- Continue to support the NRL's League for Life program, established with the support of the Gillard Government, to address social challenges such as domestic and family violence, health promotion and educational attainment in PNG, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji.

149. Labor will work with development partner nations and other donor countries to improve the transparency and coordination of aid delivery, with a particular focus on engaging China, Japan and other Indo-Pacific regional partners.

Assisting Australians abroad

150. Australia should protect the safety of Australians overseas. Labor will deliver a high standard of travel advice and consular assistance to all Australians overseas.

151. To the extent receiving governments permit, Labor will ensure consular representatives promptly visit Australians who have been arrested and maintain effective communication between legal representatives and the families of those who have been detained.

152. Australian passports should be at the forefront of passport technology, ensuring people applying for and using passports are doing so legitimately. Labor will ensure Australian passports comply with and establish the highest international standards.

Valuing our Current and Former Defence Personnel and their Families

153. Our Defence Personnel are our Defence Forces' greatest asset. They commit their lives, and their safety, in service to our country. In recognition of this commitment, we undertake to support them both during their time in the Australian Defence Force and beyond.

154. Labor believes in order to ensure good outcomes for our current and former defence personnel we must take a holistic view of the individual and their family, not only throughout their service but through transition and into their civilian lives.

155. When an individual serves, their family serves with them. Labor acknowledges the impact military life has on family members and commits to assisting them throughout their loved ones service, and beyond.

156. Labor will send a message to our defence force personnel and veterans that their service is valued. Labor will make support available to our veterans after they have left defence, including through assistance to help them transition into civilian careers. In doing so, we ensure those who served our country know their service is valued by the Government and the wider community.

Supporting our current serving defence personnel

157. The men and women of the Australian Defence Force are brave and dedicated. Labor supports a defence force made up of highly motivated, skilled, well trained, well equipped and diverse personnel who volunteer for service.

158. Civilian employees play a special role in providing and contributing to the Australian Defence Force's operations.

159. Labor will ensure Australian Defence Personnel are paid fairly and in a manner that properly reflects the unique nature of military service.

160. All Australians – including defence force personnel – have the right to form, and be members of, professional representative association in respect of their pay and conditions. Labor will allow associations demonstrating a substantial defence force membership the standing right to appear before remuneration tribunals so they can effectively present the situation and views of serving members.
161. Labor believes the diversity in our nation’s defence force is critical to our country’s defence capability.
162. Labor will ensure female military personnel have equal opportunities for career progression and development within the Australian Defence Force.
163. Reservists are a critical component of Australia’s defence capability. Labor will maintain recruitment and retention of Reserve members and to integrate fulltime Australian Defence Force members and Reserve elements in a total force structure where the different role of all components is properly understood, respected, valued and utilised effectively.
164. 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. These arrangements should reflect the unique employment circumstances of the Australian Defence Force, the need to respect the historical approach to injury and illness incurred overseas and the need for firm policies of prevention, treatment, rehabilitation, return to work and income maintenance measures. Labor supports a sophisticated and uniform approach to record keeping which enables incidents in defence to satisfy any future requirements for support from the Department of Veterans Affairs.
165. Labor fully recognises the physical and mental health risks associated with service which can continue into life after leaving the Australian Defence Force. As such, Labor commits to ensuring appropriate support is available both during and after service.

Supporting our defence personnel during transition

166. Labor believes a successful transition from defence to civilian life is vital to ensure the best outcomes for our veterans and their families in the long-term.
167. Labor believes we have a duty of care to men and women who have served their nation to make sure they have the best possible chance of success after their time in the Australian Defence Force. By supporting our transitioning defence force members we are ensuring better long-term outcomes, avoiding complex social problems which are associated with poor transition such as unemployment and demonstrate to them we value their service and sacrifice.
168. Labor will ensure individuals transitioning from the Defence Force do not feel like the gate is shut behind them. We will ensure those who are able to work are appropriately supported into a meaningful career. And for those whose service has had a greater impact on them, there must be appropriate support services in place for them and their family while they reorient their lives post service.
169. Access to clinical services for current and former defence force personnel is critical to their mental health. Financial security, strong social support and connectedness, secure housing, family support, good physical health and fulfilling employment all also contribute to good mental health for our people.

Valuing our veterans and their sacrifice

170. Military service involves risk and sacrifice, in exchange for this service and sacrifice Labor believes in supporting our veterans now and into the future. Labor will provide world class care and support to our veterans and their families. In doing so, we honour their sacrifice and demonstrate that we continue to value their contribution.
171. Veterans are a diverse group with varying needs based on their experiences, ages and personal circumstances. Labor will tailor support to the individual as much as is practical. The needs of a contemporary veteran can be vastly different to the needs of our older veterans.
172. Labor will retain the current programs of health care for veterans and honour the historic commitment to free treatment for all service-related injuries and disease. Labor remains committed to world-class health care for veterans as offered through the Gold Card, White Card and Orange Card.
173. Labor believes any veteran who is wounded or injured in the course of serving our country should rightfully receive the support they need to continue living a full and productive life. Labor will provide strong rehabilitation programs in conjunction with financial safety nets which provide support for veterans, their partners and widows/widowers.
174. One veteran who takes his or her life is one too many. Labor will offer the leadership, compassion and resources to address this complex issue.
175. Labor believes our veterans deserve world class care and support and recognises the potential benefit of alternative therapies such as art therapy and assistance dogs in improving the health and wellbeing of veterans.
176. In addition to Labor's historic delivery of disability and compensation pension improvements, Labor will continue to review entitlements afforded to our veterans to ensure they are appropriate for the current needs of our veteran community.
177. The nature of military service is unique and Labor believes veterans deserve a department which acknowledges this and supports our veterans.
178. Injuries and illness resulting from military service has traditionally been assessed in a separate rehabilitation and compensation scheme in recognition of the different circumstances and status of military service. This is reflected in some circumstances by a more generous standard of proof, the lack of any onus of proof and a longstanding commitment to the benefit of the doubt operating in the veteran's favour. Labor will honour these commitments and the values on which these schemes are based. An overly adversarial claims process is to the detriment of veterans and their loved ones. Labor believes service-related compensation claims should be processed in a timely, efficient and effective manner that honours their service.
179. Labor will expedite the current program of mortality and health studies and research into past deployments, as well as ensuring current processes for future deployments properly deal with health risks in advance, and after return to Australia - particularly with respect to recording keeping. This will ensure we have the best possible information available to assist veterans and their families.
180. Labor will support ex-service organisations to provide vital services to veterans and their families. Labor acknowledges the deep camaraderie and support offered by these organisations through their invaluable peer networks.

Supporting our military families

181. Labor believes families are our greatest asset with regards to supporting both current and ex-serving defence personnel. Defence family life presents a series of unique challenges and stressors for loved ones.
182. Families play a critical role in supporting our current and ex-serving defence personnel. Often family members are the first to recognise signs and symptoms of poor physical or mental health and help them through the tough times. The critical role families play in supporting our current and ex-serving defence personnel must be recognised and appropriate support provided. Labor will ensure the care and welfare of veterans' partners and families who may have suffered as a result of the veteran's service, particularly from the ill health of a veteran, as part of a policy of lifelong care for those injured or affected by their service.
183. Labor will work to address the health and welfare needs of veterans' families through a development a National Family Engagement Strategy for Current and Former Defence Force Families. Labor will ensure there are adequate programs to assist these families to meet the pressures and demands of military life.
184. Carers' play a key role supporting our former servicemen and women. Labor will ensure support is available to carers as needed.
185. Military service can impact the whole family. Labor will undertake health studies into the health and welfare of children of younger veterans, to better establish whether there are any intergenerational health effects flowing from their service.
186. Labor will retain to the support available for children of veterans to study.

Remembering their service and sacrifice

187. Labor believes in the importance of commemorative events, providing our community and veterans to join together to acknowledge the service and sacrifice of our defence personnel. Labor will support the community to commemorate the past contribution of our service men and women to this country.
188. Labor recognises the significance, importance and sacred nature of battlefields where our troops have lost their lives. Where possible, Labor will actively work with foreign governments and other parties to protect and preserve the integrity of significant battlefields where Australian troops have served.
189. Labor believes in a bipartisan approach towards commemorative activity and recognises the importance of educative programs, including under the aegis of the Australian War Memorial.
190. Labor acknowledges and thanks those members of ex-service organisations who work so hard on local commemorative events which give communities the opportunity to come together and reflect on those who have made the ultimate sacrifice in service of our nation. In many places, if it weren't for these dedicated individuals these events would not happen. We thank those dedicated members of the community.

Resolutions to the National Platform

Everyone's Business – ALP Reconciliation Action Plan

The Australian Labor Party acknowledges that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples are the first peoples of Australia, and have sustained spiritual beliefs, cultural and ceremonial practices on their traditional estates. In the true spirit of reconciliation, the Australian Labor Party affirms its equal partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples for the ongoing custodianship and maintenance of land and 'sea country' throughout this nation.

National Conference commits Labor to the 2018-2020 Reconciliation Action Plan.

For Labor, reconciliation and recognition is about ensuring that First Nations' people have the same rights, opportunities and outcomes as every other Australian.

These goals have eluded us as a nation for more than two centuries. It is time for that to change – and Labor wants to lead this change.

Reconciliation and recognition is about acknowledging – and celebrating – the unique place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as the first inhabitants and custodians of Australia. We are home to one of the oldest surviving cultures on earth. That is something that we can all take pride in.

Reconciliation and recognition is about acknowledging the truth of our history, the wrongs that have been committed against first peoples – and not shying away from our historical pain. Without truth, there can be no healing.

Reconciliation is about building relationships, and about listening.

Above all, it is about taking action to tackle disadvantage and inequality. It is about introducing practical measures to close the gap in health, housing, education, employment and life expectancy.

To achieve these outcomes and create a truly Reconciled Nation, First Nations People must have a say in all of the decisions that affect their lives.

Labor is committed to ensuring that First Nations People have a voice – entrenched in our Constitution.

The Reconciliation Action Plan sets out practical measures to give First Australians a voice in our party, in our parliament, and in our society.

It outlines Labor's commitment to come together with First Nations' people and work towards equality, and a Reconciled and just Nation.

The Reconciliation Action Plan outlines a comprehensive strategy for ensuring First Nations' people are actively supported to participate in our party, our parliament, and our nation.

The Reconciliation Action Plan focusses on building relationships, respect and opportunities.

It identifies a range of practical measures that Labor will adopt to ensure that First Nations' people have more opportunities to be involved in our party, at every level.

By implementing the Reconciliation Action Plan, Labor will ensure we are constantly building our understanding of the issues that affect First Nations' people's equality and aspirations, and developing practical ideas for achieving change.

As outlined in the Reconciliation Action Plan, the ALP's National Executive will have responsibility for the oversight and reporting of the RAP.

Resolutions for Chapter 2

Addressing Gender Superannuation Inequality

Universal superannuation is a vital part of a system designed to give Australian workers a decent standard of living in retirement after a lifetime of work. But the Superannuation system is failing women.

On average, women retire with 47% less superannuation than men. This is a national disgrace and institutionalised gender discrimination.

A range of factors combine to create this wicked problem for women, most notably:

- The gender pay gap
- Caring responsibilities
- Low pay and insecure work
- Feminised industries that undervalue women's work
- Relationship breakdown
- Unaffordable housing particularly for renters
- Regressive tax treatments

The coalition federal government has repeatedly failed to deliver policies that will improve women's retirement incomes.

Conference commends Senator Jenny McAllister on her work chairing the Economic Security for Women in Retirement Inquiry in 2016, and the Opposition Leader, Shadow Minister for Women, Shadow Treasurer and Shadow Minister for Financial Services for their work in making announcements that Labor in Government will:

- Eliminate the \$450 minimum threshold for compulsory employer superannuation contributions; and
- Pay superannuation on the federal government Paid Parental Leave Scheme.

There is more to be done. Unions have undertaken extensive research which highlights that women are at greater risk of poverty, housing stress and homelessness in retirement.

Conference supports the following policy priorities and amendments to applicable legislation and regulations to address the structural disadvantages women face in the superannuation system:

- Closing the gender pay gap through a range of measures including providing an effective mechanism for unions to pursue pay equity claims through the workplace relations system;
- Ensuring workers are paid superannuation on every dollar they earn;
- Moving towards paid maternity leave being considered Ordinary Time Earnings, for the purposes of the Superannuation Guarantee;
- Increasing the SGC to 12 per cent without delay; and
- Within the first 6 months of taking office, initiating an expert review to examine the adequacy of mechanisms to strengthen the superannuation balances of women, including options for government contributions to account balances where the account balance is very low, and the optimal timing and nature of such contributions.

Cleaning up the financial services sector

Labor has long had concerns about the systemic misconduct within the financial services sector, particularly the big banks.

In April 2016, the Leader of the Opposition and the Shadow Treasurer took the bold and courageous step of announcing that Labor would call for a Royal Commission into the banks and financial services industry. Federal Labor successfully fought for the establishment of the Banking Royal Commission, against opposition from the Liberals and then-Treasurer Scott Morrison who voted against the establishment of a Banking Royal Commission 26 times.

The Royal Commission is now uncovering sickening and systemic misconduct and crime in financial services including

- Hundreds of millions of dollars that have been charged in 'fees for no service' including fees charged to dead people;
- Hundreds of thousands of potentially criminal breaches of financial services law;
- First Nations communities being targeted by appalling predatory lending and insurance sales;
- Lenders routinely duping Australians into shockingly inappropriate loans; and
- Low income Australians, small businesses and farmers having their lives destroyed by the big banks.

The culture within the industry, driven by boards and senior executives particularly the big banks has been profoundly damaged by greed. This culture has resulted in poor outcomes for customers and workers across the sector. The Banking Royal Commission provides a once in a generation opportunity to create more fairness in an industry that affects every single Australian. Only a Labor Government can be trusted to clean up this sector.

A future Labor Government will establish a Financial Services Royal Commission Implementation Taskforce, to reform the culture of profit over people in the financial services sector. A Labor Government will crack down on the banks and other lenders and put in place the policies necessary to ensure this kind of misconduct is appropriately punished.

Conference supports a future Labor Government taking action to address:

- The dishonesty and profound greed within the sector, particularly the issue of conflicted remuneration;

- The failure of regulators to prevent this misconduct;
- The inadequate support for victims of misconduct; and
- The lack of common decency within the big banks and their inadequate hardship policies.

A properly resourced Anti-Dumping Commission

The Anti-Dumping Commission does extremely important and complicated work in a complex and evolving trade remedy environment.

Commission staff frequently travel abroad to remote industrial locations to test claims and counter claims of exporters.

The ADCs functionality is a credit to its Commissioner and staff given it is currently expected to operate on a shoestring budget of \$12 million with 75 FTE staff. This budget allocation compares very poorly in comparison to the Governments more favoured commissions. For instance, the Productivity Commission in the 2018-19 budget was provided with a Budget of \$64,039,000 for 176 FTE staff. The Governments anti-union Australian Building and Construction Commission is even better resourced again with a Budget of 74,297,000 for 155 FTE.

Labor recognises that in an increasingly vulnerable international trade market, where geopolitical turbulence has the devastating effect of diverting substantial volumes of product to small liberal economies like Australia, Australian industry is at a critical weak point.

Most vulnerable are our steel and glass industries, which collectively employ hundreds of thousands of people doing fair work for honest pay.

Labor in March stated that with an ever growing threat of dumping, it's essential that we toughen up the Anti-Dumping Commission. The party committed increased funding for the Commission of \$3.5 million a year, meaning it is more responsive, more active and more expeditious in conducting investigations.

The ITRF heard in its April meeting that the Commission has 68 cases on hand compared to 49 open cases in September 2017. This spike of cases is prior to any extra workload which may occur as a result of the 232 investigation in the U.S and subsequent tariff regime.

The threat of an ADC that cannot service its workload is a threat to Australian jobs. A Labor government will ensure the ADC is properly funded to ensure Australia's most vulnerable and fairest jobs remain here.

Automation in the labour force

Labor recognises the challenge and potential economic and social shock that automation presents to the labour force, and in government will:

- Attempt to legislate, and where not feasible will enshrine in the appropriate regulatory framework, a Future of Work Forum.
- Consider the implementation of a temporary, economy wide Training Levy for businesses with 100 or more employees. Funds would help retrain workers in higher and vocational education.

- Consider the implementation and creation of a temporary Redundancy and Retraining Guarantee Fund for medium to large businesses. A small percentage of employee costs would be payable into an independent fund. Funds would go to the retraining of workers directly impacted by automation or redundancy. Funds would be separate to and in addition to any redundancy and entitlement payments.
- Consider the introduction of a temporary Retrenchment, Retraining and Redeployment Levy for medium and large businesses in instances where businesses retrench workers and remain in operation, a levy would be payable for the purposes of funding retraining.

