

# MAKING THE UK A CLEAN ENERGY SUPERPOWER

What does Labour's vision for the  
UK energy sector mean in reality?



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**WA is a strategic communications consultancy with deep experience in the energy market.**

We're committed to helping achieve a rapid net zero world and specialise in securing policy and reputation outcomes for clients whose work is vital to achieving that goal.

We help our energy clients navigate a complicated landscape – from UK and global energy policy priorities, reputational concerns, and market or industry issues.

**WE FOCUS ON THREE AREAS:**

**Green power.** Securing the right policy, regulatory and media environment to support the deployment of clean energy generation from renewables to nuclear.

**Cleantech.** Creating the best conditions for investment in new technologies at the forefront of tackling and overcoming climate change, including hydrogen and CCUS.

**Infrastructure.** Helping companies working in networks and built environment to create the efficiency, flexibility and resilience that's required for a net zero future.



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# INTRODUCTION: PREPARING FOR A TRANSITION OF POWER

## KEY POINTS

- Labour is taking a pragmatic and balanced approach ahead of the General Election and won't let anything jeopardise their lead in the polls.
- Energy is a vital battleground with climate change consistently polling as a key issue for voters.
- Convincing the public, and industry, that Labour's plans are deliverable will be crucial.

**With Labour consistently ahead in the polls for 18 months, all businesses should prepare for the party to win power at the next General Election, most likely to be autumn 2024.**

As the election – and the significant likelihood of governing – draws closer, the party has begun to set out to voters and industry what a Labour Government would mean for the UK's energy future.

Energy policy is and will continue to be a huge focus for an incoming Labour Government. Major challenges are to be met around inflation, energy security and Net Zero. Labour have clearly spotted an opportunity to create an edge.

The polling and media analysis we publish in this report shows that energy issues have been more prominent over the past 18 months compared to the previous decade, and that the public are more aware than ever of where their energy comes from and how much it costs.

Our polling also shows that support for net zero, and the need for renewables as a clean and good-value means of meeting it, is particularly high.

Most soundbites about energy from Labour and the Conservatives involve similar targets and ambitions, but **Labour have more aggressive timelines.** While politicians may seek to highlight dividing lines, fundamentally, providing a plentiful supply of clean, affordable and secure power isn't a contentious issue, and has broad cross-party support.

The key political difference comes in the pace and scale of delivery, and credibility when it comes to implementation.

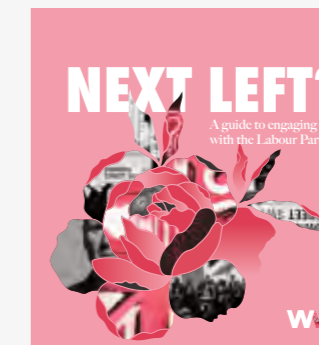
Labour's 2030 zero carbon electricity commitment has raised eyebrows from an industry and commentariat already sceptical about the Government's less ambitious 2035 target.

The challenge for Labour is to prove they can deliver on it, and this will require tectonic reforms.

## **A LABOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO OVERHAUL THE PLANNING SYSTEM, GIVE NEW MANDATES TO MULTIPLE REGULATORS FROM OFGEM TO THE ENVIRONMENT AGENCY, RETHINK TRANSMISSION MANAGEMENT AND INCENTIVISE DEVELOPERS TO KEEP UP THE PACE NEEDED TO DECARBONISE ELECTRICITY BY 2030.**

Energy interests should not be deterred by Labour's complex structures and lengthy policy-making processes. Ahead of Party Conference in October, and as it draws together its manifesto, Labour is in listening mode.

This report takes a detailed look into the Labour Party's approach to the energy sector – drawing from our recent [Next Left: A guide to engaging with the Labour party](#), which examines the people, policies, and processes that are shaping the development of the election manifesto.



In this energy sector report, we assess Labour's policies and some of the challenges the party will face in delivering them, drawing on extensive conversations we've had with Labour decision-makers and those close to the party's thinking, our own in-house media analysis, and bespoke polling on how voters and MPs see crucial energy questions.

