



# **SHAKE THINGS UP**

*More of the same won't cut it – Scotland needs Independence and radical change*

**“A VISION OF  
THE SCOTLAND  
WE SEEK”**





## SHAKE THINGS UP

*More of the same won't cut it – Scotland needs independence and radical change.*

# Foreword



*ALBA is a new political party. Not yet one month old.*

*ALBA was established to bring urgency into the timetable for delivering independence for Scotland, by maximising the list vote to build a pro-independence supermajority at Holyrood and to use our place as part of that supermajority to make absolutely sure there is no more backsliding on timetables.*

*And we will do that every day we are in Parliament – pressing a pro-independence Scottish Government to get a move on and holding it to account if it doesn't.*

*But that does not mean we are a single-issue party. Over 5,000 people have now joined ALBA because they want to see something new in Holyrood – more courage, less caution.*

*ALBA offers a strategy for independence, an economic recovery programme and a re-presentation of the case for independence in the modern world.*

*In this first ALBA manifesto, ALBA offers a vision of the Scotland we seek – a Scotland where all citizens are equal before the law and the written Constitution, and where the search for equality is reconciled with hard won women's sex-based rights.*

*The programme is social democratic, promoting prosperity with social equality and environmental responsibility.*

*In our short life we have already held three policy conferences and commissioned a raft of policy papers and presentations from esteemed figures like Professor Sir Harry Burns (President BMA and Former Chief*

*Medical Officer for Scotland), Professor Lindsay Paterson (Professor of Education Policy at the University of Edinburgh), Rhona Hotchkiss (Former Governor of Corton Vale), George Kerevan (Economist and Former SNP MP), Dr Nighet Riaz (Researcher and Educator at University of West of Scotland), Gareth Wardell (writer, producer and first artistic director of the Scottish Youth Theatre), Jim Sillars (Former SNP Depute Leader), Professor Alf Baird (Former Professor of Maritime Business at Edinburgh Napier University), Alex Neil MSP and many more. In several cases these contributors have offered their expertise on an independent basis.*

*We have taken the discussions at our policy conferences and the ideas put forward in these papers, and built this manifesto for the 2021 Holyrood Election from them. It presents a picture of an ambitious and radical Scotland that doesn't just set targets, but takes real steps forward on poverty, on the difficulties faced by our Scottish business base and the need to take real action on the climate emergency.*

*We make no claim that it is all encompassing – but it is bursting with fresh ideas and illustrates the Scotland we seek.*

*We believe it contains the most ambitious and profound economic recovery agenda revealed by a political party in Scotland so far, and it certainly represents the strongest commitment to women's rights.*

*And without doubt, it is the one manifesto which is taking Scottish independence seriously with a proper plan on how to deliver independence for Scotland through a referendum (or another agreed democratic test), ready to fight that referendum, but also how to be properly prepared to build the Scotland its people deserve, when we win such a referendum.*

*We are not standing to become a government – we are standing in a position to push a government further than it would otherwise go. With this manifesto everyone can see the direction in which we hope to urge Scotland as we shake things up over the next five years.*

**Alex Salmond**  
21st April 2021



**SCOTLAND  
NEEDS A BIT OF  
GALLUS FOR  
WHAT COMES  
NEXT. ALBA IS  
HERE TO BRING  
IT.**

# Introduction

**History will look back at the years 2021 to 2026 as among the most significant of the 21st century. They are the years when fundamental change will begin – or when it won't. This is not one of those times when 'a bit more of the same' has any chance of being enough.**

'A bit more' will not be enough to face up to the economic challenges before us as the pandemic begins to become manageable and gradually ends. 'A bit more' will look pitiful in the face of the enormous and life-threatening challenges of climate change. 'A bit more' is not going to make any greater difference to economic inequality and the horror of poverty than 'a bit less' did up until now. 'A bit more' is not going to reverse the threats to our public services. Every single person the length and breadth of Scotland who, at some point or another throughout this Covid crisis, has said to themselves 'afterwards, things must be different' will not get what they are asking for because of 'a bit more of the same'.

The first decade of Scottish devolution was a time of comparative stability in Scotland. It even may have made us a little complacent. The second decade, scarred by the austerity of the Cameron and Osborne years, broke our complacency and led to a historic independence referendum. While Scotland didn't quite feel ready to take that step, it was then further rocked by Brexit.

But across the era of Scottish devolution we have been, in truth, too timid not too radical. The gap between what Scotland says it wants to be and what Scotland has done to make it happen,

has just been too big. It does not mean we haven't achieved good things – we certainly have. But there just haven't been enough 'good things' and they've just not been big enough.

Timidity is no longer an option. Scotland needs to shake itself up, to shed its caution and start to face up to what is ahead. And if we do face up to it then it will take very little time to realise that, well, we're just not powerful enough to do all of what needs done. Yes, we could have done more to use the powers of devolution – but even if we now exhaust them to the greatest possible extent, it will not be enough. The challenges are just too big.

So should we leave it to London? Well, the UK Government has already made clear that what is ahead may not be called 'austerity', but in many ways it looks very much like it. And this time the crises are just so much bigger. To say, 'Keep our heads down and let Boris Johnson lead us forward', will make as much sense to many as to say, 'Thank goodness it was Margaret Thatcher who led Scotland forward through the deindustrialisation of the 1980s'. If madness is doing the same thing again and expecting a different result, then surely 'leave it to London' is madness.

Does this mean there is an excuse not to be more courageous in how we use the powers of the Scottish Parliament? No, it does not. We must be more courageous. But does that mean we should just get on and make do? No, it does not. So is this a choice, an either/or? Of course not. Scotland is perfectly capable of both getting on with what it can do, and fighting to change what it can't do, all at the same time.

That is what ALBA is about. We're a new political party which thinks Holyrood has become just a bit too cosy; a bit too comfortable. We want to shake it up; to rattle a few cages. We want to push for bolder, more courageous policy-making at Holyrood.

But above all we want to ensure that by standing in this devolved Scottish Election we make it the last one ever. That the next time voters in Scotland go to the polls to elect people to come to Holyrood and serve our nation, they do so in an independent country. And we want to make sure that the warm words and good intentions of the Scottish National Party and the Scottish Greens, both parties we respect and admire, do not slowly turn into the sound of cans being kicked further down the road.