Port of Newcastle Container Terminal

Labor notes the \$6 billion in economic benefits that a container terminal at the Port of Newcastle would provide to NSW – and the Hunter region in particular – and supports the private sector development of a container terminal at the Port of Newcastle. Labor also notes the significant environmental and amenity benefits of reducing traffic congestion in Sydney if the NSW freight task is more evenly spread throughout NSW. Labor further notes the unique and unfair regulatory hurdles which are impeding the development of the container port at both the state and national level. Labor resolves to remove both the flawed pricing regime and the secret NSW Government imposed container movement charge so as to enable the Port of Newcastle to develop a container terminal as soon as practicable.

Improving Labor policy on tax transparency measures

The following tax and transparency policy measures should be reviewed or considered:

- Requiring all entities receiving \$10 million in annual government payments to file full and complete financial statements with ASIC (or ACNC for non-profits), with no exemptions, and including the full disclosure of all beneficiaries (through a beneficial ownership register).
- Eliminate reduced disclosure or special purpose filing options on annual financial statements filed with ASIC for subsidiaries of multinationals with over \$500 million in annual revenues.
- Further reduction or elimination of ASIC fees for accessing company information over the medium-term, including financial statements, particularly in a revenue-neutral framework (such as penalties for late-filing). ASIC fees are among the highest in the world; the UK and NZ have free access.
- Transfer pricing regulations within the first term of taking office, to include: 1) the implications of federal court decisions on offshore related party loans; and 2) the feasibility of certification of compliance with company directors and auditors directly accountable for any breaches.
- A study based on Country by Country Reporting (CbCR) that analyses the misalignment between the economic activities of individual multinationals and the taxes paid. This would allow the ALP to highlight the significance of existing ALP policy on public CbCR.
- Improvements to the ATO corporate tax transparency data by adding additional data points that would likely be supported by business: 1) carried forward losses and other right-of-reply type data; and 2) a link to a company statement/explanation of tax practices or a mandatory tax transparency code report to replace the existing voluntary one.
- Review the Tax Expenditures Statement, with particular view towards tax breaks and other incentives, benefits or tax agreements granted to companies operating in Australia, or operational during the year, along with a cost/benefit analysis of public benefits obtained. A future Labor Government should consider the merits of clawback mechanisms in any future agreements that

require any subsidies to be returned if the promised economic benefits (i.e. jobs, revenues, etc) do not materialise.

- Enhance the governments stapled structure reforms by including transparency measures to require any listed stapled structures, in which trusts derive a majority of income from related parties, to disclose the terms of all such transactions. This measure should also apply to any company, not necessarily stapled structures, that have annual government funding of over \$10 million and that also have corporate structures with trusts receiving a majority of income from related parties.

Gas industry reform

The Liberal Government has refused to trigger the Australian Domestic Gas Security Mechanism (ADGSM) to address the gas and energy crisis demonstrating their willingness to side with the big gas companies over Australian manufacturing jobs.

Even if the Government was to act, the ADGSM is a weak and insufficient policy response that would not provide effective price relief for households and manufacturers. This is also true of the two voluntary non-binding agreements the Turnbull government reached with gas producers.

To address this failure, a Labor Government will:

- Introduce a new permanent gas export control trigger, which will be activated if the domestic gas price rises above a benchmark price, to be set, monitored and policed by the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC).
- A gas National Interest Test reserve policy for new and expanded gas developments to ensure developments are in and maximise the national economic interest, through the imposition of conditions such as reserving a portion of domestic gas supply for local use, as well as stronger 'use it or lose it' provisions.
- Expansion and strengthening of the ACCCs powers to monitor and publicly report information to improve gas market transparency, including having the ACCC investigate the potential gaming and abuse of market power by companies that own gas networks and processing infrastructure. Subject to ACCC findings and advice, a Labor government will consider policies to improve gas market efficiency and transparency, including those adopted by other countries such as market-access regimes or independent operatorships to ensure gas is supplied domestically at competitive prices.
- Consider reform to reduce any spare capacity in pipelines, such as market-access to spare pipeline capacity in future periods.

Resolutions for Chapter 4

Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance

That this conference:-

- Restates Labor's support for the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, to which Australia is a Signatory, and notes Toondah Harbour is a Ramsar-listed wetland
- Recognises the importance of Ramsar listed sites to migratory wading birds

- Acknowledges that migratory wading bird numbers are in steep decline, principally due to loss of tidal roosting and feeding sites along their migratory routes from North East Asia to Australia
- Commits to protecting Australia's intertidal habitat on which these birds depend, with special consideration of Ramsar listed sites
- Calls on an incoming Labor government to fully apply federal environmental law.

Resolutions for Chapter 5

Penalty Rates

National Conference applauds Labor's commitment in government to standing up for workers by legislating to reverse all penalty rate cuts and preventing any future cuts. The conference:

- Condemns the attempts by Clubs Australia to cut the penalty rates of clubs workers. These attacks are out of step with the ethic of the clubs sector and out of touch with the support that many local clubs have expressed for their workforce.
- Commends the over 150 clubs that have rejected Clubs Australia's attack and told the Fair Work Commission that they oppose penalty rate cuts for their workers.
- Further condemns the cuts to penalty rates for retail and hospitality workers approved by the Fair Work Commission in 2017, and notes the devastating impact on the incomes and living standards of 700,000 workers.
- Acknowledges a dangerous trend of attacks on penalty rates across the economy and the danger facing all workers who rely on penalty rates.
- Commends the valiant campaigns by the trade union movement, on the ground and in the courts, to defend workers' penalty rates.
- Believes that Australians need a pay rise, not continued attacks on their penalty rates and living standards.

Erosion of public sector workers' rights and conditions

National Conference condemns the Abbott/ Turnbull / Morrison Government for its ideological attack on their own workforce which has spanned over 5 years. The Coalition Government, through its bargaining framework, sought to cut the important rights and conditions that members rely on, attacks on rights to representation and delegates, while offering below inflation pay rises and prohibiting back pay or any other compensation for delays in bargaining.

National Conference notes that after 5 years over 13,000 workers in the Department of Home Affairs are about to face a workplace determination outcome which could cut penalties, allowances and conditions if the Coalition government's case is accepted.

National Conference notes that the Abbott/Turnbull / Morrison government's failure to recognise the importance of the work public sector workers perform on behalf of the community in agencies such as Human Services, Centrelink, Medicare, Tax, CSIRO and the Bureau of Meteorology. This disregard is combined with attacks on secure work and wholesale contracting, privatisation and outsourcing of the public sector.

National Conference recognises that public sector workers play a critical role in serving the community and, like other workers should be treated fairly and with respect by their employer and should be able to maintain their employment rights and conditions.

National Conference recognises Federal Labor's commitment to being a good employer, supporting fair and respectful industrial arrangements for public sector workers and supporting great public services.

Industrial Manslaughter: Kill a Worker, Go to Jail

Last year in Australia 190 workers were killed at work and there have already been more than 115 workers killed so far this year. No worker should go to work and die.

Every industrial death is a tragedy. The death of a worker creates a ripple effect for the victim's family, the victim's workplace and the greater community.

Conference acknowledges that Labor is the party that stands up for workers and their safety.

Conference congratulates Labor Senators for initiating and leading the recent Senate Education and Employment Committee into industrial deaths in Australia. This inquiry heard substantial evidence from the families of victims of industrial deaths. It is clear that their contributions were incredibly hard to recount. These families are brave activists for justice Conference acknowledges their contribution to this inquiry and their ongoing activism for those they have lost.

The key role of the federal government in coordinating policy reform was highlighted in the committee's recent report, and the Conference acknowledges that much more can be done to both prevent industrial deaths from occurring and to provide assistance and support to those left behind by the devastating incident.

The core recommendation of the report "They never came home" is Recommendation 13:

"The committee recommends that Safe Work Australia work with Commonwealth, State and Territory governments to:

- *Introduce a nationally consistent industrial manslaughter offence into the model WHS laws, using the Queensland laws as a starting point; and*
- *Pursue adoption of this amendment in other jurisdictions through the formal harmonisation of WHS laws process."*

In Queensland if a person conducting a business or undertaking, or a senior officer commits industrial manslaughter, a maximum penalty of 20 years imprisonment for an individual or \$10 million for a body corporate applies.

Conference notes that the ACT, Queensland and Victorian Labor governments have introduced or committed to industrial manslaughter laws. We congratulate these Labor governments and encourage other state and territory governments to follow their lead.

Of the other 34 recommendations in the report the following are also particularly important:

- The development of a policy which stipulates that all industrial deaths must be investigated as potential crime scenes;

- The establishment of a dedicated WHS prosecutor in each jurisdiction; and
- The amendment of the model WHS laws to provide for unions, injured workers and their families to bring prosecutions.

Conference endorses the recommendations in the report and supports their implementation by a future Shorten Labor government, working through SafeWork Australia, the State and Territory governments and with the trade union movement.

All workers in Australia deserve to know that there are consequences to negligent and reckless conduct which may lead – or tragically does lead - to a death. Strong industrial manslaughter laws and penalties which act as a real deterrent are an essential element of providing safer workplaces.

This conference affirms our support for industrial manslaughter laws through amendments of WHS laws and/or the state and territory criminal codes and sets an objective to have industrial manslaughter laws enacted in all States and Territories in Australia within the first year of a Shorten Labor Government.

Chemical exposure

Labor acknowledges the potential danger to workers exposed to Perfluorooctane sulfonate and perfluorooctanoic acid across jobs in oil & gas plants, aviation operations and firefighters. The potential health risks of being exposed to these chemicals could have significant implications on the wellbeing and livelihood of these workforces.

A future Labor government will support the process of identifying those individuals and groups at risk due to use of, and potential exposure to, hazardous chemicals. In addition, it will establish a database using existing incident reporting and health monitoring protocols to record, track and support treatment.

Protecting our hair stylists

Labor notes that the Australian hair industry is plagued by a disregard for Australia's workplace laws.

Hair stylists remain the lowest paid trade in Australia and are subject to some of the worst working conditions in the country. Many hair stylists endure long working hours without breaks, are exposed to chemicals without safety precautions and are the subject of bullying and harassment.

In 2013 the Fair Work Ombudsman published a report showing that wage theft and superannuation underpayments were rife in the industry. Furthermore only 45 per cent of businesses in the sector were abiding by our workplace laws.

The removal of the requirement to serve as an apprentice, coupled with the deregulation of licensing has caused an over-supply of under-qualified labour in the industry right across the country. This has led to a culture of industrial lawlessness in the industry. Operators who have no or very little knowledge of workplace laws are setting up large numbers of salons across Australia.

As a result, the hair industry has become home to too many businesses that exploit their hair stylists.

Hair stylists work in some of the most unfair workplaces in Australia – this must urgently change.

A future Labor government will:

- Introduce a consistent national minimum requirement for hair stylist qualifications.
- Create proper regulation, licensing and oversight of businesses providing hair styling services.
- Support the Fair Work Ombudsman to investigate hair and beauty industry compliance with work place relations laws, including by engaging with relevant unions to identify areas and employers of concern.

Community Development Program

The Community Development program (CDP), commencing in 2015, requires people to work at least 25 hours to qualify for unemployment benefits. 80% of CDP participants are Indigenous.

CDP participants are paid well below the minimum wage, are not paid superannuation, are not covered by the Fair Work Act, OHS protections or workers compensation. They are not entitled to annual leave, sick leave or carers leave.

Recent reports have labelled the CDP “racist, incredibly punitive, ineffective, and expensive.”

Conference believes that all Australians should have the opportunity to have a job they can count on. CDP deprives people of that opportunity.

Conference congratulates Labor on their commitment to abolish the current CDP and replace it with a genuine program that delivers jobs and economic growth.

Resolutions for Chapter 6

Investing in the aged care workforce

Labor National Conference believes all older Australians deserve dignity and the highest standard of care in their final years. Every older Australian receiving aged care should know that the people who care for them can be there whenever they need, for as long as they need.

We recognise that a professionally paid, trained and supported Aged Care workforce - that has time to care - is necessary to ensuring this dignity and high standard of care. We also recognise the strain that a lack of quality and accessible services place on family members and the community.

As Australia’s population continues to age, governments must invest in Aged Care, Aged Care workers and a workforce with appropriate staffing numbers to provide necessary care. Quality jobs in aged care will ensure the delivery of quality care. Quality jobs are those that provide

- Fair wages and conditions;
- Predictable and stable hours of work;
- Sufficient time to provide quality care for service users;
- A defined and accessible career path;

- Access to representation and independent advice; and
- Access to ongoing training and materials in relation to the unique challenges of caring for Older Australians.

Conference recognises the strong relationships that exist between staff and service users, and calls for mechanisms to be put in place to allow staff to act as advocates for the needs and interests of service users, including via access to an independent whistle-blower mechanism.

Conference condemns the Liberal National Government for their 1.2 billion dollars in funding cuts to Aged Care in the 2016-17 Budget. These funding cuts have significantly affected the ability to provide meaningful care and support to vulnerable older Australians, especially those with acute and complex needs.

Conference also calls on Labor to make addressing funding and workforce issues within Aged Care a key policy under a future Labor Government, and to ensure the next election is fought on supporting older Australians and those that care for them.

Resolutions for Chapter 7

Public schools and education

Labor is the party of public education and public schools are Labor's top priority.

One of the most fundamental responsibilities of any government is to ensure public schools are fairly funded to deliver quality education.

Every child, no matter where they live, should have the option to attend a great public school and make strong progress each and every year. Public schools should be delivering the very best teaching and learning outcomes, and doing so requires strong public investment by Federal and State and Territory governments.

Labor stands with parents, teachers, public school communities and unions who are fighting the Abbott/Turnbull/Morrison Government's cuts to school funding.

Labor will restore all of the funding the Government has cut from schools.

Labor will deliver an extra \$14 billion for public schools over the next decade, with \$3.3 billion extra flowing in the first three school years alone.

Labor will give public schools the biggest funding increases in the fastest time because they teach the neediest kids.

Public schools educate 82% of the poorest kids in Australia; they teach 84% of Indigenous kids, and 74% of kids with disabilities, and they deserve the most support.

As a condition of this funding, Labor will require states and territories to invest strongly in their schools too.

Resolutions for Chapter 8

Health outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners

Labor understands that prisoners, and particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners, face unique health care challenges and inequities.

The level of healthcare that people experience in prisons affects their ability to reintegrate into the community following release as well as their life long health outcome.

Labor will work with the states and territories, which are responsible for prisons, to enhance the provision and cultural appropriateness of health services for prisoners.

As a part of this, Labor will ensure that the commitment to Close the Gap for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders will include improving health outcomes for prisoners.

Reducing barriers to reproductive and sexual healthcare

National Conference resolves that legal, safe, affordable and accessible abortion is fundamental to social and economic equality for women and people with reproductive ability - and must be treated as a health issue.

National Conference acknowledges Queensland Labor's significant reforms to decriminalise abortion and implement safe access zones for patients and workers.

These reforms are a consequence of Labor implementing progressive sexual and reproductive health policy.

National Conference notes efforts in New South Wales and South Australia to decriminalise abortion, following their previous reforms to enhance access.

National Conference notes that there is still a lack of legal certainty, accessibility and funding across all States and Territories which means that many women and people with reproductive ability are denied access to vital reproductive and sexual health services.

National Conference calls on Federal, State and Territory Labor governments to reduce barriers to reproductive and sexual healthcare across Australia.

National Conference supports efforts to decriminalise abortion, eliminate the prohibitive cost of surgical abortion through provision in public hospitals, provision of safe access zones, and fully funded, universal access to surgical and medical abortion, particularly for patients in rural and remote areas across Australia.

Labor in Government will work with States and Territories, and relevant training bodies to address the skills shortage in provision of sexual and reproductive health services. National Conference welcomes commitments from Party Leadership that a Federal Labor Government will use Commonwealth and State funding agreements to secure safe, affordable, accessible abortion across Australia.

National Conference calls on all Labor Governments and Caucuses to prioritise reproductive and sexual healthcare policies in their legislative agendas.

Eliminating Rheumatic Heart Disease (RHD)

This Conference recognises that:

- RHD is caused by a bacterial infection of the throat or skin and can culminate in open heart surgery, permanent disability and early death;
- Ninety-four percent of people newly diagnosed in Australia with acute rheumatic fever (ARF, the precursor to RHD) are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This disease is preventable and has been largely eliminated in non-Indigenous communities, yet the rates of new cases continue to rise, particularly in remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.
- Thousands of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have RHD or its precursor, acute rheumatic fever (ARF), and many of them contract the disease as children. If no further action is taken, by 2031 there will be an additional 10,000 people with RHD.
- The significant human and financial costs of RHD can be averted by preventing new cases of disease, addressing the upstream determinants of ill-health and improving strategies to manage skin sores and sore throats.

Conference calls on the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party to:

- Support Indigenous leadership, governance and action to prevent and aim to eliminate rheumatic heart disease (RHD) which is the leading cause of cardiovascular disparity between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous people.
- Adopt the critical underlying principle that RHD elimination requires Indigenous-led decision making at all levels, from national to local, to ensure community-led solutions to tackle some of the highest rates of RHD in the world.
- Convene a Steering Committee with majority Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander membership and an Indigenous chair to oversee implementation of a comprehensive strategy to take immediate action to prevent and eliminate ARF and RHD.
- Prioritise community-led action with a primary focus on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities with the highest rates of Strep A infection, ARF and RHD.