We also give insight into the people, groups and processes that sit behind Labour's energy policy-making, and provide recommendations about how to engage with Labour to ensure your voice is heard.

You'll find our report comprehensive, but please contact us if you would like further information or a presentation on how WA Communications can help you.

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# SUMMARY AND KEY CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE ENERGY SECTOR

## As we head towards a General Election, most likely next autumn, Labour is in listening mode:

- Engaging with Labour on policy development will require a shift for businesses used to working with the Conservatives.
- This report looks at how Labour approaches new policy, and how business can influence the process.

## Energy has already been identified as a key electoral battleground:

- Polling shows that energy is now one of the most important areas to voters.
- Labour knows that comprehensive policies in this area will address concerns about the cost of living, inflation, and energy poverty.

## Labour's plans are more ambitious than the Conservatives, with more aggressive timelines:

- Labour wants to decarbonise the electricity network by 2030, five years sooner than the Conservatives.
- Attention thus far has been on how to build the necessary infrastructure to hit this target.

## Labour has spoken at length about the levers they'll need to pull to make their goals achievable:

- Frontbenchers have been clear that huge reforms will be needed to current planning and permitting regimes.
- Despite a recent U-turn over the level of investment they would make into the green transition, Labour is still prepared to intervene in the market, via a publicly owned energy company, Great British Energy.

## Several key areas in Labour's energy transition plans still need fleshing out:

- Producing a credible delivery plan to build clean energy capacity will be needed.
- Critical areas such as the approach to the retail market and carbon capture, utilisation and storage (CCUS) have very little detail.

## Energy and climate change is a cross-cutting issue, and there are a number of stakeholders to consider beyond the shadow energy team:

- Shadow Chancellor Rachel Reeves has been one of the most vocal frontbenchers on climate change – she and her team are heavily influential on energy policy.
- In addition, the likes of Jonathan Reynolds and Bill Esterson will have influence over some aspects of the energy plan.

# OUR RESEARCH

WA provides insight and advice to clients based on a thorough research approach, covering policy analysis, media and stakeholder research, and primary research including public and MP polling. We've brought that same rigour to this report.

Our report draws on the expertise and knowledge of our specialist energy team, as well as our Advisory Board, which includes leading regulatory, media, and communications figures.

This analysis includes:

- Primary intelligence gathered from across WA's political network, including in-depth conversations with Labour frontbenchers and advisers, MPs, Select Committee members, and other policy influencers.
- Bespoke public polling from our in-house research team, conducted by YouGov, exploring voter attitudes towards energy issues.
- Exclusive MP polling, again conducted by YouGov, examining the most pressing priorities for policymakers.
- Media and social media analysis, using a range of analytics tools.

If you would like to find out more about our research, or any of the detailed research findings that sit behind this report, please contact [angushill@wacomms.co.uk](mailto:angushill@wacomms.co.uk).

## ABOUT OUR POLLING DATA

Polling data used throughout this report, unless otherwise indicated, was commissioned by WA and undertaken by YouGov.

## PUBLIC POLLING

YouGov completed online interviews with a representative sample of 1,003 members of the general public between 3-4 February 2023.

## MP POLLING

YouGov completed online interviews with a representative sample of 98 MPs between 2 February and 3 March 2023. Results for MPs are weighted by party, gender, electoral cohort, and geography to give a sample that is representative of the House of Commons.





# The electoral battleground: Our polling insights and media analysis

# THE ENERGY SECTOR IS A KEY ELECTION BATTLEGROUND

Energy is an election battleground – and a particularly important one for Labour.