**Scotland needs a bit of gallus for what comes next. ALBA is here to bring that confidence.**



# DELIVERING INDEPENDENCE FOR SCOTLAND





# Delivering Independence

*Economic recovery. The Climate Crisis. Scotland's shameful poverty. Building 21st century infrastructure. The welfare state Scots deserve. The health service they need. Lively cities, vibrant towns, a flourishing countryside. A better democracy. A future for our young. Work people can be proud of. And, at the heart of it all, a warm, comfortable home for everyone – that they can afford.*

*This is what matters most. And this is why Scotland needs independence with urgency.*

*Yes, the Scottish Parliament could have done more with the powers it has and yes, it still can. Alba will do everything in its power to shake up the cosy politics of Holyrood to get it using those powers.*



*But It won't be enough.*

**No economic recovery without economic power**

**No Green New Deal without financial power**

**No end to poverty without welfare powers**

**No investment without taxation powers**

*Independence isn't a distraction from recovery. 'Leave it to London' is a crazy strategy. Scotland needs change, change needs power, to get power we need to step up now.*

*Alba will be the independence movement's voice in Parliament to make sure that no more cans are kicked down the road.*

*We will work with all political parties showing the urgency that is necessary but we will exert intense pressure on any which do not.*





**Immediately the new Scottish Government is formed it should begin to negotiate with Westminster on both the delivery of a referendum and the terms of independence.**

*ALBA will lay a motion in Parliament to deliver this instruction. Our belief is that challenged not by a single political party but by a supermajority of independent supporting MSPs, will fundamentally alter the power balance between Scotland and Westminster. Framing this debate, not as party against party, First Minister against Prime Minister, but as Tory Prime Minister against Scotland's Parliament representing Scotland's people, are the circumstances most likely to force concessions from Westminster.*

**The Scottish negotiating position should include, but not be restricted to, a formal demand for a Section 30 Order.**

*Immediately the new Scottish Government is formed it must set up a National Commission for Scotland's Independence to build a robust and fully-formed plan for how an independent Scotland will be built – and to make sure the independence movement is equipped with strong, convincing arguments to each and every question it will be asked.*

**The Commission will report to a special committee of the Scottish Parliament and to a standing convention of all Scottish parliamentarians meeting, when Covid allows, in the Royal High School chamber.**

*If a Section 30 Order is refused, then the Scottish Government must pass a Referendum Bill with urgency and be ready to fight it through the Courts if need be. A range of other tactics should be employed including diplomatic pressure and international legal action, and the mobilisation of the Scottish people through popular and peaceful demonstration and direct action.*

**Throughout, the Scottish Government should work with a wide canvass of partners to constantly increase the pressure on London to concede that the Scottish people are sovereign, those people have elected a government to deliver, and it is not for London to overrule them.**



# A NEW SCOTLAND





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# THE SCOTLAND WE SEEK

*ALBA does not believe an independent Scotland should be a country just for independence supporters. It is not a country for political parties, or for the wealthy and connected, or for big business, or for the central belt or cities. An independent Scotland is for everyone who chooses this beautiful country for their home – with no exceptions. That simple philosophy is at the heart of the country we want to build.*

**Its constitution must make its people powerful.**

**Its national democracy must serve all political views.**

**Its local democracy must serve all communities, everywhere.**

**Its currency must serve its economy.**

**Its relationship with Europe must be positive and reciprocal.**

**Its contribution to the world must make us proud of who we are.**

*To make this happen we need to prepare. Shaping an independent Scotland into this kind of nation does not start after the day of our independence, nor the day after a referendum – but on the day after this election.*



## We believe that means:

**The National Commission for Scotland will be given the remit of designing Scotland's institutions so that they are ready and fit for purpose for the first government of an independent Scotland (whomever that should be) and every subsequent government after that (whomever those should be). That includes everything from its civil service and its judicial system, to its coastguard and overseas embassies.**

*As well as preparing a full plan for building a new Scotland, The National Commission for Scotland's Independence will also be asked to look for tasks which can be started immediately, so as much of the work of building a new Scotland can be prepared, and even completed, as quickly as possible.*

**The Scottish negotiating position should include, but not be restricted to, a formal demand for a Section 30 Order.**

*We need to get Scotland's independence framework ready for when a referendum is won, with Scotland seeking a fresh start, with Scotland and the rest of the UK keeping the assets which are territorially based, and the rest of the UK keeping everything else – including all non territorial assets and liabilities.*

**That includes beginning preparations for a Scottish Central Bank and a new currency for Scotland so that they can be in place as soon as is possible when Scotland becomes independent. This will involve running a dual currency over a period, with Sterling as an internationally tradable currency still an accepted denomination for all private sector assets and liabilities.**

*In 2014 Scotland would have started negotiations on the independence settlement from within not just the European Union, but the single market and customs union.*

**In 2021 the context is totally different. European access will have to be negotiated from outside. Scotland could reasonably expect to go through an accelerated process of accession, but this would still be a matter of years not months. Nor would negotiations be easy, with Scotland, unless taking action to find a secure starting position, being forced to negotiate from a position of weakness, not strength.**



*There can be no ambiguity. The sovereignty of the people means the people are superior to the Parliament, the Executive and all other public and private organisations.*

***A singular advantage of a written constitution which starts with “the people are sovereign,” is that it empowers any citizen or group of citizens to challenge parliamentary, government, other public or private body’s action, if any measure they take infringes the rights of the people as set out in the constitution. The United States is a classic example. The Constitution is above all parts of the government. The citizen above the government. That is what Scotland should aim for.***

*In addition, as an interim proposal at least, it may be beneficial to stay within a customs union of the UK nations and certainly within the common travel area across the British Isles, first established in 1923 with the foundation of the Irish Free State. In due course, the Scottish people could then take a judgement on the best established position for Scotland as a European nation, having secured the tradable economic base of the country.*

***At first hand it appears a dry subject, not one calculated to get the adrenalin pumping, yet it will be the most important document published in Scotland since the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320.***

*It is a signal of just how serious ALBA is about achieving independence, not as an extension of the status quo under the Saltire rather than the Union flag, but as a transformation of our nation to a different, better, more just Scotland. A new Scotland.*

***What has set ALBA apart is that it is serious about independence. It has a strategy to gain independence, has developed a new economic policy on which the post Covid recovery will be anchored, and that it is thinking of what will need to be done when independence is gained.***

**ALBA's policy is that the Scottish Parliament should refer the setting out of the principles and framework of a written constitution to a Citizens' Assembly. This should build on the work of the Scottish Sovereign Research Group and appoint a full range of expert advisors. These principles and framework should be ready for study, development and decision in a final draft by a Constitutional Convention, formed in the first three months of independence.**

*The Citizens' Assembly will not face a simple task, even aided by the work of its advisors. If a written constitution is to endure over the generations, and not become the plaything of future politicians who will not like its restraints, it must be anchored in principles, values and wisdom.*

**The Citizens' Assembly getting to grips with the contentious issues, and clearing the way to getting the fundamental principles right, will be of great value when a Constitutional Convention comes to do the final work**

*When the people are free, we must fashion the instruments with which we are to govern ourselves: a constitution setting limits to the power of the parliament in relation to the citizen's rights; the division of powers; the extent of those powers between the parliament and the executive; the franchise; the electoral system; freedom of speech; religious freedom; a free media; independence of the judiciary; how judges are appointed; the relationship between government, police and people, and the principles and values that self-describe the nation we want the international community to see.*

**When sovereignty is won, the most important post-independent action will be the engagement of the people in framing the fundamental law, the supreme law, in the written constitution, by which this nation will govern itself.**



# Tax & Investment

*ALBA recognises that it is impossible to build the kind of Scotland we aspire to without investing in it. We cannot have Scandinavian-quality services with low rates of tax. But ALBA also recognises that Scotland's tax powers are woefully limited, almost designed so they are difficult to use meaningfully. The money which would be raised by tinkering with the available income tax powers is just nothing like enough for the tasks ahead. In an independent Scotland we can reform our entire tax system; in devolved Scotland we're too easily stuck in virtue-signalling.*