Labor notes that while the primary focus of these actions will be to prevent, diagnose and manage ARF and RHD, there will be many broader benefits. The social determinants of ARF and RHD are common with many other health problems of great concern in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, including middle ear disease, skin infections, trachoma, respiratory and gastrointestinal infections, and the actions outlined in this resolution have clear intersects with those other disease control areas.

Mental health

Labor notes the valuable contribution to mental health policy, across all levels of government, made by mental health consumers. Through contributions to committees, sectoral volunteering and political engagement, Labor seeks a diverse range of inputs to support our robust and democratic policy process, and we thank those with experience of various conditions for their contribution to this process.

Resolutions for Chapter 9

New Zealand resettlement offer

Labor recognises that successive Coalition Governments have failed to negotiate viable, timely and durable third-country resettlement arrangements. This has left refugees and asylum seekers including children languishing in indefinite detention.

This conference condemns the failure of the Abbott-Turnbull-Morrison Government to properly manage off-shore processing and regional resettlement adequately and for playing with the lives of vulnerable people.

This conference calls on the Abbott-Turnbull-Morrison Government to immediately accept New Zealand's generous offer to resettle refugees by negotiating an agreement on similar terms and conditions as the United States Arrangement.

If elected, Labor will prioritise the resettlement of all eligible refugees currently on Manus and Nauru to the United States, New Zealand and other third-countries.

Social security system

Labor in Government will establish a set of principles to underpin the social security system.

Live music

This Conference:

- Recognises the importance of Australian stories being told through music both here and around the world; and
- Supports a thriving Australian music industry which creates jobs and grows the economy.

Conference welcomes the recent announcement of Federal Labor's Soundtrack Australia Music Policy, which aims to help more Australians make music, listen to music, and see music live by:

- Supporting the export of Australian music to the world through increased assistance for Sounds Australia;
- Helping Australian artists record new albums, including diverse recordings;
- Investing in music hubs and the SongMakers program so that young musicians have a place to practice and learn, as well as access to teachers who can share their skills in song writing, playing music and production;
- Supporting charities who work in music and mental health;
- Consulting on any changes to copyright reform, guided by a strong view that artists own what they create, and effective copyright laws must ensure artists are properly paid for the work they do;
- Targeting tickets scalpers by banning automated bots from buying tickets and imposing a resale price limit of 110% of the cost price of tickets;

- Supporting the training of new and emerging managers; and
- Supporting the expansion of music teacher awards so that more teachers are mentored and recognised for their hard work.

Conference notes that more Australians attend live music than sport.

Conference also recognises the following initiatives:

- The conduct of the NSW parliamentary inquiry into music, the creation of a Shadow Minister for music, and the initiation of music and night time plans in Wollongong, Sydney, the Inner West, Newcastle, Parramatta and Randwick by their respective councils;
- The implementation in Victoria of the Music Works package including more than \$27 million support for the sector, significant regulatory reform, and a music hub and music development office. The initiation of music and night time plans in Ballarat, Melbourne, Yarra, Port Phillip and Geelong by their respective councils;
- The establishment in Queensland of the Live Music Industry Working Group in 2016, and this year commencing the shaping the ten year arts plan, and the initiation of music and night time plans in the Gold Coast, Sunshine Coast and Brisbane by their respective councils;
- The Western Australian music strategy, including \$3.4 million of funding, as well the development of the Northbridge Entertainment Precinct with the City of Perth;
- The development of the South Australian Strategic Plan for music, including a Music Industry Hub and music development office, significant regulatory and liquor reform and support for indigenous programmes. The initiation of music and night time plans in Adelaide, Norwood, Payneham and St Peters by their respective councils;
- Increased funding for Music ACT and support for the Cool Little Capital music strategy, including investigating significant regulatory reform for music and the night economy in the Australian Capital Territory;
- Funding for the creation of the Northern Territory music plan, and recognising live music venues in the liquor licensing framework; and
- The development of the Parliamentary Friends of Australian Music in the Federal and NSW parliaments.

Conference notes that Labor loves live music.

Soundtrack Australia

National Conference:

- Recognises the importance of Australian stories being told through music both here and around the world;
- Supports a thriving Australian music industry which creates jobs and grows the economy;
- Therefore, welcomes the recent announcement of Federal Labor's Soundtrack Australia Music Policy, which aims to help more Australians make music, listen to music, and see music live by:
 - Supporting the export of Australian music to the world through increased assistance for Sounds Australia;

- Helping Australian artists record new albums, including diverse recordings;
 - Investing in music hubs and the SongMakers program so that young musicians have a place to practice and learn, as well as access to teachers who can share their skills in song writing, playing music and production;
 - Supporting charities who work in music and mental health;
 - Consulting on any changes to copyright reform, guided by a strong view that artists own what they create, and effective copyright laws must ensure artists are properly paid for the work they do;
 - Targeting tickets scalpers by banning automated bots from buying tickets and imposing a resale price limit of 110% of the cost price of tickets;
 - Supporting the training of new and emerging managers; and
 - Supporting the expansion of music teacher awards so that more teachers are mentored and recognised for their hard work.
- Notes that more Australians attend live music than sport.

Resolutions for Chapter 10

An Australian Head of State

Labor congratulates David Hurley on his appointment as the next Governor General of Australia.

This should be the last time an Australia Prime Minister should have to call Buckingham Palace to seek permission to appoint an Australian Governor General.

It's time we had an Australian Head of State.

We commit to working with the Australian people to reflect our nation's multiculturalism, independence and maturity by reforming our Constitution to appoint an Australian as our Head of State.

During the first term of a Labor government we will hold a national vote seeking the views of the Australian people about becoming a republic. We will also consult Australians about the model of appointment of an Australian Head of State.

Labor will provide the national leadership required to modernise our Constitution.

Democratic rights in the Territories

This Conference notes:

- An enduring Labor value is that all Australians should have the right to exercise their democratic franchise to elect representatives to Parliament to make laws for their State or Territory.
- Labor believes this democratic right should be held by all Australians irrespective of the State or Territory in which they reside; and

- Currently, the Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory are prevented from making laws in relation to some areas of social policy, as their democratic right to do so was removed in 1997 by an Act of the Federal Parliament.

This Conference:

- Believes it is unacceptable that Australians who reside in the Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory should have fewer democratic rights than other Australians; and
- Encourages all Federal Labor Parliamentarians to support reinstating equal democratic rights for residents of the Territories when such matters come before the Federal Parliament in future.

Outsourcing of legal and consultative work

Commonwealth Government outsourcing of legal and consultative work to anti-worker firms has become a feature of Abbott/Turnbull/Morrison Governments.

This has resulted in a double negative for workers through the gutting of jobs in the public service and having advice to the Government slanted against the interests of working people.

By way of just one example the Government commissioned notorious anti-union law firm Seyfarth Shaw who acts for employers and has held contracts to provide services the Australian Building and Construction Commission (ABCC) to do an inquiry into the cause of workplace deaths in the construction industry.

The Government's approach has been an inefficient, costly exercise where taxpayer funds have propped up anti-worker firms who have often been Liberal Party donors.

This National Conference of the Federal Australian Labor Party commends the Andrews Victorian Labor Government for initiatives taken to tackle inequality and exploitation.

Conference draws particular attention to the Victorian Labor platform passed in May this year which in part reads:

Labor will:

- *Oppose government initiatives and appointments that are actively hostile to workers or unions;*
- *Encourage trade union membership across both the public sector and the broader economy;*
and
- *Consider legal and industrial relations records of law firms and other organisations and oppose engagement of those organisations found to have a history of anti-worker or anti-union activity*

This National Conference endorses the same approach for a future Federal Labor Government including future appointments.

Independent inquiry into the Trade Union Royal Commission

National Conference notes that Labor Governments establish Royal Commissions to address serious public policy issues in the national interest such as:

- The Hawke Labor Government establishing the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody;
- The Gillard Labor Government establishing the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse; and
- The Andrews Labor Government establishing the Royal Commission into Family Violence;

National Conference:

- Condemns conservative governments for abusing Royal Commissions for partisan political purposes;
- Condemns the misconduct, excesses and abuses of the \$80 million Trade Union Royal Commission, which was clearly established for partisan political purposes;
- Calls on an incoming Labor Government to examine complaints about, and where warranted, refer to inquiry and further scrutiny, the conduct of government agencies arising from the Heydon Royal Commission; and
- Calls on an incoming Labor Government to consider reviewing the Royal Commissions Act 1903, to prevent Royal Commissions from being further abused by conservative governments in the future.

Resolutions for Chapter 11

FutureAsia

National Conference:

- Believes that Australia's future prosperity depends on improved capability at home and greater engagement and collaboration abroad and that central to achieving this is closer ties with our region;
- Recognises that this reflects a longstanding Labor view – from Prime Minister Whitlam through Hawke, Keating, Rudd and Gillard: spanning recognition of China, to the establishment of APEC, to a White Paper which recognised the need to shape domestic policy to meet the opportunity and challenges of the Asian century;
- Welcomes the FutureAsia strategy, a fundamental whole-of-government, nationwide strategy to deepen and broaden our engagement with Asia;
- Supports FutureAsia as a central focus of Labor's foreign and domestic policy to achieve a step change in our relations with Asia; and
- Commends Labor's FutureAsia, a comprehensive and confident plan for advancing Australia's national interests and contributing to the prosperity, stability and security of the region.

Israel and Palestine

National Conference:

- Notes previous resolutions on Israel/Palestine carried at the 2015 ALP National Conference and the 2016 NSW Labor Annual Conference;

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

Nuclear disarmament

Labor:

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:

- Ensure an effective verification and enforcement architecture;
- Ensure the interaction of the Ban Treaty with the longstanding Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; and
- 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:

- Working to create the conditions necessary to achieve a pathway to universal support for the Ban Treaty;
- Advocating to the United States and Russia for the renewal of the New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) Treaty for the period beyond 2021;
- 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
- 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.

Partnership with Pacific nations

Labor believes in a deep and comprehensive partnership with Pacific nations. We believe Australia should be a responsible and constructive partner. We want Australia to be the natural partner of choice for Pacific nations, and we know this has to be earned.

Labor:

- Recognises that climate change is the single greatest threat to the livelihoods, security and well-being of the peoples of the Pacific;
- Understands that our credibility as a constructive international actor, and as a valuable Pacific partner, depends on our commitment to climate change;
- Understands the need to reflect our commitments to our Pacific neighbours in our actions;
- Notes that the Pacific has felt the impact of the record \$11 billion in aid cuts under this government;
- Notes that development assistance will continue to be an important component of our engagement and cooperation, but recognises our relationships should not just be seen through this prism;
- Acknowledges the need to develop much deeper ties and connections between our peoples and recognises that our futures are intimately and irrevocably linked;
- Notes that labour mobility schemes are highly valued by our Pacific neighbours and contribute substantially to economic development;
- Recognises that Australia's economy also benefits from the availability of Pacific workers and that our society benefits from the connections with Pacific communities;
- Notes the significant Defence Cooperation Programs with defence forces in the Pacific and the potential for far greater cooperation;
- Notes that where sought by Pacific island countries, Australian government services can be provided at little cost but to great benefit for the Pacific countries and there may be more opportunities for these initiatives;
- Recognises the Pacific Islands Forum as the premier regional forum;
- Recognises that quality infrastructure is also key to the economic development and future prosperity of the region and many of our neighbours have substantial unmet needs that are beyond the capacity of governments to fund directly through traditional grant aid alone; and
- Acknowledges the need to develop and utilise more innovative financing mechanisms to enable Australia to work in partnership with Pacific nations to provide them with the ability to meet their development aspirations.

In Government, Labor will:

- Ensure the Pacific is front and centre of our foreign policy;
- Engage with the Pacific with respect, to promote the well-being of the entire region, for the benefit of both Australia and the ten million people of the Pacific islands themselves;
- Establish a government-supported infrastructure financing facility and grow our aid commitment to the Pacific;
- Reconstitute the role of Minister for Pacific Affairs and International Development;
- Work closely with our friends and other partners to help the region meet its challenges, and support and create opportunities and possibilities for realising the Pacific's own vision for the Blue Pacific continent;
- Build on the Defence Cooperation Programs to expand our engagement with the defence forces of the Pacific;

- Explore opportunities with Pacific countries for more cost effective Australian government service delivery that is of benefit to the Pacific;
- Coordinate and cooperate more to better leverage our engagement towards development outcomes and help reduce transaction costs for Pacific bureaucracies; and
- As a Pacific nation, work in partnership with Pacific island states to contribute to the security and prosperity of the entire region.

Cambodia

National Conference:

- Acknowledges Australia's proud legacy of working for peace and democracy in Cambodia, led by the work of the former Labor Foreign Minister Hon. Gareth Evans QC in fostering the Paris Peace Accords in 1991.
- Expresses serious concerns about the deterioration of democracy and human rights in Cambodia and that the 2018 General Election process has reversed more than 25 years of work towards democracy in Cambodia, including because:
 - The main Opposition Party (CNRP) was dissolved and banned from participating in the election;
 - Opposition leader Kem Sokha was gaoled on politically motivated charges; and
 - It took place in an environment where not all political parties, civil society organisations and media could operate freely.
- Expresses its disappointment that the Cambodian people have been unable to freely choose their representatives.
- Agrees with the European Parliament and other members of the international community that the election cannot be considered free and fair.
- Recognises freedom of expression and association underpin democratic societies and that the development of strong democratic practices and institutions — including a free press and civil society — is crucial to Cambodia's long-term prosperity.
- Notes that:
 - On 13 September 2018, the European Parliament declared that *the "political structure of Cambodia can no longer be considered a democracy"*, and the European Commission has begun a review into its duty free access for Cambodia; and
 - The United States Government has implemented targeted sanctions against the Cambodian regime.
- Urges the next Federal Labor Government to continue to urge the Cambodian Government to take steps to allow free and open political debate without violence and intimidation, and to consider additional measures such as:
 - Reviewing Australia's international development assistance to Cambodia to ensure that priority is given to humanitarian and civil society support and that all programs are effective and support human rights;
 - In coordination with others partners, examining the introduction of targeted sanctions such as visa restrictions and asset freezes;

- Fully investigating allegations of illicit activities, including money laundering, by members of the Cambodian People's Party in Australia;
 - Guaranteeing the rights of Australians of Cambodian heritage to live safely and free from intimidation, and determining whether the Foreign Influence Transparency Scheme may apply to any community groups which may be operating covertly in Australia in support of Hun Sen's regime; and
 - Leading and supporting multilateral efforts with other nations, starting with signatories of the 1991 Paris Peace Accords, to develop coordinated measures to support democracy in Cambodia.
- Acknowledges the Australian Cambodian community for its tireless advocacy in support of democracy and human rights in Cambodia.

Parliamentary consideration of Australian defence involvement in armed conflict

National Conference resolves that a Shorten Labor Government will refer the issue of how Australia makes decisions to send service personnel into international armed conflict to an inquiry to be conducted by the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. This inquiry would take submissions, hold public hearings and produce its findings during the term of the 46th Parliament.

Urgent action to address climate change

National Conference notes the latest report from the world's leading international body for the assessment of climate change, the UN-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), demonstrates that far bolder action is required to reduce carbon pollution if we are to avoid devastating impacts on humanity.

In particular, the IPCC Special Report on 1.5 Degrees of Warming finds that:

- Severe climate impacts of climate change are likely to be triggered at even lower temperatures. For example, scientists now believe that all of the world's coral reefs will perish at only 2 degrees of warming, undermining food security for millions of people, devastating the tourism industry and compounding the vulnerability of heavily populated coastlines to storms and erosion;
- Many climate impacts will increase exponentially as the temperature rises, rather than linearly. For example, the report notes that the number of vulnerable people affected by changes to crop yields increases from 8 to 81 million people between 1.5 degrees and 2 degrees of warming but explodes to 400 million people once warming reaches 3 degrees; and
- Time is running out to limit warming to 1.5 degrees. The Report demonstrates that it is still possible to achieve this limit, but only if countries significantly raise their ambition to reduce climate pollution.

Labor recognises the severity of this climate emergency not just because of Australia's significant exposure to climate hazards (extreme heat, drought, bushfires, floods) but because our region includes many less developed countries for which climate change is an existential threat.

A Labor Government will:

- Take urgent action to address climate change;
- Ensure Australia's climate targets are based on the scientific advice of what is required to deliver the Paris goal of passing on a sustainable climate to future generations; a cut of 45 per cent by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050;
- Ensure our global commitments are matched by our domestic action;
- Restore Australia's credibility and reputation as a creative, collaborative and energetic member of the community of nations committed to reducing carbon pollution by demonstrating leadership in multilateral forums and re-instituting and re-badging the position of Climate Change Ambassador;
- Advocate globally for more ambitious climate action; and
- Ensure our development assistance reflects climate change as a key development risk.

