

## Preface Comments

There has been a lot of work done on this already by highly reputable and politically appropriate groups, so there should be no blank paper thinking. There is not time to waste. This week (Saturday 27/6) Kevin Anderson is on the record saying that we need to be zero carbon (NOT net zero) by 2035. He goes on to say that if we achieve net zero by 2050, we will have committed to emissions that will lead to more than 2°C of warming with all of the additional global burdens that this will bring.

The Labour Party has been closely aligned with some really important work in this area - The Green New Deal and A Million climate Jobs in particular. There are also excellent research projects that give serious and tested policy proposals, not least the Centre For Alternative Technology's Zero Carbon Britain Project and Project Drawdown. And of course, the Labour Party, like the Trade Unions and the vast majority of green groups, are committed to a Just Transition to Zero Carbon.

However, for the transition to zero carbon to be successful, sufficiently rapid, and to include adaptation measures for climate change already locked in, there must be a national culture change – away from neoliberal fueled, rampant consumerism to an economic paradigm that focuses on the quality of life for all over growth and systemic inequality.

1. What sectors do you believe are the priorities for investment from government, for a green recovery programme to build a stronger, more resilient future economy? How can this investment reduce regional inequalities as well as address the climate crisis and environmental degradation? And what science and technologies do we need to invest in?
  - a. All sectors of the economy need to be brought to zero. However, the key areas are:
    - i. **Buildings.** Energy efficiency and zero carbon. The research is clear, that to be able to run our economy as a zero carbon economy, we need to maximise efficiency as we transition from fossil fuels to zero carbon energy supplies. This requires a huge retrofit programme as well as radical reform of new building standards (not just homes, but also commercial buildings). The retrofit must include both building insulation and efficiency, AND zero carbon heating such as heat pumps, district heating and mine water/geothermal systems. Alongside the retrofit programme, there needs to be a focus on building affordable zero carbon homes. The obvious approach is to rapidly expand the use of factory built, super-efficient, modular homes. This will create new, skilled work to complement the construction industry already in place, and provide essential new jobs for displaced workers and for

young people to aspire to.

- ii. **Transport.** We have to have a systematic transport policy that encourages and enables active transport (walking, cycling) as the first choice for local journeys, only introducing public transport and private vehicle (including zero carbon taxis) for those who cannot make active transport choices. We have to invest in public transport now, so that we have options for people to abandon their cars and make better choices. This includes buses and coaches as well as rail. These transport systems do need to be decarbonised, but we have to build the infrastructure now, not wait for zero carbon options first.

Goods transport is more difficult, but there are options available – see the reports mentioned in the preface comments.

Private cars will have a role, as electric cars – particularly as taxis for the critical “last mile” public transport journeys, but also for rural areas, etc. These will also need encouragement to ensure that people are not disadvantaged whilst public transport infrastructure is being built and developed.

Flying needs addressing – the Covid Crisis has shown us how little we need to fly to meet face to face – video conferencing technology is now very user friendly and affordable.

- iii. **Electricity generation.** Renewables (on shore and offshore wind, solar, tidal, hydro, geothermal...) need to be expanded, along with grid management technology to meet the demand for electrification. There is real opportunity to break the stranglehold of the global power corporations and support communities to invest in their own power generation, through community energy co-operatives and CICs. This will support the decentralised grid and grow public engagement by giving people a stake in their own futures.
- iv. **Food and agriculture.** We have a food security problem and a biodiversity crisis, alongside the climate emergency. Labour policy needs to engage with this issue to multi-solve these three huge issues by again investing in communities – CSA schemes, localising food production, giving young people opportunities to start out in agriculture, investing in agro-ecological schemes, integrating farming with biodiversity goals, and using Brexit to re-purpose agricultural subsidies.
- v. **Industrial infrastructure.** We have significant carbon intensive industries in the UK, including glass, steel and cement manufacture. These need R&D and infrastructure investment to decarbonise their operations through electrification, for example, but potentially through zero

carbon synthetic fuels as well.