*So ALBA will stick to pushing for what makes a difference, not what makes us look good. Tax powers may be limited but in the world right now there is no shortage of available capital investment where it can deliver reasonable rates of return. This manifesto is full of investment opportunities which deliver sufficient returns – from building new houses to a new generation of care homes that are both better and more cost-effective, from components for renewable energy to timber products for construction, from Scottish food for free school meals to supporting small Scottish businesses. To unlock this, we need Scotland's new National Investment Bank to be given the ability to capitalise from global markets, so we must demand this power from Westminster to finance a recovery from COVID-19 of a scale required to meet the scale of the post pandemic economic shock.*

**The investment bank will work with the Scottish Futures Trust and a Scottish National Renewable Corporation (SNRC) to raise the capital required for investment projects to recover and transform Scotland's economic performance.**

**That will be at the heart of ALBA's recovery plan.**

*The SNRC will be capitalised using dividend gains from public investments in Scotland's renewable energy industry to accumulate into a generational, sovereign wealth fund along the lines of the Government Pension Fund of Norway. This will allow the Scottish people to benefit from the enormity of our natural resources (onshore and offshore) while providing the collateral required to borrow cheaply and invest wisely.*

*The Norwegian Pension Fund drawn from the country's last 25 years of hydrocarbon revenues now has an ownership stake in more than 9,000 companies worldwide, including Apple, Nestlé, Microsoft and Samsung. On average, the fund holds 1.4% of all of the world's listed companies.*

*Scottish renewables onshore and offshore are now in the position of oil and gas circa 1970, with major opportunities ahead but requiring the political imperative to secure these resource benefits for the nation. To that end, ALBA also proposes the setting up of a Scottish National Renewable Corporation.*

**The SNRC would receive a public shareholding in all licensed energy projects of 30 MW. The SNRC would then accrue revenues that are covenanted to underpin the new investment funds.**

*ALBA proposes a further measure of resource taxation to benefit the people; Scotland's land is a wonderful and under-used productive asset which is entirely untaxed. This should change. Scotland should introduce a land value and use tax which taxes that land to raise revenue from those who can afford it, and to incentivise the productive use of our land. This is a tax aimed at ending the scandal of wasted hoarded land assets being "banked" instead of released into productive opportunities.*

**Ambition-signalling, not virtue-signalling.**

**No transformation without investment.**

**Bring the world's capital investment to Scotland – the right way and let Scotland's land assets be released into productive use and development.**

**So ALBA will propose:**



- The Scottish National Investment Bank to be given dispensation to capitalise from international capital investors and pension funds.**
- The introduction of a development land tax in Scotland, with carefully-calibrated exemptions to protect Scotland's farming community but aimed at bringing assets, currently hoarded, into productive use.**





# Economic Recovery

*Scotland's economic policy has become stale, conventional, complacent, the same-old-same-old. It wasn't really fit for purpose before the pandemic and it certainly isn't now. We need to shake up business support, our public interventions and our preparations for the future if we're going to recover from the economic crisis ahead. But we can recover – if we show real courage.*

**It starts by recognising that bigger wasn't always better – the economy may have grown in recent decades but so did inequality, poverty and the climate crisis. But better can be bigger – we can grow in a way that puts money in people's pockets and fixes our environment.**

*We need to support Scottish businesses by putting their interests first and not those of multinational corporations. 'Community Wealth Building' – making sure that economies retain more of their own spending to support their own business base – has been shown to be very effective. Capturing more of Scotland's economic activity for the benefit of Scotland, and not foreign investors, means owning more of our own economy and bringing more supply chains home – not least in renewable energy, housing and food. We must use a Green New Deal to kickstart building up those supply chains and Good Food Nation strategy to boost our food production businesses.*

*In everything the Scottish Government does, every time it spends, it should ask itself, 'Can we get more money into Scottish businesses and can we do things to make them better?'. Because it is not foreign big businesses which will help Scotland truly recover, but our own domestic business base – and we can help to make them better businesses at the same time. Scotland must use 'smart procurement', supporting growing businesses in the long term by spending strategically. There is no shame in Scotland owning our own economy.*

*But we're in an economic crisis and it needs an intervention now – tweaking things and hoping the future will be better is not enough. We need economic activity to expand quickly and we need to create jobs.*

*There is no better way to do that than to build new houses and restore existing ones – and not by fiddling around with planning permission so big business can knock out another luxury development. We can create a publicly-owned housing company to build top-quality public rental houses out of Scottish timber, which give jobs and training to young people, rapidly growing a domestic supply chain of timber products, and of course providing great homes for people. If we do it right we can build as many houses as there are people who require quality houses, at affordable rents.*

*But we also need to prepare for the future because a lot is going to change. Scotland will need new skills, new businesses, new infrastructure, a new vision for what is possible. So we need to prepare by investing in training, innovation, research and development. And we need investment to be the right kind of patient, supportive, long-term investment that grows quality.*

**Put all of this together with the tax and investment policies above and this is the industrial policy Scotland needs to recover from COVID-19.**

*What is on this list won't be enough – no list will be enough. Healing our economy, fighting climate crisis, renewing our public infrastructure, reducing the injustice of economic inequality and ending the horrors of poverty – they are inseparable, and they are the challenge of our era, of our generation. Scotland does not have the power it needs to really get torn into these challenges. But until we do, we must use the power we have to get started.*

**Start shaking up Scotland's stale old economic strategy.**

**Start putting Scotland's businesses first.**

**Start building an economic future for the young.**

**Start making inequality unacceptable when we grow.**

**Start saving our environment with every job we create.**

**Stop accepting any economy we're offered.**

**Start building the economy we really need.**

## *ALBA will:*

**Push for a new approach to economic development which measures not just how the economy grows, but how the economy impacts on Scotland's people.**

*Create an industrial strategy to rebuild Scotland's domestic business base by letting the Scottish National Investment bank access the plentiful capital available globally.*

*Reform public procurement to get more public money into the bank accounts of domestic businesses and use 'smart procurement' to guarantee long-term order books which let them grow.*

*Help Scottish businesses grow with the patient capital support of the Scottish National Investment Bank, helping and supporting them to be better businesses which are more ready to grasp the opportunities of this economic programme.*

*Make it a priority to capture more of the supply chains which Scotland's economy needs by using Community Wealth Building and turn those into good jobs.*