International Human Rights and Corruption (Magnitsky Sanctions) Bill

Labor welcomes the introduction of the *International Human Rights and Corruption (Magnitsky Sanctions) Bill* which would strengthen provisions enabling sanctions to be imposed, where appropriate, for the purposes of compliance with United Nations obligations, or other international obligations, or for the purposes of preventing or responding to gross human rights abuse or violations, or acts of significant corruption.

This Bill follows the precedent set by the *Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act 2016 (US)* and the *Sanctions and Anti-Money Laundering Bill 2018 (UK)*, aimed at curbing the influence of foreign persons and entities who have engaged in activities deemed illegal by international human rights law.

This bill seeks to:

- Prevent proscribed foreign persons who have engaged in gross violations of human rights and corruption from visiting Australia and spending and investing their money here by targeting these individuals with immigration, financial and trade sanctions;
- Expose those who are sanctioned as pariahs to the people of their country and the international community; and
- Create exposure that will deter individuals in authoritarian regimes from engaging in future gross human rights violations and corruption.

This bill is named after the Russian lawyer Sergei Magnitsky who died in jail after uncovering major tax fraud by officials.

Globally, similar acts are being used by democratic governments against officials connected with authoritarian governments who engage in serious human rights abuses and corruption in their own countries.

Telecommunications and Other Legislation Amendment (Assistance and) Bill 2018

National Conference:

- Condemns the appallingly inadequate process for consideration of the *Telecommunications and Other Legislation Amendment (Assistance and Access) Bill 2018* rushed into the Parliament by the Morrison government, and the politicisation of national security. This has undermined public confidence in Parliament's ability to legislate in this important area.
- Affirms that it is possible to protect the safety of Australia and its people, including by equipping our law enforcement and security agencies with appropriate powers, while fostering a vibrant IT sector and protecting citizens' data and privacy.
- Recognises that necessary powers for law enforcement should not unduly: impinge on the rights, freedoms and values that define us as a democratic nation; or undermine Australia's economic security or cyber-security which are a critical part of an holistic understanding of the concept of national security.
- Notes the 173 amendments to the Government's original bill won by Labor, which:
 - Constrain the scope of these powers;
 - Introduce new oversight arrangements; and
 - Provide for further scrutiny of the legislation including public input via an inquiry to examine the need for further changes.
- Calls upon the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party (FPLP) to further engage and work with industry and civil society and economic regulators to resolve outstanding concerns raised including:
 - The security and safety of the internet;
 - Australian industry including technology, defence and businesses relying on encryption; and
 - Civil liberties and transparent public reporting.
- Acknowledges that there has been misinformation regarding the operation of the Bill - which does not displace existing requirements for agencies to obtain a warrant to access information from any Australian - but calls upon the FPLP to pursue:
 - Further safeguards and oversight, including requirements for a judicial warrant where technical assistance is sought or required;
 - Stronger oversight and public reporting arrangements for the powers contained in the Bill, either through this parliament or by a Labor government; and
 - A comprehensive assessment of the industry and economic impact of the new laws and action to restore business and public confidence.

West Papua

National Conference:

- Notes that Labor has been a strong advocate for human rights and civil liberties both in Australia and on the international stage.

- Expresses concern about ongoing reports of violence in West Papua, and urges restraint from all parties.
- Supports increased access to Papuan provinces by the media and human rights organisations.
- Recognises that all people should have the right to determine their future through a freely expressed and legitimate voice in their government.
- Reaffirms Labor's commitment to the Lombok Treaty between Australia and Indonesia, which recognises the integrity of Indonesia's territorial sovereignty.

A Labor Government will:

- Continue to work together with the Indonesian Government and civil society on the promotion of human rights in West Papua
- Pursue principled and effective human rights diplomacy that supports international and regional security in Australia's national interest
- Review arrangements to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness and human rights impacts of all international programs involving training of military and or police receiving Australian Government funding.

Bilateral exchanges with Latin America and the Caribbean

National Conference recognises that:

- Latin America and the Caribbean is a dynamic and diverse region, with a population of almost 640 million people. The region has achieved significant social and economic progress and is home to some of the world's fastest growing economies;
- In a dynamic and changing world, Australia needs to continue to engage constructively with like-minded countries under a rules-based international order. Australia shares common objectives across a range of multilateral fora including in the environment and trade liberalisation front; and
- Recent global geopolitical, economic and social trends offer Australia an opportunity to diversify its engagement beyond traditional economic partners.

National Conference notes that Labor in Government will:

- Explore the establishment of regular high-level bilateral exchanges and delegations to facilitate improved contact with key decision-makers;
- Seek opportunities for greater bilateral and multilateral cooperation on global issues, including climate change, counter-terrorism, natural disaster management, and trade liberalisation;
- Explore further opportunities for second-track initiatives, including youth dialogues, to foster the next generation of bilateral leaders;
- Consider existing visa arrangements with the aim of encouraging greater two-way tourism and business;
- Consider the possibility of bilateral social security agreements; and

- Consider the expansion of a range of education initiatives to include Latin America and the Caribbean.

Saharawi self-determination

National Conference:

- Expresses full support for the efforts of the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for Western Sahara, Horst Kohler, former President of the Federal Republic of Germany, to revive the peace process between parties to the dispute in Western Sahara;
- Expresses deep concern about the situation of human rights in Western Sahara and urges the UN to mandate its mission in Western Sahara to monitor and uphold human rights;
- Applauds the decision of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) of 2016 and 2018 and the decision of the High Court of South Africa of 2017, which affirmed that any use of the natural resources of Western Sahara must be in accordance with the wishes of the Saharawi people and for their benefit;
- Calls on the Australian Government to ensure Australian companies have regard to international law regarding the importation of resources and products from the occupied areas of Western Sahara until the legal status of the Territory is determined and the Saharawi people are allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with relevant UN resolutions and Peace Plan of 1991;
- Urges the UN to proceed without further delay with the organisation of the referendum of self-determination and to press Morocco to implement all UN resolutions pertaining to Western Sahara; and
- Calls on the Australian Government to extend all due assistance to the UN in its efforts to pursue an enduring political solution based on compromise and the need to provide for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara in a manner consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and to maintain an appropriate dialogue with the Polisario Front as the UN-acknowledged representative of the people of Western Sahara.

National Constitution of the ALP

Part A – Preliminary

Definitions

- 1 (a) In this National Constitution, unless the contrary intention appears:
 - (i) “Administrative Committee” means the Administrative Committee of a state branch and includes a State Executive of a state branch;
 - (ii) “ALP”, “Labor” and “Party” all mean the Party named in clause 10;
 - (iii) “financial”, in relation to membership, includes:
 - (A) life members and other members deemed to be financial under state branch rules, and
 - (B) members who have not yet renewed their membership, but who will retain continuity of financial membership under state branch rules if they renew their membership by the date specified in those rules;
 - (iv) “FPLP” means the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party;
 - (v) “member” includes Victorian Central Branch members;
 - (vi) “state” includes a territory;
 - (vii) “state branch” includes a territory branch; and
 - (viii) “territory” means the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory.
- (b) To avoid doubt, this National Constitution includes all of Parts A–F.

Legal status of National Constitution

- 2 (a) It is intended that the National Constitution and everything done in connection with it, all arrangements relating to it (whether express or implied) and any agreement or business entered into or payment made or under the National Constitution, will not bring about any legal relationship, rights, duties or outcome of any kind, or be enforceable by law, or be the subject of legal proceedings. Instead all such arrangements, agreements and business are only binding in honour.
- (b) Without limiting clause 2(a), it is further expressly intended that all disputes within the Party, or between one member and another that relate to the Party be resolved in accordance with the National Constitution and the rules of the state branches and not through legal proceedings.
- (c) By joining the Party and remaining members, all members of the Party consent to be bound by this clause.

Part B – Objectives and principles

Origins

- 3 The Australian Labor Party had its origins in:
- (a) the aspirations of the Australian people for a decent, secure, dignified and constructive way of life;
 - (b) the recognition by the trade union movement of the necessity for a political voice to take forward the struggle of the working class against the excesses, injustices and inequalities of capitalism; and
 - (c) the commitment by the Australian people to the creation of an independent, free and enlightened Australia.

Objectives

- 4 The Australian Labor Party is a democratic socialist party and has the objective of the democratic socialisation of industry, production, distribution and exchange, to the extent necessary to eliminate exploitation and other anti-social features in these fields.
- 5 To achieve the political and social values of equality, democracy, liberty and social co-operation inherent in this objective, the Australian Labor Party stands for:
- (a) redistribution of political and economic power so that all members of society have the opportunity to participate in the shaping and control of the institutions and relationships which determine their lives;
 - (b) establishment and development of public enterprises, based upon federal, state and other forms of social ownership, in appropriate sectors of the economy;
 - (c) democratic control and strategic social ownership of Australian natural resources for the benefit of all Australians;
 - (d) maintenance of and support for a competitive non-monopolistic private sector, including small business and farming, controlled and owned by Australians, operating within clear social guidelines and objectives;
 - (e) the right to own private property;
 - (f) recognition and encouragement of the right of labour to organise for the protection and advancement of its interests;
 - (g) the application of democracy in industry to increase the opportunities for people to work in satisfying, healthy and humane conditions; and to participate in and to increase their control over the decision making processes affecting them;
 - (h) the promotion of socially appropriate technology and the monitoring of its introduction to ensure that the needs and interests of labour, as well as the requirements of competitive industry and consumer demand, are taken into consideration;
 - (i) the restoration and maintenance of full employment;
 - (j) the abolition of poverty, and the achievement of greater equality in the distribution of income, wealth and opportunity;

- (k) social justice and equality for individuals, the family and all social units, and the elimination of exploitation in the home;
- (l) equal access and rights to employment, education, information, technology, housing, health and welfare services, cultural and leisure activities and the law;
- (m) reform of the Australian Constitution and other political institutions to ensure that they reflect the will of the majority of Australian citizens and the existence of Australia as an independent republic;
- (n) recognition and protection of fundamental political and civil rights, including freedom of expression, the press, assembly, association, conscience and religion; the right to privacy; the protection of the individual from oppression by the state; and democratic reform of the Australian legal system;
- (o) the development of a democratic communications system, as an integral part of a free society, to which all citizens have opportunities for free access;
- (p) elimination of discrimination and exploitation on the grounds of class, race, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex status, religion, political affiliation, national origin, citizenship, age, disability, regional location, economic or household status;
- (q) recognition of the prior ownership of Australian land by Aborigines and Islanders; recognition of their special and essential relationship with the land as the basis of their culture; and a commitment to the return of established traditional lands to the ownership of Aboriginal and Islander communities;
- (r) recognition and encouragement of diversity of cultural expression and lifestyle within the Australian community;
- (s) the use, conservation and enhancement of Australia's natural resources and environment so that the community's total quality of life, both now and into the future, is maintained and improved;
- (t) recognition of the need to work towards achieving ecologically sustainable development;
- (u) maintenance of world peace; an independent Australian position in world affairs; the recognition of the right of all nations to self determination and independence; regional and international agreement for arms control and disarmament; the provision of economic and social aid to developing nations; a commitment to resolve international conflicts through the UN; and a recognition of the inalienable right of all people to liberty, equality, democracy and social justice; and
- (v) recognition of the right of citizens to work for progressive changes consistent with the broad principles of democratic socialism.

Principles of action

- 6 The Australian Labor Party believes that the task of building democratic socialism is a co-operative process that requires:
 - (a) constitutional action through the federal and state parliaments, municipal and other statutory authorities,

- (b) union action, and
- (c) ongoing action by organised community groups.

Membership and organisation

- 7 Membership of the Australian Labor Party is open to all residents of Australia who are prepared to accept its objectives and who have associations with no other political party.
- 8 Australian Labor Party policy is made by National Conferences comprising the federal and state parliamentary leadership of the Party, together with elected delegates from all states and Australian Young Labor.
- 9 Party policy within the states is framed by conferences of delegates elected by constituent branches, affiliated unions and members. Policy within the Australian Labor Party is not made by directives from the leadership, but by resolutions originating from branches, affiliated unions and individual Party members.

Part C – Rules

Name

- 10 The name of the Party shall be “The Australian Labor Party”.

Objectives

- 11 The objectives of the Party are set out in clauses 4 and 5. To achieve these objectives the ALP will act in accordance with the principles of action in clause 6 and the progressive reforms set out in the Party platform from time to time.

Head office

- 12 The head office of the Party shall be known as the National Secretariat and shall be established at the place determined by the National Executive from time to time.

Composition

- 13 The Party shall consist of branches in each state.

Structure of Party organisation

- 14 (a) The Party shall function upon the following basis:
 - (i) National Conference,
 - (ii) National Executive,
 - (iii) Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, and

- (iv) Australian Young Labor.
- (b) The National Conference shall be the supreme governing authority of the Party and its decisions shall be binding upon every member and every section of the Party.
- (c) The National Executive shall be the chief administrative authority of the Party, subject only to the National Conference.
- (d) The Federal Parliamentary Labor Party shall have authority in properly constituted Caucus meetings to make decisions directed towards establishing the collective attitude of the Parliamentary Party to any question or matter in the Federal Parliament, subject to:
 - (i) at all times taking such action which may be possible to implement the Party's platform and Conference decisions;
 - (ii) on questions or matters which are not subject to national platform or Conference or Executive decisions, the majority decision of Caucus being binding upon all members in the parliament; and
 - (iii) no attitude being expressed which is contrary to the provisions of the Party platform or any other decision of National Conference or National Executive.
- (e) Australian Young Labor shall function in accordance with the rules that may be approved from time to time by the National Executive and subject to its control and jurisdiction.
- (f) The National Labor Women's Network shall function in accordance with the rules that may be approved from time to time by the National Executive and subject to its control and jurisdiction.
- (g) The National Indigenous Labor Network shall function in accordance with the rules that may be approved from time to time by the National Executive and subject to its control and jurisdiction. The network's goals will be to:
 - (i) attract and support Indigenous ALP members;
 - (ii) increase the involvement of Indigenous people at all levels of the ALP;
 - (iii) provide a focus for the identification, training and support of Indigenous candidates;
 - (iv) increase awareness of Indigenous issues throughout the ALP;
 - (v) increase commitment of Party members to greater representation of Indigenous people throughout the Party; and
 - (vi) encourage the employment of Indigenous people in staff and Party positions.
- (h) The Country Labor Network shall function in accordance with the rules that may be approved from time to time by the National Executive and subject to its control and jurisdiction.

National Conference

- 15 (a) National Conference shall consist of 400 delegates, comprising:
- (i) three delegates being the National President and National Vice-Presidents elected under clause 18(a);
 - (ii) four delegates being the Leader and Deputy Leader of the FPLP and the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Party in the Senate;
 - (iii) six delegates elected from and by the FPLP;

- (iv) delegations from each state consisting of:
 - (A) the state Parliamentary Leader,
 - (B) a base component of 12 persons, and
 - (C) a supplementary component of a number of persons equal to twice the number of House of Representatives electorates in that state as at the previous 31 December;
 - (v) delegations from each territory consisting of:
 - (A) the territory Parliamentary Leader,
 - (B) a base component of 2 persons, and
 - (C) a supplementary component of a number of persons equal to twice the number of House of Representatives electorates in that territory as at the previous 31 December; and
 - (vi) three delegates from Australian Young Labor.
- (b) State Secretaries and members of the FPLP who are not delegates to National Conference shall be able to attend National Conference with the rights of delegates except that of voting.
 - (c) All members of the state branch shall be eligible to be elected as delegates from that state.
 - (d)
 - (i) Each state shall be entitled to a minimum of two proxies up to a maximum equal to half the state's delegation.
 - (ii) It is the responsibility of each state delegation to ensure that the chair is advised of all changes of delegation during the Conference. No proxy shall participate in the debate of a report in which the delegate he/she is replacing has participated.
 - (iii) State and federal leaders may each nominate one proxy subject to paragraph (v). Such proxies must be a member of the relevant parliamentary party.
 - (iv) The FPLP delegates may each nominate one proxy, subject to paragraph (v). Such proxies must be a member of the FPLP.
 - (v) The credentials for proxies shall be circulated in advance and accepted at the commencement of the Conference and no other proxies may be admitted.
 - (e) All delegates must be elected by a system of proportional representation in a single ballot with affirmative action in accordance with clause 19.
 - (f) Delegates shall be elected within 12 months prior to the date of National Conference.
 - (g) State branches cannot bind delegates with regard to their vote on any issue before the National Conference.
 - (h) National Conference shall be held every three years in a location determined by the National Executive which shall have the responsibility for determining the time of the National Conference.
 - (i) Special National Conferences may be held for specially stated purposes and shall be convened by the National Executive in accordance with clauses 16(e)(iii) and (iv).
 - (j)
 - (i) The National President and National Vice-Presidents need not be delegates to National Conference, but have the full rights of a delegate except that of voting.
 - (ii) The National Secretary shall not be a delegate to National Conference, but shall have the full rights of a delegate except that of voting.