- vi. **Forestry.** In order to reduce the carbon footprint of new infrastructure, buildings need to be constructed from both renewable materials such as timber, hemp, wool, etc (structure, insulation...) and reclaimed materials. This switch will create significant new demand for construction timber, meaning that as well as planting new biodiverse forests, we must also plant new plantations of trees for construction timber. This must be done in a sustainable way, but must be started now to have any chance of meeting demand over the next 50 years! We are already a long way behind the curve on this.
  - vii. **Fashion and textiles.** There is a lot of support to end “fast fashion” to build on, but we have also seen queues outside stores such as Primark as lockdown rules have eased. This argument is not won. The fashion and textiles industry has a huge environmental impact, at all stages – agricultural, processing, manufacturing, disposal. There has to be research into recycling fibre from fabric as well as encouragement to re-use through pre-loved initiatives. This will allow a degree of sustainable fabric and garment manufacture and will produce more affordable textiles than focusing solely on agricultural and stage 1 manufacturing processes.
  - viii. **Waste, recycling and resources.** The interest in recent years in economic models such as circular economy and doughnut economics has been growing, as have campaigns to guarantee repairability. Alongside the problems already discussed, we know that certain minerals are already rare and expensive.  
We also fully understand the concept of a finite planet, and that undersea and space mining ventures are sci-fi fantasies for corporate megalomaniacs and can be parked permanently.  
This means that all environmental and economic plans must include materials recovery through dismantling processes, for example. It also means that the recycling hierarchy must become a reality, not a niche obsession (refuse, reuse, repair, repurpose, recycle) and even energy from waste must have an end point.
- b. **To support all of the above, all fossil fuel subsidies must be ended immediately.**
  - c. Regional inequalities can be addressed through spreading investment fairly, through ensuring the least well off are targeted for domestic retrofit programmes, and through industrial investment. Effective targeting of private rented and social housing sectors will improve social, economic and environmental equality, as will investment in active transport and public transport.

2. How do we support people who have lost employment during this crisis to move into environmental growth sectors? How can we ensure that such jobs are decently paid, with quality training, and offer representation by trade unions? What lessons can be learned from past programmes current support and international examples?
- a. Labour policy should introduce a Universal Basic Income for at least the duration of the transition period. This will have multiple benefits.
    - i. Everyone will have an income whilst training, retraining or in post school education, giving people the confidence to gain new skills for the new worlds of work.
    - ii. By pegging the UBI to the tax threshold, all income above UBI (earned or pension or other) can be taxed, the benefits and state pension system can be simplified and the poverty trap removed. This will improve the quality of life of those on the lowest incomes, it will make work pay whilst giving opportunities for more part-time work and shared work, reducing unemployment, but also reducing work related illness.  
It may allow a small minority to live without work, but it will not reward this choice. But equally, it will no longer punish those who are forced to live without work, and by removing the stress created by Universal Credit job seeking rules, is likely to improve work readiness.
  - b. We have learned a lot from Covid-19. Most importantly, we have re-defined the concept of the key worker. In the climate conscious economy, key workers will continue to work in health, education, public transport and food, but also energy production, building retrofit and other climate necessary sectors. Government recognition of these sectors will raise status, salaries, and create the “industry status” to enable union membership, career structures and professional training.
  - c. Nationally recognised training programmes, with industry/sector specific trades unions fully engaged, will support the drive to re-unionise work-forces and build new employer/employee/trade union relationships more akin to continental models.
3. How should sector-specific support for business during this crisis be used to both protect and promote employment and to pursue our climate and nature objectives?
- a. Socially damaging and climate damaging sectors should not be supported. This means, for example, ending all fossil fuels subsidies, reforming the tax system and off-shore privileges, removing support for fossil fuel aviation, fossil fuel private transport. It therefore means supporting expansion of electric vehicles including public transport, cycle and walking infrastructure, climate and community friendly agriculture and energy schemes, and more. Socialism has broad definitions,

including a proud history of workers co-operatives, and aligned to this, Community Interest Companies that link the third sector through paid work rather than purely volunteering.

- b. Recognising the biodiversity crisis, and the need to remove carbon from the atmosphere over extended time frames, there is significant scope for outdoor careers in environmental management and development – forestry, agriculture, marine and freshwater eco-system management, and more.
- c. Investment in re-designing critical industries to become zero carbon will protect jobs in these industries, and in supply chains.
- d. Investing in renewable electricity production at scale will create significant numbers of new jobs, new supply chains and particularly, in otherwise hard to reach parts of the country.
- e. The above is equally true for large scale retrofit programmes.

4. What is the scope for redeploying people from industries which are facing crisis? What are the models of retraining and support which should be examined? Do you know of examples of programmes which have been effective in enabling redeployment; and what can we learn from programmes that have not been effective?

- a. This is not an area I am knowledgeable about, but the use of UBI through the transition has key advantages:
  - i. Nobody falls off an economic cliff as jobs realign;
  - ii. Workers and industry do not need complex funding arrangements for “adult retraining apprenticeships” or for young people’s first apprenticeships

5. Given the regional and area-based impacts of this crisis, what role can a green recovery play in mitigating these impacts? What are the lessons of past environmental interventions in terms of local and regional impacts?

- a. Living in West Yorkshire, we are still surrounded by hardship, deprivation and bitterness from the pit closures – the most visceral example of an unjust transition. The green recovery must not only protect those in carbon intense jobs, but rebuild communities devastated by post-industrial decline.

6. How can we help existing businesses, including SMEs, to adapt as a result of the crisis, including through measures for a green recovery? How can these measures be allied to the improvement of productivity and viability for these companies?