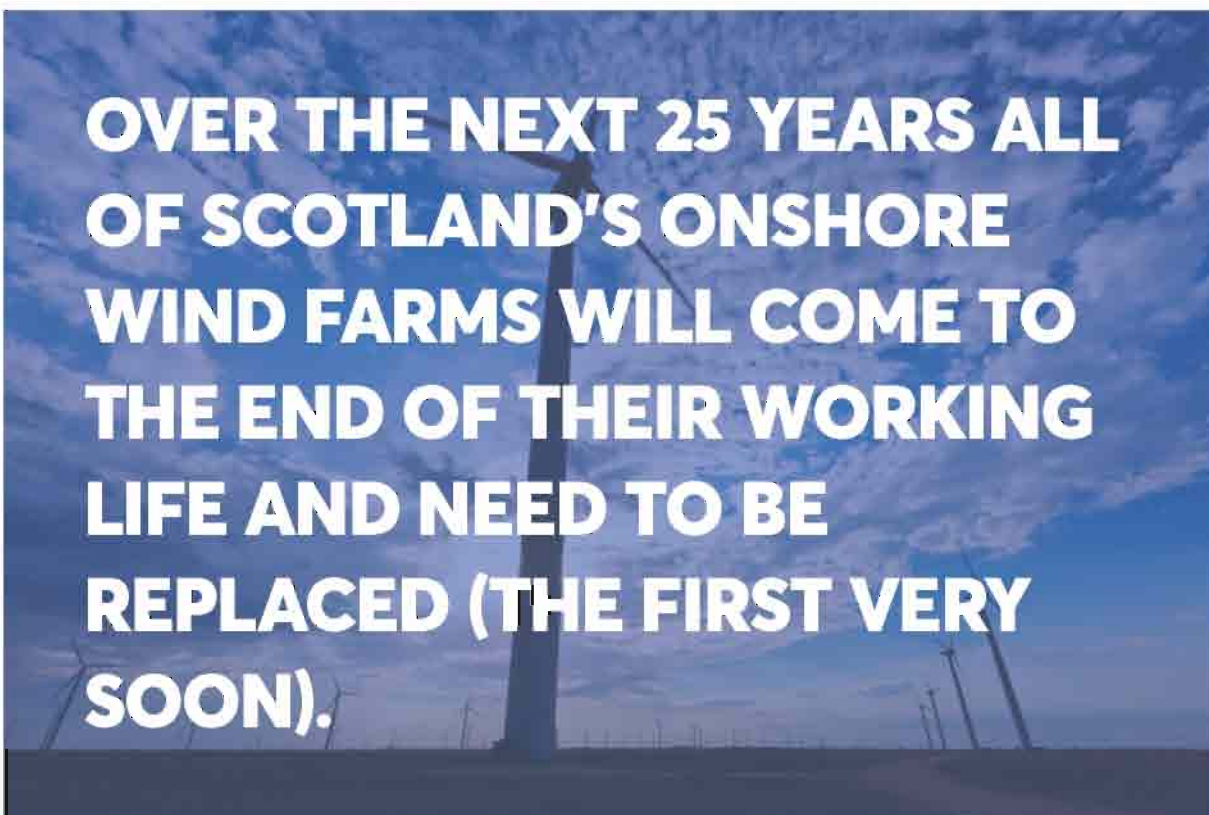
***Set up a Scottish National Housing Company to build as many top-quality houses as possible, as quickly as possible, to the highest environmental standards.***

*Do everything to buy land at the best possible price and borrow from the Scottish National Investment Bank over the long term so the houses can be made available for the lowest possible rent.*

*Build a major retraining programme into the heart of the Housing Company to train people in Scotland to fill the gaps in the construction workforce, and build the houses out of Scottish timber, so not only do we capture the economic value and stimulate a larger Scottish wood construction products industry but we also lock up atmospheric carbon when we build.*

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*As we build a new generation of really first-rate care homes, (see below) use that building programme to further boost the supply chain industries.*



*The Scottish National Renewables Corporation will make sure that this time a far greater proportion of those major wind farms will embrace public and community ownership and that many more of the components from which they're built are made in Scotland, while supporting Scottish businesses to scale up to meet that demand.*

**Ensure the National Investment Bank invests in Scottish food businesses to supply the food, as we introduce all-year-round free school breakfasts and meals for all early years, primary and secondary school pupils (see below).**

**Set up a Training and Employment Grants Scheme to support businesses to improve and modernise the skills of their workforce and start a massive skills retraining programme for younger people and those not in work. That skills programme must be about the skills of tomorrow to prepare Scotland for the automation and artificial intelligence revolutions which are ahead.**

*Start a Scottish Research and Development Fund to act as an incubator of the industries of tomorrow and to help existing businesses diversify and take up the challenges of the economy ahead of us. This also needs the implementation of the Logan review into stimulating IT skills in Scotland.*

**Promote much greater development of cooperative businesses in Scotland which help to create a more innovative and balanced economy.**

**Make better use of our national assets such as our land (through planning and land reform linked to a land tax), our ports and our seabed (by turning the Crown Estate into a People's Estate as soon as possible).**

*Make better use of our ports by setting up a National Maritime Administration to explore ideas like Forth and Clyde gateway ferry ports and a global container transshipment hub, and to modernise and expand domestic ferry services and shipbuilding. The current split between the publicly owned Caledonian MacBraynes and its procurement agency CMAL has failed island communities and the latter should be abolished. Ferries should be refurbished and built to consistent designs on long term procurement contracts.*

*Create a fund to transition Scotland's taxi fleet to environmentally friendly vehicles – but ensure the industry's survival by bringing the level of grant provided to taxi drivers to at least the level of Northern Ireland.*

*Has any word been uttered at Holyrood more often than 'jobs'? And yet has the picture really got all that much better? Certainly employment policy is reserved to Westminster and so is most of the power over the economy, but in the last 20 years work has become more insecure and fewer people wake up in the morning proud to go to a job they care about. And for so much of that time wages have stagnated, despite the economy growing (and house prices growing a lot faster).*

**Far too often '500 new jobs' meant 500 insecure jobs barely paying the living wage. And it is far too rare for a Scottish worker to have any real say or stake in the company for which they work.**

*And for those without work the picture is even worse. Lacking the powers over social security, Scotland has been left at the mercy of Westminster which, over the last decade, has shown real brutality towards the most economically vulnerable in society. In or out of work, housing is at the heart of Scotland's welfare and scrambling to pay for a draughty house because that is the only option, should become a thing of the past. So is food – no-one in Scotland should go hungry.*

*We're always hearing that 'Our people are our greatest resource', but is it a resource we're investing in? Are we doing everything we can to ensure their prosperity and to maximise their welfare? The statistics on wages, inequality and poverty suggests we are not.*

**The best welfare is a good job you're proud to do.**

**Everyone deserves a wage on which they can live well.**

**To build a life you need a decent home to build it in.**

**No-one should be without enough cash in their pocket to live in dignity.**

**So, powers or not, ALBA believes Scotland can and must do better.**



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# WORK, WAGES AND WELFARE

*ALBA's economic recovery package is about replacing the old, poorly paid jobs we're losing in the Covid crisis with new, well-paid productive jobs, and this is the first step towards crushing inequality.*

*Wherever we can use public policy to encourage employers to introduce more industrial democracy we should. Giving workers a say in how a company is run helps to improve the productivity of the company, increase wages and give employees a greater feeling of respect.*

*Greater support for cooperatives create more businesses in which workers have a stake.*

*Our housing package will give everyone the option of a top-quality home at a rent they can afford. Our hope is that people will again choose quality rental options and not see them as second-best.*

*For those who need extra help we should double Education Maintenance Allowance and take away its stringent conditions, to help reduce the poverty related attainment gap and make life easier to live.*

*Introduce a £500 Annual payment to every low income household in Scotland to tackle deprivation and, in particular, to help them with big costs that are otherwise unaffordable on low pay or benefits.*