- (k) The National Secretary, after receiving instructions from the National Executive, shall observe the following procedure for the purpose of establishing the Conference agenda:
 - (i) give the following bodies three months notice to send items to the National Policy Forum: state branches, Australian Young Labor, and federal electorate bodies, Labor Action Policy Committees and trade unions whose state branches are affiliated with the Party in a majority of states in which they operate, all of which shall have the right to submit items to the National Policy Forum. Bodies so submitting items to the National Policy Forum shall be notified in writing of the forum's views on such items; and
 - (ii) send to state branches and other bodies represented at National Conference, agenda and any other documents related thereto at least one month before Conference meets.
- (l) (i) The National Executive may by unanimous resolution put any motion that could be considered by a meeting of National Conference to a postal ballot of those delegates credentialled to vote at the last meeting of National Conference.
 - (ii) A motion put to postal ballot is only carried if a two-thirds majority of delegates eligible to vote vote in favour.
 - (iii) A resolution passed by postal ballot has the same effect as a resolution passed at a meeting of National Conference.

National Executive

- 16 (a) The National Executive of the Party, which shall be the chief administrative authority subject only to National Conference, shall be constituted in the following manner:
- (i) the National President and National Vice-Presidents, who are directly elected by Party members in accordance with clause 18(a), have the full rights of a delegate except that of voting, unless elected as a delegate in their own right;
 - (ii) 20 executive members elected by the National Conference;
 - (iii) the Convenor(s) of the National Labor Women's Network Executive, who attends as an observer;
 - (iv) the National Secretary, who shall be elected by the National Conference, shall not be a delegate but shall have the full rights of a delegate except that of voting;
 - (v) the Leader of the FPLP or proxy nominated by the Leader. Such proxy must be a member of the Federal Parliamentary Party;
 - (vi) State Secretaries who are not delegates to the National Executive shall be able to attend National Executive meetings with the rights of delegates except that of voting; and
 - (vii) Delegates shall be entitled to nominate their proxy for any meeting or part of a meeting that they are unable to attend and for any ballot in which they are unable to vote.
- (b) (i) The terms of all those elected by the National Conference shall commence at the conclusion of the National Conference at which they are elected. They shall be subject to re-election at each Conference except the National Secretary who shall be subject to re-election at every second Conference.
- (ii) Casual vacancies will be filled by the National Executive in accordance with the principles of proportional representation.

- (iii) Casual vacancies for the positions of National President, National Vice-Presidents and National Secretary shall be filled by a ballot of the National Executive and the National Executive Committee shall institute procedures to hold a ballot.

Powers and duties of the National Executive

- (c) Decisions of the National Executive are binding on all sections and members of the ALP subject only to appeal to National Conference. Pending the hearing of any appeal, the decision of the National Executive continues to operate.
- (d) Subject only to National Conference, the National Executive may exercise all powers of the Party on its behalf without limitation, including in relation to the state branches and other sections of the Party.
- (e) Without limiting the plenary powers of the National Executive under clause 16(d), the National Executive:
 - (i) is the administrative authority of the Party responsible for:
 - (A) carrying out the decisions of National Conference;
 - (B) interpreting the National Constitution, the national platform and decisions of National Conference; and
 - (C) directing federal members;
 - (ii) must convene triennial National Conferences in accordance with the National Constitution;
 - (iii) may convene Special National Conferences for specified purposes;
 - (iv) must convene a Special National Conference for a specified purpose when requested by a majority of state branches;
 - (v) must elect a National Executive Committee and appoint twenty trade union representatives to the National Policy Forum;
 - (vi) may elect such other committees as it may determine from time to time;
 - (vii) must consider any matter submitted to it by a state branch, Australian Young Labor, the FPLP or a trade union whose state branches are affiliated with the Party in a majority of states in which it operates (in this clause “affiliated organisation”);
 - (viii) may hear and decide appeals from any affiliated organisation or individual member against a decision of a state branch alleged to be inconsistent with any national decision or matter; and
 - (ix) may hear and decide appeals by any person seeking to be a candidate for a federal election against a decision of a state branch affecting that person’s preselection.
- (f) Without limiting the plenary powers of the National Executive under clause 16(d), if in the opinion of the National Executive any state branch or section of the Party is acting or has acted in a manner contrary to the National Constitution, the national platform or a decision of National Conference, as interpreted by the National Executive, the National Executive may:
 - (i) overrule the state branch or section;
 - (ii) intervene in the state branch or section, and take over and direct the conduct of its affairs; and
 - (iii) conduct any preselection that would otherwise have been decided by the state branch or section.

- (g) The National Executive must meet at least three times each year. Subject to the National Executive, the National Executive Committee is responsible for convening meetings of the National Executive.
- (h) (i) The National Executive may meet by telephone and other electronic means provided each member who wishes to participate in the meeting is able to clearly and simultaneously communicate with every other such member.
 - (ii) A resolution agreed to in writing by all voting members of the National Executive has the same effect as a resolution passed at a meeting of the National Executive. In this clause “writing” includes emails, faxes and other electronic means of representing or reproducing words in a visible form.
 - (iii) The National Executive may conduct elections by postal vote.

National Executive Committee

- 17
- (a) The National Executive Committee (NEC) shall consist of the National Secretary and such other members of the National Executive as may be elected by the National Executive.
 - (b) The NEC shall be responsible for the administration of the Party between meetings of the National Executive.
 - (c) The NEC shall meet at least once between each meeting of the National Executive for the purpose of preparing the agenda and making recommendations to expedite the business of the National Executive.
 - (d) Other than in urgent situations which preclude either a special meeting or a resolution without meeting of the National Executive, the NEC shall not have the power to make decisions on behalf of the National Executive.
 - (e) Any actions taken by the NEC between Executive meetings shall be reported to the next meeting of the Executive for endorsement.
 - (f) The non-parliamentary members of the NEC shall also be members of the companies John Curtin House Limited and ALP Legacies and Gifts.
 - (g) Clauses 16(h)(i) and (ii) apply to the NEC in the same way as the National Executive.

National President and National Vice-Presidents

- 18
- (a) The National President and 2 National Vice-Presidents must be directly elected from and by Party members in the 12 months before each triennial National Conference in a single ballot by proportional representation with affirmative action in accordance with clause 19.
 - (b) All financial Party members at the time nominations close are eligible to vote in the election (other than those who resign or are expelled after the close of nominations).
 - (c) The candidate first elected is National President, the candidate second elected is National Senior Vice President, and the candidate third elected is National Junior Vice President. The term of office for each position starts at the commencement of National Conference, and ends at the commencement of the next triennial National Conference.
 - (d) The National President, when available, will chair National Conference and meetings of the National Executive, and conduct such meetings in accordance with the National Conference Standing Orders. The National President will carry out any other duties referred by the National Executive.

- (e) The National Vice-Presidents in order of seniority will take the chair in the absence of the National President, and carry out any other duties referred by the National Executive.

Affirmative action

- 19 The ALP is committed to men and women in the Party working in equal partnership. It is our objective to have 50% women at all levels in the Party organisation, and in public office positions the Party holds. To achieve this, the Party adopts the affirmative action model in this clause:

Minimum percentage

- (a) In this clause, “minimum percentage” means 40%. From 2022 it means 45%; and from 2025 it means 50%.

Party positions

- (b) For all Party and office bearer positions (other than public office preselections and party employees), appointed or elected on a statewide or national basis, where 3 or more positions are to be elected or appointed, at least the minimum percentage of the positions must be filled by women.

Union delegations

- (c) For all union delegations to Party conferences and forums, at least the minimum percentage of the delegates must be women, unless the proportion of women who are members of the union is less than the minimum percentage, in which case the number of delegates who are women must be at least equal to that proportion.

Public office preselections

- (d) For all public office preselections, at least the minimum percentage of the candidates preselected for each of the following groups of seats must be women:
- (i) the seats currently held by the ALP,
 - (ii) the seats that would be won by the ALP with a 5% increase in its two party preferred vote since the last election (“winnable seats”), and
 - (iii) all other seats to be preselected.
- (e) For the purposes of paragraph (d), the relevant seats shall be considered in each of the following separate groups:
- (i) The seats currently held by the ALP. (The held seats in the Federal Parliament only - both lower house and upper house must be grouped together). This must be implemented over three preselection cycles.
 - (ii) The “winnable” seats not held by the ALP as defined by those that received a two party preferred vote between 45% and 49.99% at the last election. (The seats in the Federal Parliament lower house and upper house must be grouped together). The Administrative Committee must declare the winnable seats for each preselection before nominations for preselection open.
 - (iii) All other seats to be preselected. (The seats in the Federal Parliament lower house and upper house must be grouped together.)
- (f) For casual vacancies in the Senate and the House of Representatives, if less than the minimum percentage of the remaining positions are held by women, the vacancy must be filled by a woman.

- (g) If at the close of nominations for a preselection for a group of seats or positions the requirements of paragraphs (d) and (e) cannot not be met, nominations for that group of seats or positions must be reopened.
- (h) If after a ballot for a preselection for a group of seats or positions the requirements of paragraphs (d) and (e) are not met, nominations for that group of seats or positions must be reopened and a fresh ballot (if necessary) conducted.
- (i) In calculating the minimum percentage for the purposes of this clause, a fraction of more than one-half must be rounded up to the next whole number, and a fraction of one-half or less must be rounded down to the next whole number.
- (j) Each state branch is encouraged to implement these clauses in their rules, and following such action, submit to the National Executive for approval immediately after the next state conference of the state branch following the 2015 National Conference.
- (k) Each state branch must no later than 1 November each year provide a report to its Administrative Committee and to the National Executive on the progress of implementation of this clause.
- (l) Without limiting clause 16(f), the National Executive must enforce this clause, and may intervene in any state branch and conduct any preselection in order to ensure that this clause is complied with.

National Labor Women's Network

Membership

- 20
- (a)
 - (i) There will be a National Labor Women's Network.
 - (ii) Every woman member of the Party is automatically a member of the National Labor Women's Network.
 - (iii) There will be no membership fee at the national level

Role of the NLWN

- (b) The role of the National Labor Women's Network is:
 - (i) to encourage women to join and participate in the Australian Labor Party;
 - (ii) to increase the numbers of women in the Party;
 - (iii) to maintain and expand e-communication between Labor women;
 - (iv) to devise and promote training programs to improve the skills, confidence and participation of Labor women throughout the ALP;
 - (v) to sponsor and expand the NLWN political work experience program;
 - (vi) to develop and promote women within branches and other structures of the ALP as well as to elected office;
 - (vii) to organise, in conjunction with the host state, the National Labor Women's Conferences;
 - (viii) to administer travel subsidy to the National Labor Women's Conferences;
 - (ix) to promote contact between the ALP and women's organisations in the community;

- (x) to assist in the development of policy and ensure women participate in policy making; and
- (xi) to nominate representatives to women's forums, including international women's forums.

NLWN Executive

- (c) (i) The NLWN Executive will consist of 15 women members of the ALP elected by each triennial National Conference in a single ballot by proportional representation, but so that at least one candidate elected is from each state (in so far as there are nominations from each state).
- (ii) At its first meeting after each triennial National Conference, the NLWN Executive will elect from its members a Convenor, Deputy Convenor, Secretary and any other officers it thinks appropriate. The Convenor and Deputy Convenor will be elected in a single ballot. The NLWN Executive may fill vacancies in officer positions from its members.
- (iii) The National Executive may fill vacancies in the membership of the NLWN Executive in accordance with the principles of proportional representation and state representation in clause 20(c)(i).
- (iv) Women members of the ALP National Executive and the Federal Minister or Shadow Minister for the Status of Women shall be ex-officio members of the NLWN Executive.
- (v) Nominees for the NLWN Executive do not have to be delegates to the National Conference at which they are elected.
- (vi) Members of the NLWN Executive shall be able to nominate their proxy for NLWN Executive meetings.
- (vii) The NLWN Executive will provide an annual report of its activities to the National Executive, state branches and state women's organisations.
- (viii) The NLWN Executive will meet monthly by telephone and twice a year, face to face, with travel funded through the National Secretariat.
- (ix) Accounts and financing will be run through the National Secretariat, within an annual budget, allocated by the National Executive.

State women's groups and interaction

- (d) (i) The NLWN will co-ordinate contact with state branches of the Labor Women's Network, other Labor women's organisations and women's contact officers.
- (ii) The NLWN will regularly meet with state representatives of the LWN by telephone conference.
- (iii) The structure of state Labor Women's Networks will be determined by each state although uniformity is desirable.
- (iv) The NLWN will continue to develop materials, share programs and information to assist and support state LWNs.

21 Where a member of a national body is entitled to appoint a proxy, women members of that body should appoint other women as proxies.

Finance

- 22 (a) To meet the general expenses of the Party, each state branch shall pay each year, to the National Executive through the National Secretary, a sum representing a rate per thousand adult members, and a rate per thousand pensioner and student/junior members. The total due shall be paid in four quarterly instalments on 1 January, 1 April, 1 July and 1 October. The National Executive shall have the power to fix sustentation fees.
- (b) In the event of a state branch being six months in arrears in its contributions to the Party, the National Executive may decide that such branch shall not be entitled to be represented at any meeting of the National Executive or National Conference, or be consulted on any question that may be subject to a ballot of state branches, until such arrears are paid.
- (c) Upon request, state branches shall report financial information to the National Secretary in a standard format determined by the National Executive.
- (d) The National Executive shall meet the expenses of the National President and National Vice-Presidents attending National Conference and the expenses of any officers associated with any duty being carried out on behalf of the National Executive.
- (e) Each branch shall pay to the National Executive not later than 31 December of each year the appropriate fee, to be determined by the National Executive, for international affiliations or activities associated therewith.
- (f) The National Executive shall authorise the National Secretary to negotiate banking facilities on behalf of the National Executive of the Party and determine the manner in which the Party's accounts shall be operated including the signatories to the Party's bank accounts.
- (g) Fundraising by the Labor Party at state and national levels and by the Labor Party candidates for public office shall be governed by the ALP Code of Conduct for Fundraising in clause 54.
- (h) All accounts conducted for candidates whether at Commonwealth, state or municipal elections shall include the Australian Labor Party in their title. Furthermore, they shall be controlled by that level of Party organisation with the identical relevant signatories, be audited at the July meeting of such Party organisations and such annual accounts shall be forwarded to the Party state branch for inclusion in the Party's annual account reporting process to the Australian Electoral Commission.

Policy

- 23 Policy at the national and state level shall be determined by the national and state conferences respectively. Such decisions shall be binding on every member and every section of the Party, or of the relevant state branch.

National Policy Forum

Objectives

- 24 (a) The National Policy Forum has the following objectives:
- (i) to facilitate policy debate and development amongst the FPLP, Party members and affiliates;
 - (ii) to provide a framework for the partnership between the FPLP and the wider labour movement;

- (iii) to provide guidance on the causes and aspirations of the modern Labor movement;
- (iv) to oversee the National Secretariat's policy initiatives;
- (v) to include Party units, Party members and affiliates in the debate on the direction of the Party;
- (vi) to maintain the relevance of the national platform by conducting reviews;
- (vii) to take into account all policy resolutions passed by state conferences;
- (viii) to undertake long-term planning for the implementation of Labor policy; and
- (ix) to provide leadership on matters of public concern and interest.

Membership

- (b) The National Policy Forum consists of the following voting members:
 - (i) the National President and Leader of the FPLP, who are co- chairs;
 - (ii) two Deputy Chairs, elected by National Conference;
 - (iii) one Secretary, elected by National Conference;
 - (iv) the National Secretary;
 - (v) two Assistant National Secretaries, appointed by the National Secretary;
 - (vi) the President of Australian Young Labor;
 - (vii) twenty federal members of parliament, including representatives from the Cabinet and Ministry, elected at the beginning of each federal parliamentary term by the FPLP according to the principles of proportional representation ("MPs and Senators");
 - (viii) twenty people who are financial members of an affiliated union and financial Party members, elected every three years by the National Executive according to the principles of proportional representation ("trade union representatives"); and
 - (ix) twenty financial Party members, each of whom is a member of a local branch, elected every three years according to the principles of proportional representation by Party members with one year of continuous financial membership prior to the date of calling for nominations ("rank and file representatives"). The twenty rank and file representatives are to be divided amongst the state branches in the following way:
 - (A) any state that has less than five per cent of House of Representatives electorates is allocated one rank and file representative;
 - (B) any state that has less than ten per cent but greater than or equal to five per cent of House of Representatives electorates is allocated two rank and file representatives; and
 - (C) the remaining rank and file representatives are allocated to the remaining states and territories according to the relative proportion of House of Representatives electorates in those states and territories.
- (c) Only Party members who live in the state for which rank and file representatives are being elected may vote in a ballot to select rank and file representatives for that state.
- (d) Each state branch must determine the ballot method for electing rank and file representatives in its jurisdiction.