- a. There should be a range of measures – involving both incentives and regulation. Opportunities for early adopters to receive kick start funding to de-carbonise their businesses (grant, interest-free loan or both) and regulation to provide a clear timescale. A quality mark scheme with (say) three levels corresponding to “on the journey”, “achieved low carbon” and “achieved zero carbon” to help drive consumer choice. This could apply to all sectors.
- b. Productivity is a harder nut to crack, and relates to automation.

- c. Viability of business is not traditionally government policy's direct responsibility, but consumer goods and product regulation can support the viability of those early adopters, providing further impetus.

7. How can measures you are proposing in this recovery and renewal period improve quality of life—for example around walking, cycling and public transport, and improving access to nature? What habitats are you especially concerned about and want to see more support for and focus on?

- a. Housing. Retrofitting houses with insulation will significantly improve the quality of the housing and therefore the quality of life for the residents. It will also reduce energy bills, improving family economies. Targeting the least well-off in these retrofit programmes will support social, economic and environmental justice. Effective targeting will also ensure that the hardest to reach communities take some ownership of the solutions to climate change and can see the benefit to them – providing traction for future climate policy initiatives.
- b. Transport. The investments in active transport – cycling and walking – and in public transport will improve physical health in a number of ways:
  - i. Physical fitness through greater daily exercise integrated into people's daily routines;
  - ii. Improved air quality through the emissions reductions associated with lower vehicle density on the roads and reducing fossil fuel use over time. This will have significant, positive impacts on such conditions as asthma, but evidence shows that air pollution effects the human body, particularly the child's growing body, in a number of significant and unseen ways.
  - iii. Public safety will improve as vehicle density decreases, allowing for effective separation of pedestrians, cyclists and motorized vehicles.
  - iv. Decreasing vehicle density will enable a return to urban street play, greater community engagement and therefore community cohesion and reduced isolation. This will show measurable improvements in mental health, community cohesion and in the longer term, educational outcomes.
- c. Industrial policy. The electrification of heavy industry and the greening of work practices will improve air quality in industrial towns, improving living conditions of the least well off.
- d. Agricultural policy. Improving the quality of food in the supply chain will have positive health effects. Widening rural and semi-urban employment opportunities through opening up agriculture and horticulture to new entrants will reduce inequality and improve local control of the means of production.
- e. Electricity generation. Expanding community ownership and a

more devolved ownership of the means of production will improve mental and economic well-being, as well as community engagement.

8. In providing responses to 1-7, please can you indicate to us what considerations of cost-benefit analysis are relevant (and, if such analysis has not been undertaken, what sources of information would be necessary to understand costs and benefits); and which institutions would be required to enable effective delivery? In particular what is the role of public and private investment and different ownership models?
- a. It is common experience that wealthier communities are more resilient, but the wealthiest are the least able or willing to collaborate. However, the wealthiest are globally recognised as the biggest emitters of greenhouse gases. Therefore, to address this, there will need to be a regulatory framework to ensure that the wealthy are guided into climate friendly behaviours and investments. Regulation not funding
  - b. Well off communities are able to self organise and self fund, whether through transition towns initiatives, community ownership and asset management or through traditional mechanisms such as village halls, parish councils and village societies. There will be a need for regulation to guide the future direction of these self-funded communities. Typically regulation not funding, but they may need low interest loans to kick start projects that will ultimately become self funded.
  - c. The least well off are not in a position to self-fund, and so will need external funding to create community structures and to fund community organisers. These communities will need grant funding for domestic retrofit, including inducements for private landlords who often own the poorest quality housing stock. Some of this funding could be through interest free or low interest loans, repaid from savings made or income generated by community projects. This could be directly from government, or through local government and third sector channels, but will ultimately derive from taxes.
  - d. Infrastructure developments, including public transport and electricity generation, will need government funding, but there will be room for private investment, especially in electricity generation and grid management software.
  - e. The decarbonisation of industry, especially heavy industry, should by rights be privately funded. However, the costs are high and pay back times may be lengthy. Provided that all fossil fuel subsidies have been removed, the rising costs should provide motivation for these industries to change. However, some shareholders may decide to close if left to themselves. In order to maintain strategically important industries such as glass and cement manufacture, it is likely that government inducements will be required.