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*Introduce a fuel poverty package with regular monitoring of an indicator of fuel poverty, a major programme to reinsulate houses to keep bills low, a review of the Energy Company Obligation to include more households, incentivise and if necessary punish landlords to make them improve energy efficiency and the establishment of a Scottish Fuel Poverty Fund to help out those in acute need.*

*Support a Good Food Nation Bill to introduce a legal 'right to food' in Scotland to make tackling food poverty a legally-enforceable requirement for public agencies.*

*Provide free school breakfasts and lunches for all early years, primary and secondary school pupils, to make sure that no child starts the day hungry and every child gets at least two good meals a day.*

*Recognise that women suffer most from poverty and that the above package of measures will benefit women most in tackling poverty.*





# WOMEN AND EQUALITIES

**The ALBA Women's Conference adopted the following declaration which is of such importance as to be included in full in this manifesto.**

*The ALBA party recognises that by dint of birth and happenstance, we are not all created nor do we live our lives as equals. Scotland's history involves multiple injustices where chance or privilege have dictated outcomes, and today, poverty continues to be the biggest driver of inequality and a blight on our society. These days should by now be past. Surely this modern world and an independent Scotland can cater for all without loss to any.*

*The Scotland ALBA strives to create envisions a level playing field where we can become truly equal to each other and where everyone's rights are respected and protected, but, vitally, not at the cost of others.*

*ALBA undertakes to protect and preserve women's rights, not at any expense to others, but as a safeguard for women and girls.*

*ALBA believes women have the right to discuss all policies which affect them, without being abused and silenced.*

*ALBA believes women have the right to maintain their sex based protections as set out in the Equality Act 2010. These include female only spaces such as changing rooms, hospital wards, sanitary and sleeping accommodation, refuges, hostels and prisons.*

*ALBA believes women have the right to refuse consent to males in single sex spaces or males delivering intimate services to females such as washing, dressing and counselling.*

*ALBA believes women have the right to single sex sports to ensure fairness and safety at all levels of competition.*

*ALBA believes women have the right to organise themselves according to their sex class across a range of cultural, leisure, educational and political activities.*

*ALBA acknowledges and promotes all of the protected characteristics of the Equality Act 2010 which are age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage or civil partnership, pregnancy or maternity, race, religion or belief, sexual orientation and sex.*

*Crucially, ALBA understands the controversy and pain which have characterised Scotland's recent attempts at reform; there has been much heat and at times little light.*

*ALBA invites and will endorse a Citizens' Assembly on how best to reform the Gender Recognition process in a respectful, sensitive and positive fashion.*

*ALBA acknowledges that no single protected characteristic is more virtuous or more worthy of recognition and safeguarding than another. They are all fundamentally important, each on their own, and as a collective.*

**We're all equal in ALBA**



**THE TIME FOR  
TARGETS IS  
LONG PAST;  
THE TIME FOR  
ACTION IS UPON  
US**





# Climate Crisis

**The immediate COVID-19 crisis must in no way distract us from the even bigger environmental crises that we face. Indeed, the origins of the pandemic lie in the imbalance of humanity's interaction and degradation of the animal kingdom.**

We know that it is a matter of human survival that we get this right and we know what it is we need to do. We need to stop our houses leaking heat. We need to replace fossil fuels in our energy system, including how we heat our homes. We need to stop wasting our natural resources. We need to look after our land better so soil recovers and stores carbon. We need to change our entire transport system so it isn't based on petrol products. And the use of single-use plastic must come to an end in Scotland.

This is the challenge, and it is a very big one – but it is also a great opportunity. Because we need to invest seriously in this it means we can get a very significant economic stimulus from the spending. If we do it right, we can create entirely new environmentally-friendly manufacturing industries in Scotland and it will certainly need a lot of skilled jobs to get the work done. Mitigating the climate emergency is a duty; using that to mitigate social and economic failures is a responsibility we must take just as seriously. Together, these are known as a Green New Deal.

So rich in natural and energy resources are we that few nations have more potential to set a lead in getting this all done than Scotland. Setting that lead is a duty that must sit heavily on our shoulders. But Scotland does not have

nearly enough power to achieve all of this under devolution – to take the climate crisis seriously means to take independence seriously.

A nation rich in natural and energy resources must lead, not follow. The future of our environment rests on the power we have to save it. A Green New Deal can transform our future and our lives.

The time for targets is long past; the time for action is upon us.

## **ALBA will advocate:**

**That the proposed Scottish National Renewable Corporation be given the task of creating a comprehensive plan for decarbonising our energy, including our heating and transport.**

That the proposed Scottish National Housing Company be given the task of creating a detailed plan for insulating every house in Scotland to the highest standard, publicly-funded and using Scottish-sourced renewable construction products.

**A massive improvement in Scotland's Circular Economy plan to make sure we no longer waste our precious natural resources – including investment in 'tool libraries' and deposit and reuse initiatives.**

**Commissioning of a roadmap on how Scotland will electrify its transport system to make sure that ambitious targets for ending the use of petrol vehicles are not missed.**

Establishment of a National Land Agency to create a roadmap for better land use management in Scotland, including reforestation, rewilding and helping communities make better use of their surrounding land.

**Tying this all together into a coherent plan which maximises social and economic benefit by creating a Green New Deal Unit in the Scottish Government.**

And support the transition away from fossil fuels by introducing a Wellhead Production Tax on Scotland's offshore oil industry as soon as it is possible. This will replace corporation tax as the basic means of offshore taxation, and the revenues generated will be used to finance the move to carbon capture projects, the hydrogen economy and the further transition to offshore and marine renewables.



# Health and Care

*Right now it is difficult to think about health and care in Scotland without the issue of the pandemic dominating. But we are going to have to pull off a really essential juggling act – we cannot take our eye of the ball with COVID-19, but we also need to catch up on all the other health issues which have been relegated in the last year, and at the same time we need to stop kicking the issue of systematic approach to public health into the long grass.*

*We must keep doing everything we can to bring the COVID-19 crisis to some kind of a manageable end as more and more information becomes available, but we also need to make sure that we understand what Holyrood did well, and what it did badly, so lessons are truly learned before it is too late. This means we need a powerful and independent review into Scotland's COVID-19 performance which does not hide behind a 'four nations' strategy. But while there was no option but to devote enormous resources to Covid, too many people with other urgent health needs have been kept waiting, so we need to catch up. And it must also be the moment when we finally understand that our NHS is about our frontline staff and the enormity of the pressures they have faced.*

*The provision of NHS dentistry was a real success of the first two terms of the SNP government. However the reality is during the pandemic, people were driven back to private provision. The key issue in NHS provision is availability of NHS provision, and until that is tackled, making it free at the point of need in the future is welcome but will not practically solve the current and immediate lack of available NHS facilities.*

*Everyone knows that the best approach to health is prevention – and yet there seems always to be a reason not quite to get round to prioritising it. And so still it is health inequality that drives so much of the cost to the NHS and Scotland as a whole, with the economic cost of people facing adverse childhood experiences being £4 billion or more. If we want to tackle health we need to tackle poverty, inequality, housing, employment, food, grassroots sport and so much more.*