- (e) The rank and file representatives for each state must be elected separately, in a single ballot for each state branch.
- (f) The National Policy Forum members elected under paragraphs (b)(vii), (b)(viii) and (b)(ix) must consist of at least 40 per cent women and at least 40 per cent men in accordance with the principles in clause 19. If these requirements are not met, the returning officer must adjust the selection result under paragraph (b)(ix) to give effect to these requirements.
- (g) State branches may require that at least 40 per cent of their rank and file representatives are enrolled in an electorate that is not “inner metropolitan” as defined by the AEC.
- (h) If there is a tied vote in the National Policy Forum, the Leader of the FPLP has the casting vote.
- (i) The National Policy Forum may co-opt any person as an ex-officio non-voting member of the forum as a whole or a policy commission.

Responsibilities

- (j) The National Policy Forum is responsible for:
 - (i) keeping our platform relevant by conducting platform reviews;
 - (ii) leading Party debates by forming policy commissions; and
 - (iii) providing advice to the National Conference and National Executive on any matter of policy.
- (k) The National Policy Forum must:
 - (i) maintain a quorum of a majority of members in order to meet;
 - (ii) meet at least three times per year;
 - (iii) hold at least one meeting outside a capital city each year; and
 - (iv) decide which of its meetings, or parts of meetings, are open to the wider Party, general public and media.

Platform reviews

- (l) During each Federal Parliamentary term, the National Policy Forum must undertake a complete review of the national platform, and recommend platform amendments to the National Conference.
- (m) The National Policy Forum must involve caucus committees in any review of the sections of the platform that fall within their policy areas.

Policy commissions

- (n) The National Policy Forum may at any time form a policy commission to consider matters referred to it by the:
 - (i) Leader of the FPLP, or
 - (ii) National Executive.
- (o) Policy commissions must consist of nine voting members from the National Policy Forum. Three of the members of a policy commission must be MPs or Senators, three must be trade union representatives, and three must be rank and file representatives.
- (p) The members of a policy commission must be elected by a ballot of the whole National Policy Forum.

- (q) A policy commission’s membership must satisfy affirmative action requirements. If these requirements are not met, the returning officer must adjust the election result to give effect to these requirements.
- (r) Policy commissions must elect two co-chairs from amongst their nine members. One of the co-chairs must be an MP or Senator, and one must be a rank and file representative.
- (s) The National Policy Forum may appoint other Party members as non-voting members of a policy commission.
- (t) The policy commission may issue a majority and minority report to the National Policy Forum.
- (u) Any report or recommendation of a policy commission must be considered and decided upon by the National Policy Forum before being transmitted to the FPLP and/or the National Conference for approval.

Resources

- (v) The National Secretary may appoint a National Policy Forum Co-ordinator to provide administrative support to the National Policy Forum.
- (w) The National Executive must allocate the National Policy Forum a budget each year that includes funding for editorial support. The Secretary of the National Policy Forum must administer the National Policy Forum’s budget.
- (x) To the extent that they are applicable, the National Policy Forum must operate according to the standing orders and procedures of the National Conference.
- (y) The National Policy Forum may adopt procedures to assist in fulfilling its objectives and responsibilities, so long as they are not inconsistent with any express provisions of the National Constitution.

Parliamentary Labor Parties

- 25 On matters that are not subject to national platform or National Conference or National Executive decisions, or their state equivalents, the majority decision of the relevant Parliamentary Labor Party shall be binding upon all members of the parliament.

Federal Parliamentary Labor Party

- 26 (a) No state branch may direct or discipline members of the FPLP in regard to matters affecting the national platform or policy or upon legislation before the parliament or any matters the subject of consideration by the FPLP.
- (b) The power of direction, advice and/or guidance is reserved for the National Conference and between conferences, the National Executive.

Federal Parliamentary Leader

- 27 (a) This clause applies when the rules of the FPLP require the election of the Leader of the FPLP (in this clause, “the Leader”) to include a ballot of Party members other than members of the FPLP.
- (b) The Leader must be elected by:
- (i) a ballot of eligible Party members, and

- (ii) a ballot of the members of the FPLP,
where the results of each ballot are given equal weighting and added together.
- (c) In paragraph (b)(i), “eligible Party member”:
 - (i) means a financial Party member at the time nominations open who has not subsequently resigned or been expelled; but
 - (ii) does not include members of the FPLP.
- (d) The National Executive must make rules for the conduct of the election, including the ballot under paragraph (b)(i), in consultation with the FPLP.
- (e) The FPLP must make rules for the conduct of the election, including the ballot under paragraph (b)(ii), in consultation with the National Executive.

National life membership

- 28 (a) The National Executive can award national life membership of the Australian Labor Party.
- (b) Nominees for national life membership must be longstanding members of the Party and have provided distinguished service to the Party at a national level.
- (c) Only the National Executive, state branches, federal electorate bodies and nationally affiliated unions can make nominations for national life membership. Nominations should describe the background and history of service of the nominee particularly their contribution at a national level.
- (d) Nominations for national life membership must be forwarded to the National Secretary at least one month prior to a meeting of the National Executive.
- (e) National life membership shall only be awarded with the unanimous support of the National Executive.

Australian Labor Advisory Council

- 29 (a) There will be an Australian Labor Advisory Council (ALAC), consisting of the Leader and senior members of the FPLP, the National President and National Secretary or their nominees, and representatives of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.
- (b) The role of ALAC will be to provide a formal consultative mechanism between the Party and the union movement.
- (c) The National Policy Forum must consult with ALAC in relation to Party policy relevant to ALAC’s role, and resolutions of ALAC relevant to Party policy must be considered by the National Policy Forum.
- (d) ALAC must meet at least twice each year, the meetings to be resourced by the National Secretariat.
- (e) ALAC will include a Campaigns and Growth Forum based on the ACTU model, to connect affiliated unions, the Party and the FPLP into a more meaningful dialogue on shared challenges.

National Appeals Tribunal

- 30 (a) The National Executive must:
- (i) at its first meeting after each triennial National Conference; and
 - (ii) whenever there is a vacancy in a position;
- by a three-quarters majority of all voting members appoint three persons to form the panel for the National Appeals Tribunal.
- (b) A member of the panel may only be removed by a three-quarters majority of all voting members of the National Executive.
- (c) In respect of each appeal, the Tribunal is constituted by a member of the panel determined by lot under the supervision of the National Secretary.
- (d) The Tribunal is responsible on behalf of the National Executive for hearing all appeals by members, affiliated unions and constituent units of the Party that relate to:
- (i) compliance with the National Constitution; or
 - (ii) enforcement of the rights and obligations of members, affiliated unions and constituent units under the National Constitution;
- and making recommendations to the National Executive in relation to those appeals.
- (e) No appeal may be heard by the Tribunal until all practicable avenues of appeal have been exhausted under the rules of the relevant state branch.
- (f) The Tribunal must:
- (i) comply with the rules of procedural fairness in conducting hearings;
 - (ii) (subject to subparagraph (i)) conduct its hearings as expeditiously as possible; and
 - (iii) give the National Executive and all parties to the appeal written reasons for its recommendations.
- (g) The National Executive:
- (i) must promptly consider all recommendations of the Tribunal; and
 - (ii) may make any decision in relation to the appeal it thinks fit.
- (h) The Tribunal:
- (i) must prescribe guidelines for the conduct of appeals, including the granting of leave by the Tribunal to hear appeals; and
 - (ii) may otherwise regulate its own procedure;
- subject to the National Constitution and any direction of the National Executive.
- (i) The powers of the National Executive under this clause are in addition to, and not in derogation from, those contained in clause 16(d).

Part D – National Principles of Organisation

Status of National Principles of Organisation

- 31 The National Principles of Organisation in this part are those provisions of the National Constitution intended to be binding specifically on state branches and implemented through their rules.

Election of delegates to National Conference

- 32 (a) State branch delegates to National Conference (including proxy delegates) must be elected in accordance with the rules of that state branch, subject to clause 15.
- (b) The delegates from each state must include:
- (i) a number of delegates directly elected by the financial members of the state branch that is at least equal to the number of House of Representative electorates in that state as at the previous 31 December; and
 - (ii) delegates from outside metropolitan areas.

Composition of state conferences

- 33 In all states the state conference shall comprise 50 per cent union representatives and 50 per cent constituency Party representatives. (This shall not bind territory branches until the proportion of unions affiliated is equivalent to that in the states. This principle shall apply to all state level Party units comprising direct representatives of unions and constituency units.)

Membership

- 34 (a) Membership of the ALP is open to all residents of Australia who are prepared to accept its objectives and who have associations with no other political party or proscribed organisation. This right to join shall not be impaired other than in circumstances in which it can be demonstrated clearly that an individual cannot meet the requirement outlined above.
- (b) Members of the Party are encouraged to be members of a union or to employ union labour. However, state branch rules must not require members of the Party to be members of a union or to employ union labour.
- (c) To further encourage union members to join the Party, state branches should offer discounts in membership subscriptions for members of affiliated unions.

Membership recruitment

- 35 (a) It is an abuse of Party rules for an individual or group/s to fund Party membership for other individuals or groups of individuals who would otherwise be unwilling to pay their own subscriptions.
- (b) It is an abuse of Party rules for an individual or group/s to encourage reduced-rate membership to people that may not be eligible for that category of membership.

- (c) It is an abuse of Party rules for an individual or group/s to recruit members who do not live at the claimed addresses in an attempt to gain advantage at local Party meetings or the outcome of Party ballots.
- (d) It is a requirement of Party rules that members either correctly enrol with the Australian Electoral Commission to vote in a federal election at their stated address, or not be eligible to do so because they are under 18 years of age or not an Australian citizen. If members are enrolled to vote, and they join a branch, sub-branch or other party body that has specific geographic coverage under state branch rules, they must do so using the address at which they are enrolled to vote.
- (e) Applicants must personally apply for membership by:
 - (i) signing their own membership application and organising to post the form back to the state branch office with the membership fee;
 - (ii) signing their own membership application and personally attending the state branch office to submit the application and pay the membership fee;
 - (iii) if their state branch rules currently permit, signing their own membership application and arranging a person to attend the state branch office on their behalf to submit the application and their membership fee (identification is necessary);
 - (iv) completing an application form online and paying their membership fee by electronic funds transfer from their personal account, or with their personal credit card; or
 - (v) if their state branch rules permit, personally attending their local branch meeting and paying their membership fee to the Secretary during the meeting. The money must be receipted to the member and the member's attendance recorded in any attendance book. The Secretary must forward the money to the state branch office along with the signed application form.
- (f) Members must personally renew their membership by:
 - (i) any of the means in paragraph (e);
 - (ii) by phone using their personal credit card; or
 - (iii) by signing a standing authority for the renewal of their membership and payment of their membership fees by electronic funds transfer from their personal account, or with their personal credit card.
- (g) Notwithstanding paragraph (f), a person's membership may also be renewed by a family member resident in the same household.
- (h) Members who apply for membership by completing an application form online must not receive voting rights in any election unless:
 - (i) they vote in person, with proof of address and photo ID;
 - (ii) they comply with the maximum possible relevant state eligibility requirement for "length of membership", in order to give effect to the principle that no member who applies online may receive voting rights for any election in a shorter period than any member who applies through a local branch; or
 - (iii) they comply with the relevant state eligibility requirement for "branch attendance" if the election is for Party Conference delegates or candidates for public office.
- (i) In order to prevent the "bulk renewal" of other members, the National Executive must prescribe membership application and renewal forms for use by all state branches that:

- (i) require the signature of the applicant or member authorising the application or renewal; and
 - (ii) contain a declaration by any applicant or member paying a reduced-rate subscription that they are entitled to that reduced rate. The declaration must also indicate the basis on which the member is claiming this entitlement. State branches may also set standard requirements of evidence to be met by members claiming this entitlement.
- (j) All state branches must implement an appropriate cap or limitation/ review procedure relating to the number of members that may validly apply to join the ALP at a local branch or sub-branch meeting. Members who seek to transfer into a branch or sub-branch shall be included/ counted for the purposes of determining the number of members to which the cap or limitation applies.
 - (k) Involvement in such abuses will be considered as behaviour likely to bring the Party into disrepute and will result in disciplinary action which may include expulsion under the rules of the Party.
 - (l) All state branch rules must, where necessary, establish a tribunal to effectively resolve disputes concerning membership. All state dispute tribunals will operate according to due process and according to the national membership principles and rules.
 - (m) All state branch rules must contain a procedure that permits a decision to admit a person as a Party member to be reviewed, where there is an allegation that the person was ineligible to become a Party member.
 - (n) All state branch rules must permit 50 members or 25 per cent of the members in a federal electorate, whichever is the lesser, to petition the Administrative Committee or state Executive to investigate any allegations of breaches of this rule in that electorate.
 - (o) In order to ensure that this clause is given effect, the state branches of ALP be required to amend, where necessary, their rules to reflect this clause. Such amended rules will be presented to the National Executive no later than 1 November 2003.
 - (p) The National Executive must continue:
 - (i) to monitor and enforce compliance with this clause; and
 - (ii) to review the operation of this clause to ensure the integrity of the Party's membership processes.
 - (q) All states branches must provide to the National Executive a complete current branch membership list by no later than 31 July of each year.

Members' rights

36 The following are to be established as minimum standards:

- (a) The process of joining the Party shall be simplified and all unnecessary impediments to that process shall be removed from state branch rules.
- (b) Subject to any attendance requirements in the state or territory, full membership rights in all states and territories shall begin to accrue in accordance with the relevant state requirements and those rights shall accumulate, to a maximum, following two years consecutive membership. These rights include: being eligible for preselection; standing and voting for or standing on, the various Party bodies and executives.

- (c) Each state branch must adopt rules that establish an appeals process in relation to compliance with and enforcement of branch rules by members, affiliated unions and constituent units of the branch, such rules to be submitted to the National Executive for approval by 1 November 2003. The appeals process must include compliance with the rules of procedural fairness, expedited hearings and written reasons for decision.

Affiliation of unions

- 37
- (a) All bona fide unions shall have the right to affiliate to the ALP. This right to affiliate shall not be impaired unless it can be demonstrated clearly that the relevant organisation is not a bona fide union or that the organisation has engaged in conduct that renders it unsuitable to be affiliated.
 - (b) For the purposes of calculating union delegation sizes and affiliation fees, the number of members of each affiliated union must be determined each year by an independent audit by a registered auditor of:
 - (i) the number of members eligible to vote in a ballot for an office in that union at 30 June as conducted by the appropriate Electoral Commission/s, and
 - (ii) the number of members identified in subparagraph (i) for whom the union received an amount of dues in relation to the period between 1 April and 30 June inclusive for that year.
 - (c) Each affiliated union must by 4.00 pm on the last Friday in February each year provide to the state branch in a sealed envelope:
 - (i) the independent audit report for the previous year, and
 - (ii) advice on the number of members that union will affiliate on for the current year,
 and all such sealed envelopes must be opened at the same time in the presence of scrutineers appointed by affiliated unions.
 - (d) Union delegation sizes must be based on the three year rolling average of that union's affiliation for the current and two preceding years (except that affiliation figures before 2002 must not be used to determine a union's rolling average).
 - (e) Each state branch (other than the Queensland Branch) must amend its rules to implement paragraphs (b)–(d) in accordance with the model adopted by the National Executive for the Queensland Branch on 12 April 2002.

Union delegations

- 38 Subject to clause 19(c), it shall be the right of each union to determine the criteria and procedures for selection of its delegates, subject to those delegates being financial members of that union and of the Party.

State Labor Advisory Councils

- 39
- (a) In each state there will be a Labor Advisory Council (LAC), consisting of the Leader and senior members of the state Parliamentary Labor Party (SPLP), the state President and Secretary or their nominees, and representatives of the Trades and Labour Council or equivalent body in that state.

- (b) The role of the LAC will be to provide a formal consultative mechanism between the Party and the union movement in that state.
- (c) The LAC will include a Campaigns and Growth Forum based on the ACTU model, to connect affiliated unions, the Party and the SPLP into a more meaningful dialogue on shared challenges.

Preselections

- 40
- (a) Any member who meets the membership eligibility requirements shall be entitled to participate in voting for a candidate in any preselection covered by the applicable boundaries within which they reside, subject to paragraph (c).
 - (b) The only residential boundaries that can affect that right are those devised by either federal, state or municipal electoral commissions. That is, the entitlement is guaranteed by the publicly known and independently drawn boundaries of respective electoral commissions. Therefore, if you live within the respective electorate and meet other criteria within the rules you are eligible to vote in the preselection.
 - (c) To ensure the integrity of preselection ballots, no member shall receive a vote in any preselection unless that member is correctly enrolled with the Australian Electoral Commission to vote in a federal election. The member's address for the purposes of preselection will be their enrolled address.

Community preselections

- 41
- (a) Despite clause 40, state branches may preselect lower house candidates by community preselection ballots in accordance with their rules, subject to paragraphs (b)–(d).
 - (b) Voters in community preselection ballots must be:
 - (i) financial Party members, or
 - (ii) electors who are correctly enrolled to vote in that electorate.
 - (c) Electors who wish to vote in a community preselection ballot must first sign a declaration stating that they are:
 - (i) a Labor supporter, and
 - (ii) not a member of another political party or one of its affiliated organisations.
 - (d) Clause 19 applies to community preselections in the same way as other public office preselections.