9. What are the key institutions including business, local government, trade unions who should play a role in delivering a green recovery? Are there particular lessons that should be learnt about effective delivery? Local people know their communities better than Westminster. What steps do we need to introduce to empower local communities to be able to tailor the provision to suit their needs?
- a. All institutions will need to play a role or multiple roles in the green recovery. It is not just a green recovery, but essential reframing of society and the economy to adapt to climate change already locked in, and to take rapid action to prevent runaway climate change through avoiding critical tipping points. Therefore this realignment of the economy must include all tiers of government, all businesses, all communities and the third sector. The public sector are in a position to lead both by example and through locally and regionally framing the planning for the recovery.
  - b. The current and previous Tory governments have over-centralised control, disempowering local democracy and communities. The green recovery is an opportunity to decentralise power, and to create genuine partnerships between central government, devolved nation parliaments, regional government, local government and hyper local bodies. There are models already in use by Labour Councils, such as the Preston Model, to build local economies from the ground up, because we can no longer rely on national government to take seriously its responsibility for the nation's well-being.
  - c. Public private partnerships and public third sector partnerships will be crucial in driving rapid change. There are in all localities micro businesses that straddle the private and third sectors. These include CICs and co-operatives, but include a wide range of food and service businesses that are rooted in their community and depend on their values for their market position. These can become critical partners in driving change and leading attitudes. Examples include food businesses that champion local or organic or fairtrade products, and include businesses that go out of their way to employ the hard to reach, who champion high standards of transparency and already lead the way on climate action through their business.
10. What other issues/points do you think are important? What are the Covid-19 challenges of delivering such a programme and how might they be overcome?
- a. The Covid 19 challenges of this programme is no different from the Covid challenges associated with business as usual. However, there are opportunities for new narratives to begin the culture change: there has been much talk of the new normal, of normalizing video conferencing and home working, of the benefits of reduced car use and improved air quality, of daily exercise and



the return of nature to our towns and cities. We have also seen a re-discovery of growing food and reconnecting with the food chain, of community resilience and of community volunteering. These opportunities are ours to take ownership of and to build a new narrative onto – one that the public have already engaged with.

- b. In addition to the Covid challenge, we have simultaneously experienced the Black Lives Matter campaigns, which can be built on to create the expectation of and drive for the social, economic and environmental justice of the just transition to explicitly include racial and migrant justice. This will be vital in the coming decades as the great climate migrations from the equatorial regions become explicit mass movements, rather than disguised as escaping war, famine and hardship as at present. With the current visibility and presence on our streets of far right and openly fascist elements, we must have a strategy to cope with this predictable response to the global climate crisis.
- c. Foreign policy and international trade policy must integrate with climate and biodiversity goals. International development and justice must tackle the global corporations' ability to exploit the intellectual commons of peasant agriculture and the debt models used to enslave farmers and industries across the world including in the UK. It must recognise that global trade rules are written by and for corporations and work against the well being of every nation's citizenry. A future Labour government must be ready to re-negotiate trade deals and work collaboratively with international partners to reframe global trade in the interests of populations not corporations, in the interests of the planet not corporations.
- d. It is likely that we will have to wait 4 more years for the next general election, by which time the climate crisis will be a genuine and visible emergency. In this time, we must be single minded with our positive climate narrative. But we must also be by-passing central government to build local actions and policies – like in the US, we cannot wait for central government, but must support our cities and regions to act now ahead of central government. This will create the record of success, of taking effective action, of building sustainable and resilient local economies, on which a future general election campaign can build. This is critical to electoral success, but more importantly, it is critical for the human race to have a thriving future.
- e. If we are to reframe society and if the economy is to deliver quality of life for all rather than the growing inequality of the last 40 years, we must move away from GDP and growth metrics, to quality of life, employment, health and well being metrics to evidence the successes of the Labour led government.
- f. There are a lot of vital policy areas discussed here, and no doubt in every other submission to this consultation. However, we must go beyond the detail of each policy strand, to create and maintain a holistic narrative that brings each disparate strand into a single

vision for society and the economy. This must be a positive vision showing not only that tackling climate change at pace and with determination is essential for our survival and well being, but that our lives will be enhanced in so many ways. In particular that the quality of life will be significantly improved.

The media, the corporate interests, the global neoliberal finance system will fight, will distract, will lie, will slander and delay – our narrative must remain convincing, positive, and above all, realistically hopeful. This will be the biggest challenge.

- g. To overcome this challenge, will require the party to recognise that broad left and green electoral collaboration will be essential to win and sustain power. Whether this is through voting reform, through co-operation with the SNP, Plaid Cymru, the Green Party and potentially others is a detail. Unity of purpose across the whole UK will be essential. We must recognise and accept that there is not currently a Labour majority available in England, Scotland or Wales, but that the embedded strengths of the nationalist parties in the UK Nations are still on the left. We must accept that Greens can win in some places where Labour cannot, that the Liberal Democrats are not reliable partners.
- h. We must recognise that humility brings power, in conjunction with a positive, engaging vision. Policy detail is an underpinning, not an electoral winner. We must learn from the shallow glibness of the recent Tory election campaigns, and from the intellectual rigour of George Lakoff's work and be properly strategic about the campaign – which starts now.