*And it's not just about health, but about care. From before we're born until our last days, all of us will need support and care at some point. The better we deliver care the fewer problems Scotland faces. When you get it wrong, it looks like the terrible COVID-19 death toll in Scotland's care homes. When you get it right, it means helping people to flourish and live good lives.*



**Scotland must never forget what the pandemic taught us about what matters to us. We must care more about the people who care for us.**

**Health is born in a warm home with a full belly.**

**From the cradle to the grave, Scotland must be there for you.**

## *ALBA Advocates:*

*No let up in the fight against Covid, informed by a powerful independent inquiry to find out what Scotland must learn from its successes and mistakes.*

*To bring forward and invest in a 'catch-up' programme for all the NHS activity which was cancelled because of Covid.*

*A mental health recovery plan, recognising the impact of the pandemic on the mental wellbeing of the nation.*

*To streamline management structures in the NHS and create greater frontline staff involvement in management.*



## **To improve pay and conditions for frontline staff and not let it fall behind again.**

*To take a public health approach much more seriously so we increase our focus on prevention as well as cure.*

*To get serious about poverty and inequality and make health and anti-poverty*

**To go beyond the current proposals for a National Care Service to make it free at the point of need and owned by the public, and set up a proper review to explore a comprehensive all-ages care service.**

**The building of a new generation of world-class modern care homes which are much better for residents and less expensive to run.**

*Scotland does not have the powers to properly recognise the unpaid care work that is predominantly done by women and so this should be made a priority for Scotland when it achieves independence.*



**POVERTY IS THE  
ENEMY OF  
EDUCATION.**







# Education and Training

**Scotland's education system is not in as much difficulty as some would have you believe – but that does not mean it is what it should be. Scotland produced what was genuinely a powerful and forward-looking model in Curriculum for Excellence, and then messed it up by weighing it down with paperwork.**

*A big part of Curriculum for Excellence was about trusting Scotland's teachers as professionals who would drive our education system, but in reality they are too often treated as employees who need to be managed and monitored. We must set teachers free to teach, and to do that we must trust them and reward them fairly. Highly motivated teachers are the best resource in our schools.*

**Things have moved on in the years since Curriculum for Excellence was established and we need to learn from the experiences since, introducing new ideas where they make sense and fixing problems and inequalities where we find them. This is even more important after the disruption the pandemic has caused the education of Scotland's children. And, of course, training as well as education is going to be crucial in the post-COVID-19 era.**

*As with health, at every stage in our life, our performance is shaped by the conditions in which we were born and brought up, with poverty at the root of economic, health and educational attainment.*

**We will never have the education system we deserve without making poverty reduction a priority. Poverty is the enemy of education.**

**Scotland's future lies in the skills and knowledge of its people.**



## *ALBA advocates:*

***A package of measures to help pupils and teachers recover from the disruption of the pandemic, with extra Support for Learning, and Behaviour Support, teacher hours for every school, and extra mental health support available where needed. To achieve this, we can make use of our well qualified graduates whose skills are needed in the post pandemic recovery period.***

*Policy which trusts teachers by creating a 'bonfire of paperwork' so teachers can teach and not be worn down with bureaucracy.*

***A national mission to get Scottish education back up the international league table as a priority – by learning from the nations which are now ahead of us and implementing the lessons here. This means a review of what Scotland must learn from other nations and a commitment to change how things are done if the evidence suggests it, including with Curriculum for Excellence.***

*Making sure Scottish education is again about breadth of education and not just exam pass rates, reversing the narrowing of the curriculum choices in Scotland's schools.*

***Taking IT literacy much more seriously by implementing the findings of the Logan Review.***

*Looking at the evidence for a later school starting age with extended kindergarten phase based on play, exploration and relationship-building.*

***Returning to a system of detailed surveys of schools to be better able to understand what is, and is not, working.***

*Recognising the issues of poverty in schools by ensuring that the pledge on providing laptops and tablets is delivered, and providing free breakfasts and lunches for children all year round, with the focus on healthy Scottish produce.*

***As they are at the heart of all of this, undertaking a teacher's pay and conditions review.***



*Restoring Scotland's historic belief in vocational education by implementing the extensive package of measures for training, development and apprenticeships outlined above.*

***Supporting lecturers in colleges and safeguarding the role of the lecturer. Students deserve fully qualified lecturing staff, to get the most from their further education experience.***

*Policy which trusts teachers by creating a 'bonfire of paperwork' so teachers can teach and not be worn down with bureaucracy.*

***The rocks will melt with the sun before ALBA will allow tuition fees to be reimposed on Scotland's students, but access depends on support, hence ALBA proposals on educational maintenance.***

*ALBA also supports a rapid transformational expansion of the proposal from the Scottish Investment Bank to offer capital support for companies emerging from universities and colleges.*

***Scotland's prosperity depends on harnessing the continuing inventiveness of the people and turning this into business opportunities, jobs and prosperity based in Scotland.***



# SCOTLAND'S DEMOCRACY

*Across the world there is increasing worry that people are losing faith in democracy – so let's not have that happen in Scotland, by reforming and enhancing our democracy right now.*

*Scotland is too centralised and Holyrood has been too orientated around the control of political parties. And as with the experience of the two Citizens' Assemblies which have been held so far, every time citizens are allowed to become more involved in policy-making, they do a visionary job of it and drive ideas further forward than has happened in the parliament. In fact, it is the report of one of those Citizens' Assemblies which forms the core of ALBA's proposals for democracy.*

*Democracy is too important to let it grow stale.*

*Scotland's parties are too powerful, its parliament not powerful enough.*

*It is time to give real power back to Scotland's communities.*

*Trust citizens to drive Scotland forward.*

**ALBA will advocate:**

*Reform of Holyrood, including taking the appointment of the Conveners of Committees out of the hands of political parties and putting it in the hands of parliament.*

*Bringing real power back to Scotland's communities by building a proper system of local democracy.*

*Implementing the radical proposal from the first Citizens' Assembly and create a second Citizens' Chamber for Holyrood which could sit in the Royal High School on Calton Hill.*

*The best means of election or selection can be discussed but the intent is clear.*

*It would be like a permanent Citizens' Assembly, 100 people given the powers to review the legislation produced by Holyrood, produce its own ideas and hold inquiries into anything it likes.*

**Follow the lead of the success of the Citizens' Assemblies and find more ways to involve citizens directly in decision-making with initiatives like Citizens' Juries and Participatory Budgeting.**



# ARTS AND CULTURE

*In the rush to recover economically from Scotland's pandemic, it is essential that we do not forget the crucial importance to our national wellbeing and self confidence that is our art and culture. Few sectors have suffered more over the last year and yet few sectors gave us more reason to look forward to our crisis coming to an end. Our recovery must include an arts recovery.*