Country Labor

- 42
- Each state branch may establish a Country Labor group comprising those Party members in country electorates.

National membership system

- 43
- The National Executive may make guidelines for a national membership system (including a uniform fee structure), to which state branches may opt in.

Affirmative action

- 44 The chair or convenor of each state Labor Women's Network or equivalent body should be at least an *ex officio* member of that state's Administrative Committee. If there are 2 co-chairs or co-convenors, each should also be at least *ex officio* members.

Implementation of National Principles of Organisation

- 45 The National Executive will monitor the implementation of these National Principles of Organisation in consultation with the state branches. These principles will apply equally to all state branches unless otherwise stated.

State branch rule changes

- 46 All state branch rules must be revised in accordance with these National Principles of Organisation as amended at the National Conference held in December 2011, and be submitted to the National Executive for endorsement no later than 31 December 2013.
- 47 Pursuant to clause 16(d), the National Executive is empowered to amend the rules of any state branch as required to implement the National Principles of Organisation.

Part E – Register of Conference decisions

Members initiating legal proceedings (decision of the 1955 Conference)

- 48 This Conference resolves that as a general principle it cannot concede the right of any member of the Party to initiate legal proceedings for the purpose of establishing the constitutional behaviour of the Labor Movement. We emphasise that, with a few isolated exceptions, the history of our Party discloses we have functioned on a basis of complete determination in accordance with our own rules and our own interpretation of them. We insist we must continue to create our own procedures, taking care of our own business without the introduction of lawyers and law courts.

Union elections (decision of the 1963 Conference)

- 49 Conference believes that industrial legislation should provide for trade unions to properly determine their own internal policies in accordance with their rules and constitutions and deplores interference in trade unions activities by any government, outside individuals or organisations. Conference accordingly calls upon all trade unionists to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of another trade union.

Grievance procedures (decision of the 1979 Conference)

- 50 Conference believes that the procedures of the Party at state and national level provide adequate opportunity for people who are dissatisfied to seek redress of grievance and calls upon all members of the Party in respect of matters in dispute to refrain from making comment outside the Party.

Affirmative action (decision of the 1981 Conference)

- 51
- (a) That all Party publications and Party ballot papers be given an indication of sex by use of given names.
 - (b) That it be the policy of the ALP to investigate, instigate, and fund the provision of childcare facilities at all conferences and large assembly meetings of the Party.
 - (c) That it be the policy of the ALP that all Party literature and publications should be free of sexist terms and sexist overtones; similarly all Party conferences, meetings etc. should be free of sexist comments, terms and overtones of any kind and all officers, MPs and members of the Party should be advised accordingly.
 - (d)
 - (i) Conference notes the enormous progress that has been made since 2002 towards achieving the targets in clause 19.
 - (ii) Conference is of the view that the final attainment of the targets in clause 19 needs to be balanced with the desirability of not interfering in the preselection of sitting MPs.
 - (iii) Conference recognises this is a complex issue, which requires detailed consideration by both the National Executive and the National Labor Women’s Network.
 - (iv) Accordingly, Conference directs the National Executive and the NLWN Executive to establish a joint working group to report back to National Conference on the most appropriate mechanism for implementing the view Conference has expressed in subparagraph (ii).

Abortion (decision of the 1984 Conference)

- 52 Conference resolves that the matter of abortion can be freely debated at any state or federal forum of the Australian Labor Party, but any decision reached is not binding on any member of the Party.

Conduct of ballots (decision of the 1994 Conference)

- 53 Procedures for conduct of ballots if required:
- (a) that ballots for multiple vacancies be conducted in accordance with the rules of the Victorian Branch;
 - (b) that ballots for single vacancies be conducted under the optional preferential system; and
 - (c) that ballots for multiple vacancies be conducted in accordance with clause 19(b).

ALP Code of Conduct for Fundraising (decision of the 2018 Conference)

Preamble

- 54 Australia’s political, economic, and social stability is dependent on the strength of our democratic system. The Australian Labor Party (ALP) seeks to ensure every Australian is fairly represented in democratic processes and systems; regardless of wealth, education, background, or status. In striving to achieve this aim, the ALP believes in an independent, well-resourced, transparent, and fair electoral process that is protected from vested interests, both at home and abroad.

The ALP believes that our democracy is strengthened by the ability of the public, including Australian unions and business, to make moderate and transparent financial contributions to further democratic debate, or to support a particular candidate for election. The ALP has a long-standing commitment to moderate and fair public funding of political systems, including political parties

- The following code of conduct establishes the conditions that govern fundraising by the ALP at state and national levels.
- This code is binding on all ALP branches, other constituent units, Parliamentarians and candidates for public office.
- Funds are raised by the organisational wing of the ALP primarily to assist candidates for public office to gain and/or maintain office.
- Funds are needed for policy development, Party administration and, most importantly, campaigning. All these political tasks must be carried out federally and in each state.
- The National Secretary and each State Secretary of the ALP has a responsibility to raise funds to support these functions
- Campaign and public responsibilities can overshadow the need for adequate funds to support a strong and effective Party organisation. Lack of funding for Party maintenance and administration not only drains the Party's ability to develop policy and maintain membership, but also undermines Labor's ability to campaign effectively and give a genuine choice to the Australian community in elections.

Organisation of fundraising

- The National Secretary has ultimate responsibility for fundraising at the national level. State Secretaries have the primary responsibility for fundraising at a state level.
- The National Secretariat and each state branch raise funds co-operatively but separately.
- Each branch organises its fundraising efforts independently and according to its own methods, subject to the conditions outlined in this code.
- The National Secretariat collects funds for national campaigning, administrative support of the Party and the support of various state branches. These funds support the National Secretariat's role of national policy development, assistance to the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party and maintenance of the Party's professional and voluntary organisation throughout Australia.
- State and national offices shall operate systems of centralised bank accounts to ensure the efficient and secure expenditure of ALP finances and assist the party to meet its commitment to transparency.
- All local campaign and other party accounts will be held under the relevant state central banking system with the relevant Tax File Number. Central bank accounts may be held at a national level where it is appropriate to do so.
- It is the legitimate responsibility of the relevant State or National Secretary, finance committee members and/or collectors to accept money on behalf of the ALP.
- ALP staff, Parliamentarians and candidates for public office may act as fundraising agents for the ALP and in that capacity receive funds on behalf of the ALP.
- The National Secretary has the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance and enforcement of the provisions in this code.

Conditions of this Code

- The ALP and its constituent units observe the following fundraising code of conduct. This code is fundamental to the integrity of the ALP and its organisational and Parliamentary members.
- Parliamentarians and candidates, acknowledging the collective party effort to secure their election as representatives of the ALP, can and should voice the party's need for both support and funds. This may include appeal emails and correspondence, together with regular appearances at ALP fundraising events.
- All funds raised for, by, or in the name of the ALP, must comply with the relevant provisions of the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918*, and any other relevant legislation or associated regulation. Any funds raised by constituent units of the party, including state branches, must comply with any relevant state legislation.
- Donations raised or accepted as part of any ALP fundraising effort must be held in a central banking account, which the National Secretariat or relevant state branch has visibility of and control over. It must, in its name, indicate that it is an ALP account. No funds raised by, for or in the name of the ALP may be held in personal accounts.
- Any funds held in other accounts, or otherwise not under an ALP central banking system with the relevant Tax File Number, will be regarded by the ALP and any other interested party as "personal accounts".
- Cheques, direct online donations and direct financial transfers (for example through online banking) should be made payable to a central, ALP-named account, not individuals.
- Any intermediary accounts set up on a digital platforms (e.g. paypal) for the purpose of fundraising must be directly linked to a central, ALP-named account. All outflows from these intermediary accounts should be restricted to a central, ALP-named account.
- The detail of donations shall be publicly disclosed as per the requirements of the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918*.
- Parliamentarians should never use the resources of public office to assist in their own or the ALP's fundraising efforts.
- The ALP at a national level, and all federal Parliamentarians and candidates for public office, will not accept donations from foreign sources. Funds raised for, by, or in the name of the federal ALP or federal Parliamentarians or candidates for public office must be obtained from a verified domestic source. This includes, without limitation, funds obtained from individuals, corporate entities, unincorporated associations or any other type of entity. For the purpose of enforcing this clause, the National Executive will from time-to-time establish guidelines to help Party agents determine the origins of donations so as to ensure that only donations from domestic sources are received.
- Without limiting the conditions imposed on the federal ALP and federal Parliamentarians and candidates for public office by the preceding paragraph, where possible, all ALP fundraising agents should seek reasonable assurance that funds raised have no connection to foreign or prohibited sources.
- All fundraising bodies, including ALP fundraising agents, should give due consideration to the possible perception of any individual donation and whether it may reflect negatively on the party as a whole.
- The ALP does not accept funds that are subject to conditions of any kind, whether they be explicit or implied.

- Under no circumstances will the ALP accept funds which, even if only by inference, are intended to obtain the Party's support for specific actions, attitudes or public statements.
- Donors retain a right to put forward views to the Party or individual Parliamentarians, however this right does not exceed that of any other general member of the Party or Australian enrolled voter or citizen.
- The ALP and its constituent units never raise funds on behalf of any other party or organisation.
- Under no circumstances will the ALP, its Parliamentarians, or any of its endorsed candidates for public office accept donations from the tobacco industry.
- Parliamentarians or candidates for public office who act outside these guidelines will be liable to sanctions by the National Executive, relevant ALP Caucus, state Administrative Committee or other interested parties.

National Conference decisions

- 55 That decisions of National Conference are equally binding on all members of the Party whether determined as platform or as a decision of Conference. However, decisions of Conference which relate to matters of policy lapse if they are not reaffirmed by the subsequent Conference. Decisions of Conference which relate to organisational, administrative or rules matters continue in force until a subsequent Conference otherwise determines.

Same sex marriage

- 56 Conference resolves that the matter of same sex marriage can be freely debated at any state or federal forum of the Australian Labor Party, but any decision reached is not binding on any member of the Party. This resolution is rescinded upon the commencement of the 46th parliament.

Part F – National Conference Standing Orders

Chair of Conference

- 57 The National President shall preside over Conference. In the President's absence the senior officer present shall preside. If no officers are present, a delegate shall be appointed by Conference to preside.

Credentials

- 58 (a) Each body represented at National Conference or National Executive shall lodge with the National Secretary the names and addresses of its delegates as early as practicable before the meeting. These names and addresses shall be sent by the National Secretary to all members of the National Executive and other bodies represented at the National Conference as soon as possible.
- (b) Any body or delegate may challenge the credentials of any delegate by lodging with the National Secretary the grounds of objection in writing within 14 days of being notified of the nomination of that delegate.

- (c) The grounds of the objection shall be conveyed to the delegate challenged and to the body nominating the delegate by the quickest possible means. The National Executive shall hear and determine the challenge. An appeal shall lie to the National Conference. Pending the outcome of any such appeal, the decision of the National Executive shall stand.

Session times

59 Conference shall meet at the following times:

Day 1 – 9.30 am to 12.45 pm

2.15 pm to 5.00 pm

Day 2 – 9.30 am to 12.45 pm

2.15 pm to 5.30 pm

Day 3 – 9.30 am to 12.45 pm

2.15 pm to 5.30 pm

subject to Conference at any time determining on motion or amendment without debate, and without rescission of any previous decisions as to meeting times, to meet at any other times.

Order of business

- 60 The agenda of the National Conference shall be as distributed by the National Secretary pursuant to clause 15(k)(ii). The order of business shall be as determined by Conference from time to time.
- 61 No discussion shall be allowed except on motion or amendment duly proposed and seconded.
- 62 Any member desiring to propose a motion or amendment, or to discuss any matter under consideration, must address the Chair. No member shall address the Conference unless called by the Chair of Conference.
- 63 All questions shall be determined in the following manner:
 - (a) Unless before debate on the question has commenced Conference resolves without debate to permit a specified number of additional speakers, there shall be no more than two speakers for and two speakers against each question.
 - (b) The mover of the motion shall have five minutes to present argument in support of the motion and one minute to reply.
 - (c) The seconder of such motion, and all other speakers, shall be limited to three minutes.
 - (d) The movers and seconders of motions and amendments must exercise the right to speak at the time of moving and not subsequently, subject to the right of reply by the mover of the motion.

- (e) Conference on motion without debate may extend the time of any speaker; such extension of time shall not exceed three minutes. Conference may agree to further extensions on the same basis.
- (f) The Chair shall call attention to the time of all speakers one minute before such time expires. Motions for extensions may be made when the Chair so calls, but no later.
- (g) All votes of Conference shall be subject to the following procedure:
 - (i) the Chair shall call upon those who support the question to say “Aye” and those who are opposed to say “No”; and
 - (ii) the Chair shall then declare the question carried or lost.
- (h) Any delegate not satisfied with the Chair’s decision may, by standing in their place, call for a show of hands. The Chair shall proceed to determine the question by calling upon those who support the motion to raise their hands, and those opposed to act similarly. The Chair shall appoint two tellers to take the count and they shall be representative of the opposing viewpoints. When the tellers are agreed upon their count the Chair shall declare the result by quoting the figures for and against.
- (i) When any question voted upon by Conference results in equal numbers for and against, the Chair shall declare such question lost.
- (j) Any motion or amendment affecting the pledge, platform or National Constitution of the Party shall be declared lost if less than a majority of delegates credentialled to the Conference vote for it.

Cognate debate

- 64
- (a) If two or more motions relate to the same subject-matter and are inconsistent with each other, they may be debated together.
 - (b) The Chair must rule on the order the motions are to be moved (subject to clause 74).
 - (c) The rights of reply must be exercised in the reverse order to the moving of the motions.
 - (d) The motions must be put in the order they were moved, until either a motion is carried, in which case the remaining motions lapse, or until all motions are lost.
 - (e) Despite clause 65, no amendment may be moved to a motion while in cognate debate. However, a motion carried in cognate debate may subsequently be amended in accordance with clause 65.

Amendments

- 65
- (a) At any time during debate on any motion it shall be competent for any delegate to move an amendment. All amendments must be seconded. Motions may be amended by adding words, by deleting words, or by deleting words and inserting others in their place, providing that the effect of any proposed amendment is not to establish a direct negative to the question contained in the motion.
 - (b) Any number of amendments may be proposed and discussed simultaneously with the original motion, notwithstanding clause 71. At the close of debate amendments shall be put in the order they have been moved.

- 66 No member shall speak more than once to any question before the Chair, unless by way of personal explanation or with the consent of the Conference. Such consent shall not be given unless by a majority of those present.
- 67 At any time during debate on any question it shall be competent for the Chair to accept a motion “that the question be adjourned,” “that the question be put”, or “that the next business be proceeded with”, provided at least two speakers have spoken for and against. A member having spoken to the question shall not be competent so to move. Such motions shall be immediately put without debate, provided that in the event of Conference agreeing “that the question be now put” the mover of the original motion shall have the right of reply.
- 68 On Conference agreeing “that the question be now put” it shall mean not only the question contained in the motion, but including any and all amendments.
- 69 No question shall be debated for a longer period than one and a half hours, subject to Conference agreeing on motion or amendment put without debate to extend such time. A two-thirds majority of those present shall be required to approve any such extension.
- 70 Motions directed towards the re-consideration of any decision reached by Conference shall fail unless carried by a three-fourths majority of the delegates credentialled to Conference.
- 71 Not more than two delegates in succession shall speak for or against any question.
- 72 All questions involving an interpretation of policy on any section of the platform or the direction of members of the parliament in accordance with the principles and methods of the Party, shall be subject to decision by Conference on the basis of these Standing Orders and not by ruling of the President.
- 73 Questions other than those contained on the agenda shall not be discussed unless agreed to by two-thirds of the delegates credentialled to Conference, and no delegate shall canvass the subject matter of the proposed new business when seeking Conference approval for discussion of same.
- 74 Rulings given by the Chair on any question shall be subject to a motion calling upon Conference to disagree with any ruling. In the event of such motion, the mover shall be permitted not more than five minutes to support the motion and the Chair shall be permitted not more than five minutes to defend the Chair’s ruling. There shall be no other speakers. The Vice-President or any other delegate appointed by Conference shall occupy the Chair during the currency of such motion.

Chapter 12: Organisational policies

Establishment of Implementation Committee

- 1 (a) The National Executive will establish an Implementation Committee to determine how to implement Recommendation 77 of the National Review 2010 that the structure of the National Conference be changed to enable the increased participation of rank and file members through direct election of a component of the National Conference. The Implementation Committee will have regard to the 2010 National Review, the National Principles of Organisation, and state arrangements.
- (b) The National Executive will determine the composition and reporting arrangements of the Implementation Committee.
- (c) The report of the Implementation Committee referred to in subsection (a) must be determined by the National Executive by a three quarters majority of all voting members no later than 3 December 2012.

Implementation of platform and policy commitments

- 2 Federal and state ministers must report back to their respective Party Conferences on the implementation of platform and policy commitments.

Composition of state conferences

- 3 State branches should increase or maintain the size of state conferences, which should have greater rank and file involvement.

Affiliation of unions

- 4 Each state branch should develop an equitable basis of determining union entitlement for representation at relevant state level Party units. This shall not prevent state branches making reasonable special arrangements for the representation of small unions.

Dialogue with local union activists

- 5 All Labor MPs must establish dialogue with local union activists in their electorates, including frequent meetings with those union activists who work in their area. Senators and MLCs must be invited to attend such meetings.

Organisation and training

- 6 (a) In addition to geographically based local branches within state and federal electorates, state branches should consider different forms of rank and file organisation, such as:
 - (i) Occupation, workplace and employment related branches,
 - (ii) University and TAFE campus branches,

- (iii) Policy forums (including online forums), and
- (iv) Labor policy action caucuses or equivalent policy structures
- (b) The number of local branches in metropolitan areas should be consolidated to provide for larger meetings and better branch organisation.
- (c) MPs and state branches should respond to branch correspondence promptly so that branch members know their contribution has been considered.
- (d) State branches should ask branches to nominate either a women's officer or contact person to assist the development of equitable participation for women in the Party.
- (e) MPs and state branches should respond to correspondence from Party members and Party units promptly, so that Party members know their contribution has been considered. Before visiting an electorate, ministers and shadow ministers should notify the relevant Party units in that area.
- (f) State branches should form supporters clubs, and explore the possibility of the creation of an associate class of membership as a way of broadening involvement in the Party.
- (g) Labor Connect should be expanded as a membership organising and campaigning tool and as a means for members to contribute to and participate in Party policy development

Central policy branches

- 7 (a) State branches may establish central policy branches or forums in capital cities and major regional centres.
- (b) The National Secretariat should assist central policy branches by providing lectures, presentations and seminars online for Party members.

State policy forums

- 8 (a) State branches should model their policy committees on the National Policy Forum to the extent that they should incorporate:
 - (i) a formal parliamentary component,
 - (ii) a trade union affiliate component, and
 - (iii) a link to grass-roots members and grass-roots policy structures.
- (b) All Party members should be eligible to attend state policy committee meetings to contribute specialised knowledge and expertise on policy issues. Policy committees should, where feasible, conduct forums and consultations in regional centres.
- (c) Resolutions passed by Party units should be circulated to the relevant ministers and shadow ministers, state policy committees and the National Policy Forum for consideration and response.

Policy development

Online branches

- 9 (a) The National Secretariat should establish a National Online Policy Branch.

- (b) Attendance at the National Online Policy Branch does not satisfy attendance requirements for voting in Party elections, unless a state branch's rules expressly provide that it does.

Grass roots policy structures

- (c) State branches must investigate new grass-roots policy structures.
- (d) State branches are encouraged to provide for the establishment of a "Labor Policy Action Caucus" or "Labor PAC" where a group has:
 - (i) thirty financial Party members (or some other number as determined by the relevant state branch);
 - (ii) a patron from both the state and federal parliamentary caucuses, unless otherwise determined by its Administrative Committee; and
 - (iii) a statement of its name, objectives and rules, approved by its Administrative Committee.
- (e) Labor PACs should enjoy the same level of support from state branch offices that constituent units enjoy in that state. In particular, they should be permitted to:
 - (i) promote policy forums in Party publications and bulletins;
 - (ii) put motions directly to Party conferences, the National Policy Forum, and state branch policy committees; and
 - (iii) convene meetings and functions.
- (f) Labor PACs should in no way supplant local branches, many of which continue to provide Labor with a vital link to their communities. Rather, Labor PACs should be a complementary initiative. No powers or resources should be given to Labor PACs that are not also given to local branches.
- (g) Party officials should support these new arrangements. As PACs mature and become part of the party's structures, party officials should:
 - (i) list Labor PACs on application forms for membership (so new members can sign up to them immediately); and
 - (ii) provide administrative support for elections and the maintenance of membership lists, as they do for local branches.
- (h) The administrative, financial and fundraising regimes that govern Labor PACs should be determined by each state branch.

Engagement between MPs and members

- (i) Except in an election year, ministers and shadow ministers should participate in at least three of any of the official policy engagements each year that are attended by 30 or more Party members or affiliated union members. Of these:
 - (i) at least one should be in a non-metropolitan area;
 - (ii) at least one should be online; and
 - (iii) for federal ministers or shadow ministers, at least one should be outside their home state.

Preselections

- 10 (a) In order to ensure that candidates and MPs fulfil local responsibilities, state branches should:
- (i) develop a system for reporting the activities of MPs to their federal electorate bodies; and
 - (ii) introduce Public Office Selection Forums for all lower house candidates.
- (b) All eligible voters and financial Party members who live in the electorate for which a lower house candidate is being selected should be eligible to attend and participate in a Public Office Selection Forum.
- (c) Public Office Selection Forums should be held on the day of voting. They should consist of formal speeches by the candidates and small group question and answer sessions.

Australian Young Labor

- 11 Every state Administrative Committee or state Executive should consider co-opting a non-voting member or members of Young Labor.

Indigenous Labor Network

- 12 That each state branch form an Indigenous Labor Network. Membership should be open to all Indigenous people who are members of the ALP. Non-Indigenous ALP members can nominate to be associate members.

General membership system

- 13 (a) Each state should adopt a system to allow applications to be processed and accepted by the head office thus allowing potential expansion of a general membership system.
- (b) A general member initially has only the right to take up at their initiative the process of becoming a full member through the branch membership system. The general members are to be encouraged to contribute to the Party in whatever way they can and they are bound to assume the responsibilities of supporting the Party both privately and publicly.
- (c) Any general member of five years or more standing could be considered for preselection provided the majority request of all Party members in their respective electorate was made and/or the majority request of that state branch Administrative Committee or Executive was made. (for guidance to the state branches)

National organisation – ongoing review

- 14 (a) That the National Executive take responsibility for an ongoing process of organisational review. The National Executive should establish a Standing Committee to initiate proposals, or receive submissions from members and affiliates, on the Party's rules, structures and political effectiveness.
- (b) That an ongoing National Organisational Review Committee (ORC) be established with appropriate delegated powers under the guidance of the National Executive to continue the

process of improving the effectiveness, participation and accountability of the Party's organisation.

- (c) That the ORC undergo a consultative process with state branches, union affiliates, Party units and members on strategies to achieve the following objectives:
 - (i) strategies to increase the level of ALP branch membership;
 - (ii) strategies to encourage more trade unions to affiliate to the ALP and to involve unions more effectively in the Party's decision-making processes;
 - (iii) strategies the ALP should consider in order to defeat coalition party proposals to undermine the existing arrangements for trade union affiliation; and
 - (iv) strategies to increase the participation of women at all levels within the ALP.
- (d) That the National Secretariat provide adequate resources for the committee to meet its objectives.

Preselections

- 15 State campaign directors should consult the Leader and the National Campaign Director before the selection of candidates in both target and safe Labor seats to discuss quality potential candidates. This process should begin at least 18 months prior to the next election. It is the responsibility and obligation of Party officers and other influential figures within the Party to ensure that quality candidates are preselected in all seats. The Party must also actively identify and encourage candidates from a wide range of occupations and life experiences.

Member engagement

- 16 That, as a first step towards re-engaging with Party members, the National Secretariat conduct the first national survey of Party members to seek their views, expectations and attitudes to the Party. Suggestions about improving Party organisation should also be sought. That the results of the survey be published in summary form to members.
- 17 That the National Executive discuss and determine a membership growth target for increasing membership over the next five years, with progress targets set for each year. That membership numbers achieved be reported on an annual basis to the membership.
- 18 That the Party establish a cost-effective national campaigning organising and training academy to boost the skills, awareness and knowledge of members to allow them to better participate in Party-building and recruitment activities.
- 19 That a system of small, annual grants be established at a national level to assist with Party-building activities. That local branches be encouraged to apply for grants and the scheme be overseen by a panel of senior Party members, removed from the day-to-day affairs of the Party.
- 20 That the Party at a national level institute a Labor Community Dialogue program as has occurred at state levels of the Party, to facilitate access and discussion between the Party, community organisations and community leaders, and that this be supported by an active series of online engagement opportunities that would connect progressive community organisations with the Party at both a membership and parliamentary level.

Affiliated unions

- 21 That, in order to encourage the participation of more union members in the Party, affiliated unions be requested to ask members on joining or renewing their membership to become involved in the Party, through such means as voting in primaries (if applicable), representing the union at Party conferences and joining the Party.

Party reform

22 (a) ***Broaden the Party by recruiting 8000 new members***

The Party's most critical connection to the community is its members.

Yet in recent decades the Party has endured a steady decline in membership. This decline is the great organisational challenge of our generation. Strong member participation is the lifeblood of organisations such as trade unions, community organisations, faith-based groups and sporting clubs. It is members who provide Labor with its most direct, most fundamental connection to the community.

We were the people's party, and we need to be again.

Prime Minister Julia Gillard set an ambitious target for Australian Labor to broaden its base by recruiting 8000 new members in 2012.

National Conference therefore:

- (i) approves Prime Minister Gillard's target to recruit 8000 new members in 2012;
- (ii) encourages state branches to implement a community organising model to empower members and supporters to recruit, organise and campaign locally; and
- (iii) encourages state branches to report their recruitment figures to the National Executive.

(b) ***Reduce excessive membership fees***

In some state branches, membership fees are higher than for comparable organisations. This discourages the involvement of young people and low-wage workers.

National Conference therefore encourages state branches to:

- (i) review their membership fees; and
- (ii) consider offering discounts for Young Labor members and affiliated union members, where they do not already do so.

(c) ***Launch a National Labor Community Dialogue program***

Labor Community Dialogue programs have been launched at a state level. These programs seek to build stronger links between Labor and the community sector with the objective of:

- (i) developing broader consultative capacity to support and inform Labor's policy development;
- (ii) building lasting networks of mutual support for Labor, Labor members, Labor's elected representatives and the community sector; and
- (iii) enhancing Labor's presence within the community.

These partnerships are mutually beneficial for Labor and progressive community organisations. National Conference therefore directs the National Secretariat to:

- (i) launch and provide ongoing support for a National Labor Community Dialogue program; and
- (ii) co-ordinate the activities of the National Labor Community Dialogue program with those of Labor Connect to develop a streamlined approach to community outreach.

(d) ***Support branches and Labor PACs in working with the community***

While many of our Party members volunteer in community and school organisations, branches and formal Party structures can be detached from these groups.

National Conference therefore encourages each branch and Labor PAC to “adopt” a community organisation, and actively engage in that group’s activities and mission.

The branch or Labor PAC could adopt a new organisation each year, while still maintaining links with previous “adoptees”, or build an enduring relationship with one group over a number of years.

This proposal will:

- (i) connect our members with their community in a tangible and meaningful way;
- (ii) enhance the community’s understanding of Labor and our members’ understanding of their community;
- (iii) realise Labor values at a grass-roots level;
- (iv) broaden guest speaker opportunities for the branches and Labor PACs; and
- (v) extend the community dialogue concept to every member of the Party.

(e) ***Strengthen the Party’s connections to the union movement***

Although trade union members share some of the same values as Labor members, they are often not Party members and often do not vote Labor. To grow our Party, we need to engage, activate and recruit union members.

National Conference therefore directs the National Secretariat to work with affiliated unions to:

- (i) develop a political engagement strategy based on the model already developed by a number of unions; and
- (ii) engage union members and encourage them to participate in Party activities.

The 2007 federal election campaign was aided by effective co-ordination between Labor and affiliated unions. It is worthwhile establishing a process to ensure consistency and transparency between Labor and union campaigns.

National Conference therefore directs the National Executive to form a combined Campaign Reference Group with affiliated unions.

(f) ***Make voter engagement central to Labor campaigns***

As a broad labour movement, we will always be able to activate more supporters than our conservative opponents.

We must take advantage of this.

The philosophy is simple: we need to activate more members and connect with more voters more often. By reconnecting with our base through large scale direct voter contact, we can strengthen our membership and our electoral position.

National Conference therefore encourages state branches to:

- (i) implement a community organising model to empower and equip members and supporters to recruit, organise and campaign locally; and
- (ii) report their budgets and organising activities to the National Executive.

Under this community organising model, Party members will be provided with more resources, training and support, so that they can identify Labor supporters, recruit new members, hold local events, run local campaigns, communicate and engage with voters, and produce and distribute material.

As part of the community organising model, Australian Labor will expand its direct voter contact system, which was trialled during the South Australian, Victorian and NSW state elections. This will enable members from all over Australia to help on campaigns at the click of a button.

National Conference directs the National Executive to establish an Organising Committee to consider developments in community organising and campaigning, and make recommendations about community organising and campaigning initiatives to the National Executive. The Organising Committee will contain representatives from trade unions, rank and file members, the Parliamentary Party and the organisational wing of the Party, appointed according to the principles of proportional representation.

National Conference directs the National Secretariat to continue to prioritise the upgrades of Electrac and LaborConnect, and investigate further integration with party databases and extranets.

(g) ***Support state branches considering direct election***

To make our Party more active, we need to increase participation amongst rank and file members.

One proposal for strengthening rank and file involvement is to provide the option of directly electing National Conference delegates in a ballot of financial members in an electorate.

Different models for electing delegates to Party conferences are used in different states and territories. Each of these models reflects the unique political environment in that state.

National Conference therefore:

- (i) recognises that each state branch will approach the election of National Conference delegates differently;
- (ii) supports state branches that are considering direct election;
- (iii) recognises that the National Principles of Organisation require that state branch conferences comprise 50 per cent trade union representation, and 50 per cent Party constituency representatives;
- (iv) reaffirms that this principle of 50/50 representation must continue;
- (v) affirms that the local determination of National Conference delegates should not come at the expense of trade union representation; and
- (vi) affirms that some of the National Conference delegation should continue to be elected in such a way as to ensure the principle of 50/50 representation is maintained.

(h) ***Increase recognition of member contributions***

Australian Labor relies on rank and file members volunteering their time to recruit, organise and campaign for the Party.

To encourage active participation by members, we need to demonstrate that their contributions are valued.

Rank and file member awards have been established at the state level to recognise dedicated Party members.

National Conference therefore directs the National Secretariat to establish annual national awards to recognise the commitment and service of outstanding Party members.

(i) ***Introduce new mechanisms for member feedback***

Any successful membership-based organisation must work hard to listen to its members and engage with their thoughts and ideas.

National Conference therefore:

- (i) supports the recommendation in the National Review that calls for the first national survey of members; and
- (ii) encourages state branches to develop entry surveys and exit surveys for all Party members.

(j) ***Support more issues-based activism***

The success of “Get Up” and “Say Yes” shows Australians want to engage in issues-based activism, particularly young Australians.

While Labor PACs will provide a formal mechanism for members to mobilise on specific issues, many of our members may:

- (i) not have the time to be involved in a Labor PAC;
- (ii) be interested in multiple issues; and
- (iii) prefer an informal, individual response to issues.

National Conference therefore encourages state branches to offer members the opportunity to sign up to become advocates for particular Labor policies.

Members who sign up would be provided with a tool kit of resources, such as talking points and flyers, which they could use to communicate, mobilise third-party advocates and potentially attract new members. Consideration should also be given to providing members with the advice and tools to conduct social media campaigns.

Increased representation of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in public office

- 23 The ALP is committed to increasing the representation of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in public office positions the Party holds. To achieve this, National Conference empowers state branches to make affirmative action rules, in consultation with their state Indigenous Labor Network, for the preselection of public office holders that require a minimum of relevant positions to be held by Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders. The minimum level that can be set by such affirmative action rules is 5%.

To support state branches in the implementation of this strategy, National Conference requires state branches to:

- ensure that application and renewal forms ask prospective and existing ALP members whether they are Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander; and
- maintain a contact list of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander members that can be provided their Indigenous Labor Network.

Review of the socialist objective

- 24 The Party's principles and objectives were last reviewed properly at a special National Conference in 1981. Australia and the world have changed substantially since that time.

The 1981 debate was preceded by a comprehensive and substantial consultation process.

This Conference resolves to commence a review of our socialist objective, with a view to replacing the existing language with the most appropriate and modern set of principles and objective for the Australian Labor Party.

This review shall be led by a broadly representative panel, appointed by National Executive at their first ordinary meeting after this Conference. Terms of reference are to be finalised by National Executive, but are to include:

- an obligation to seek input from all members and affiliated unions of the Party;
- an obligation to undertake a process of active discussion and consultation; and
- an obligation to circulate draft proposals and identify those proposals that are most likely to be adopted by consensus.

Affirmative action

- 25 The National Executive and Administrative Committees should consider electing or appointing full-time Party officials in groups of at least 3 so that the affirmative action requirements of clause 19 of the National Constitution apply.