*Arts education is in decline in schools as performance indicators for core outcomes define everything. We risk forgetting the importance of creativity, play, exploration and self-expression in schools where children experiment with art, dance, music, drama and storytelling. As we review our education as proposed above, put this ethos at the heart. Creative Scotland is little loved by arts practitioners and was designed by bureaucrats and is past its sell-by-date. We need a national agency that doesn't only 'measure' artists but which elevates them. Commercial sponsorship strangles the creativity of the arts sector so the national agency should work to reduce the reliance on commercial sponsorship in Scotland's arts. It should also look at the Norwegian model of filmmaking to learn how Scotland can develop a thriving film industry like Norway has. And we should make sure that, as this 'arts recovery' takes place, it is never 'for some people and not others', by creating a National Festival of Scotland to make arts easy and accessible for all.*

**To create the future we must all be creatives.**

**If we lift up our artists they will lift us up in return.**

**Let the world see what modern Scotland is – on its cinema screens.**



**WE NEED A  
NATIONAL AGENCY  
THAT DOESN'T  
ONLY 'MEASURE'  
ARTISTS BUT  
WHICH ELEVATES  
THEM.**





## ***ALBA Advocates:***

***Including the specific remit to build a creative, adventurous arts education into the proposed review of education.***

***Abolishing Creative Scotland and replacing it with an Academy of Arts which doesn't only distribute funds but which is there to support and raise-up arts practitioners.***

***Examining the Norwegian film model and developing a version for Scotland.***



# ALBA'S CHARTER FOR PENSIONS AND PENSIONERS

***Pensions are not a privilege. They are a sacred contract between the current generation and those of earlier generations who worked and sacrificed to create society as we know it.***

*The wealth we enjoy, the culture we value, the physical and natural environment we take for granted – all these were created by those who went before us. It is the duty of society, and the state, to ensure that our older people are taken care of to the best of our ability.*

***To this end, the ALBA Party pledges to make Scotland the best place to live in for our older people. This includes raising the state pension entitlement to at least the equivalent of Western European standards.***

*To fulfil this pledge, we will need all the economic, health and legal powers bequeathed by national independence. We also recognise that to implement such a target will take time. But ALBA is determined to set this goal as a matter of respect for Scotland's older people, who have made the Scotland we live in.*

*Comparing state pension remuneration between countries is difficult because of the different pension systems in place and fluctuating exchange rates. Perhaps the fairest comparison is to look at the share of national GDP allocated to pensions. In 2015, the equivalent of 5.2% of UK GDP went into public spending on pensions, compared to 7.7% in Spain, 7.9% in Germany and 12.1% in France (source: OECD). This is clear evidence that the UK is short-changing its pensioners.*

*While Scotland remains trapped inside the UK, ALBA's elected members will fight to improve the pensions, living conditions and care of our older people. ALBA MPs at Westminster will oppose any plans to increase the State Pension Age beyond 66. We will campaign for the rights of WASPI women.*

## ***ALBA will be the champion of Scottish pensioners***



# ALBA'S CHARTER FOR PENSIONS AND PENSIONERS

***Pensions remain fully reserved to Westminster. Even with the limited social security powers devolved to Scotland, the Scottish Parliament does not have the power to create new pension benefits. This is explicitly set out in the Scotland Act 2016.***

*ALBA will campaign for Holyrood to have immediate control over pensions. In the interim, ALBA will put pressure on the Scottish Government to contest Westminster rules limiting the ability of Holyrood to use its top-up powers to aid Scottish pensioners.*

***As a first step to creating a unique Scottish pension system, ALBA calls on the Scottish Government to initiate a Scottish Pensions Commission, chaired by a respected financial practitioner and including representatives of pensioners' organisations, the STUC, the Scottish***

***Public Pensions Agency, the ICA of Scotland, the Institute and Faculty of Actuaries, and leading economists. The Scottish Pensions Commission should review the current operation of state and professional pensions, and report back in stages on a tailored scheme for Scotland.***

*Initiating such a Scottish Pensions Commission now, will underpin the urgency of the campaign for independence and show that a break with the UK status quo – including a break with its sub-standard state pension arrangements – is possible within the near future.*

## ***ALBA demands that power over pensions must be devolved to Holyrood***



# ALBA'S CHARTER FOR PENSIONS AND PENSIONERS

**ALBA pledges to be the best defender of women's rights in Scotland.**

*While we agree with equalising the state pension age, ALBA does not support the unfair manner in which these changes were made by the Conservative-Lib Dem Coalition Government in the 2011 Pensions Act. In particular, this poor legislation – and the failure of ministers to properly inform of its timing and consequences – resulted in some 3.9 million in the UK and Scotland, born in the 1950s, suffering uniquely from the imposed changes. As a priority, ALBA elected members will continue to campaign at Westminster to deliver fair pensions for WASPI women.*

***ALBA defends The WASPI  
Women***



# ALBA'S CHARTER FOR PENSIONS AND PENSIONERS

**Those UK citizens living in Scotland after independence will still be eligible, in whole or in part, for the British state pension to which they contributed through their taxes prior to Scottish independence.**

The same holds for state occupational pensions. Their situation will be no different from, say, a UK pensioner opting to live in Spain. The relocation of residence has no legal bearing on the UK Treasury's contractual obligations.

After independence, ALBA's elected representatives will press for a "top-up" pension payment which fills the gap between the baseline UK Treasury pension payment

and a higher Scottish state pension level. In this way, existing Scottish pensioners will receive a higher state pension from **day one of independence.**

ALBA's commitment to a more ambitious National Care Service, and to building a new generation of top quality care homes, will mean anyone who needs that support towards the end of their lives will be able to secure it and to the highest standards.

## Protecting pensioners after independence



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# LGBTQ+ AND COMMUNITY RIGHTS

*The written constitution which ALBA proposes for Scotland, will enshrine the rights of all minorities to equality before the law and offer specific protection through the justice system for crimes based on sexual orientation, racial hatred or other forms of discrimination.*

*ALBA will support justice reforms, in which automatic anonymity from court reporting will be granted to all victims of sexual assault, and to victims of aggravated crimes of racial and other forms of discrimination.*

*A commitment to women's rights does not mean a rejection of trans rights and ALBA deplors the way in which these two often vulnerable groups in society have been pitted against each other. ALBA does not believe there need be conflict between women's rights and trans rights and believes that animosity has been stoked by the failure of the Scottish Government to act decisively. For this reason, ALBA is calling for a Citizens' Assembly to be established with urgency to develop binding proposals on reform of the Gender Recognition Act. ALBA will strongly support human rights protections for all in the LGBTQ+ community.*



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# MINORITY COMMUNITIES

*The elimination of racism in Scotland is not just a matter of criminal sanction (although this has a role) but the inclusion of minority communities in all aspects of national life and the rooting out of discriminatory behaviour wherever it is found.*

*In the range of our selection of candidates for our first election campaign, ALBA has demonstrated how this can be properly achieved.*

*ALBA is a pro-immigration party recognising the great value of New Scots coming to build their homes and livelihoods in our country and embracing the opportunities of building a new Scotland together.*

*We will propose how the Scottish Parliament can engage in a range of measures to make our "One Scotland" boast a reality, not a slogan.*



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# ALBA'S DISABLED PEOPLE'S INITIATIVE

*Approximately one-fifth of the population of Scotland comprises of people who would describe themselves as disabled – in other words a million of our citizens have a physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairment which, in interaction with other barriers, might hinder full effective participation in society on an equal basis with others.*

*ALBA intends to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities and to promote respect for their inherent dignity. These laudable principles form the mission statement of Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and ALBA supports its incorporation into Scots Law and into Scotland's new constitution.*

*The key priorities for ALBA include independent living, securing finance and resources to enable this, and the achievement of improved accessibility to all services. Disabled people deserve support into education and employment, so ALBA encourages innovative approaches to youth employment, peer support for skills and career development, and the enablement of education skills and employment opportunities for all.*

*It is for the benefit of the individual, and of Scottish society at large, that the needs and interests of disabled people are addressed holistically thereby enabling their full participation in public life and their ability to enjoy, on an equal par, life chances, opportunities and achievements.*





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## **IN ALBA WE ARE ALL EQUAL**

*The COVID-19 pandemic has brought forth many challenges for disabled people. It has also created new opportunities and increased awareness and understanding of some of the difficulties that the disabled community face. Using these lessons, and listening to the voices of disabled people, we can start to not only recover from the pandemic, but put in place real, solid building blocks to support disabled people in an Independent Scotland.*

### **A Disability National Support**

*We will initiate a Disability National Support Centre responsible for providing guidance on reasonable adjustments, accessibility products and disability mentoring. The mission is to ensure that every disabled young person has a single point of contact and access to advice, starting from early learning, and working right the way through full education and into employment.*

*The National Support Centre will also offer support, advice and guidance to parents, Schools, Higher Education centres and employers. This will ensure broad, universal and consistent support for disabled people across all communities, the length and breadth of Scotland, and not just for a select few.*



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## **Digitally Accessible Houses**

*As part of our economic recovery plan and housebuilding initiative, we pledge to ensure that disabled people are at the heart of the design process. Ensuring we provide sufficient accessible, good quality housing to enable disabled people to live independently and feel fully integrated into their local communities.*

*We will also use this opportunity to invest in Digital Health research, enabling Scotland to become pioneers in this field, offering the Gold standard for "Smart Home Living". This will utilise new and emerging technology to help support our Health and Social Care service to provide dignity, respect and supported independent living, for both disabled people and our ageing population, in their own homes.*



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# FAITH COMMUNITIES

*ALBA believes that all of Scotland's faith communities have the right to practice their faith in line with Article 9 of the European Convention on Human rights which protect absolutely an individual's right to freedom of religion and belief.*

*ALBA will work with our faith communities to better improve outcomes for members of those communities who are more likely to be the victims of religiously aggravated hate crimes.*

*ALBA supports the rights of faith communities to maintain state denominational schooling.*



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# SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS

*A commitment to a business-led recovery means ALBA will push for the reform of public procurement to create a Community Wealth Building approach which puts Scottish businesses first. This will break down the many barriers that small and micro-sized businesses have in competing for government contracts. Smart procurement will be used to help make the future not just sustainable, but predictable, for small business owners. Scotland's enterprise agencies will be shaken up to be less focused only on bigger business and to help smaller businesses gain the maximum possible benefit of supply chain opportunities created by Community Wealth Building. ALBA will also continually push Holyrood to stop being starry-eyed about the wrong kinds of inward investment, and instead recognise that it is Scotland's domestic industry base that must be the foundation of our future economy.*



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## CHILDREN

*Children should have a much more enjoyable and much more expressive education experience, and still be able to achieve the education they need to set them up for the rest of their lives. There should be less pressure and more creativity, but a clear focus on achieving good literacy, numeracy and IT skills. This will be achieved alongside better technology so learning is properly supported for the 21st century. All children will have the right to high-quality breakfasts and lunches all year round and a legal right to food if they need it. We propose universal free access to sport for all under 18s, giving every young Scot an equal opportunity to participate in sport, enhancing their health and wellbeing.*

## YOUNG ADULTS

*ALBA's industrial policy will create many well paid job opportunities in ethical and sustainable industries. It will also support young people with meaningful training, providing career opportunities. Just as important as accessible job opportunities is accessible housing. The mass public rental housebuilding programme will ensure that young people not only have a chance to get good housing, but rents will be cheaper and quality higher. ALBA will push for a comprehensive system of rent controls to protect younger people who make up a disproportionately high number of renters. And of course no-one benefits more from rapid, serious action to avert climate catastrophe than our younger generation.*



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# BEYOND THE CENTRAL BELT

*ALBA will make it a priority to complete the A96 and A9 dualling projects. Following this, work to dual the A77 from Ayr to Stranraer and fix issues at the Rest and Be Thankful as the next big projects.*

## SCOTLAND'S TOWNS

*ALBA's commitment to a strategy of Community Wealth Building will mean that towns can build up their own economies and retain much more of the economic benefit of that economy locally, enabling towns to thrive and, where necessary, regenerate themselves. Public procurement reform will support the small and micro-sized businesses which are so important to towns. A programme of mass house building will mean that towns are able to meet their local housing needs much more effectively and to do so by producing very high quality homes that will be attractive to those wishing to relocate or make a home there. A proper system of local democracy will mean that towns become powerful and are able to develop their own local economic and social strategies.*



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## RURAL SCOTLAND

*Housing is crucial for rural Scotland and ALBA's housebuilding programme along with land reform and land taxes means that they will have more control over their own future development. But rural Scotland is also littered with uninhabited properties and so ALBA will push for Scottish National Investment Bank funding to enable a major renovation and restoration programme to turn these into attractive modern homes. This will all be able to be guided by powerful local democracy so rural communities have their future in their own hands. And ALBA's industrial policy is not about the heavy industry of the past, but future, sustainable industries. With policy support for business areas like food production, forestry and timber processing there is the potential for many new high-quality rural jobs.*

***The fishing community have been used as a political football and betrayed by the Brexiteers. Family businesses built up over generations are now in a critical financial condition. Only ALBA will secure both the access to Scotland's natural marine resources and access to Scotland's lucrative European markets.***



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*Scotland's farming and food industry will similarly benefit from ALBA's proposals to secure an early and rapid return to the European single marketplace. In addition, the ALBA proposal for high quality, nutritious Scottish sourced school meals will provide a huge stimulus to Scotland's food industry.*

*The rapid expansion of Scotland's food and drink economy, exporting worldwide some of the highest quality food in the world, will be sustained by ALBA reclaiming early access to key markets, while protecting quality for producers and consumers from the race to the bottom on standards which is clearly being engaged in by Westminster Government.*



# Summary

*ALBA is new with fresh ideas. We proceed into the election with high hopes and brave hearts.*

*Our candidates list of 18 women and 14 men, reflecting both the BAME and LGBT communities of Scotland, also reflect voices from the range of Scottish society, urban and rural, working class and professional, with a higher age range than any other political party. ALBA candidates are the personification of the Scotland We Seek where all voices are heard.*

*What unites the ALBA team is the shared level of ambition for the independent future of our country.*

*We have a plan to secure it, an economic reconstruction agenda to develop it, and a vision of a new Scotland which will live up to Scotland's hopes and transcend our experience.*

*On Thursday May 6<sup>th</sup>*

**VOTE INDEPENDENCE**  
**VOTE SCOTLAND**  
**VOTE ALBA.**