## KEY POINTS

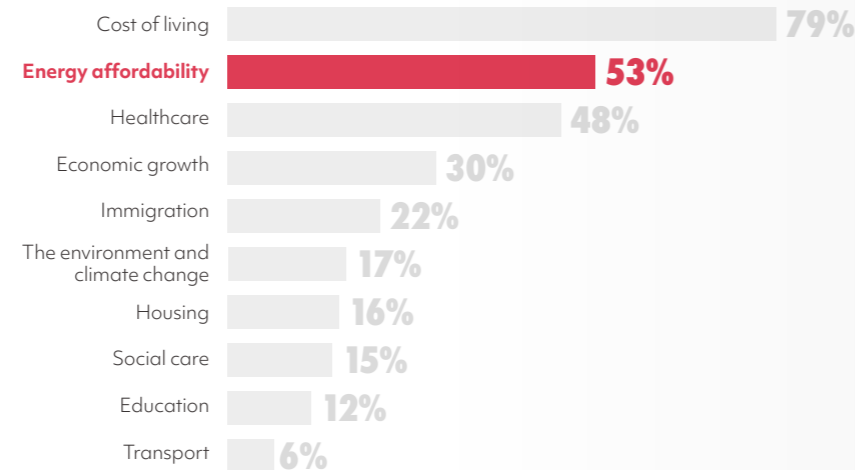
- Rising public awareness of, and interest in, energy security and production, as well as climate change and net zero, mean these issues are expected to feature heavily in the General Election campaign.
- For voters, cost-of-living concerns weigh heavily, and energy affordability is their second most important priority.
- MPs see things differently: in Westminster, Labour MPs prioritise increasing the use of renewable energy, while Conservative MPs focus on securing the UK's energy security.
- Media coverage of energy issues is at an all-time high, and Labour is winning the media campaign.

## WA PUBLIC POLLING

Energy issues are shaping up as a key election issue.

Energy has been propelled to the heart of British politics as a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, which has destabilised supply and contributed to inflationary pressures.

**WA Public Polling: Energy affordability ranks as the second most important voter priority**



WA Communications' own polling shows this is weighing on voters' minds, with energy affordability ranking as the second most important voter priority in 2023, closely behind the cost of living, which also of course includes energy affordability in any case.

Going a level deeper, our polling also shows how the public sees 'reducing the cost of energy in the UK' as the main priority over 'increasing the UK's use of renewable energy', and 'reducing the UK's energy dependence on other countries'.

However, a majority (60%) of voters believe that it's possible to pursue all three goals at the same time. Interestingly, younger people (69% of those aged between 18 and 34) and potential Labour voters (67%) are more likely to believe that it is possible to pursue all three goals simultaneously than older people (54% of those aged 55 and over) and potential Conservative voters (59%).

Our polling chimes with other research showing how tuned-in the electorate is to energy issues, particularly those related to climate change, and provides some keen insights that explain why Labour have chosen the policies they have, as we show later. For example:

**90% OF THE PUBLIC ARE AWARE OF NET ZERO**

The percentage of people in the UK who are concerned about climate change remains high, with the percentage of people who are 'very concerned' continuing to rise, and awareness of net zero staying consistently above 90%, according to research by BEIS.

**45% SAY IT INFLUENCES THEIR VOTE**

Nearly half (46%) of voters said they would be less likely to vote for a party that pledged to get rid of the net zero target according to a poll by Onward, a respected think tank.

**85% SUPPORT OFFSHORE WIND**

Recent polling as part of the same BEIS public attitudes tracker shows public support for the use of renewable energy has been rising steadily over the past decade. When asked about individual technologies, 85% of people said they supported offshore wind.

This shows that mainstream parties need to convince voters they have a credible, comprehensive and deliverable economic growth strategy to ease cost-of-living pressures, with a plan to shore up UK energy supplies and reach net zero at

its core – election campaigns will benefit from showing each party's plans for a build-out of clean, sovereign power to insulate British homes, public services and industry from volatile energy prices – something that Labour are acutely aware of.

## WHY ENERGY IS A KEY ELECTORAL FOCUS FOR LABOUR

Powerful drivers sit behind Labour's focus on energy, including a commitment across the Shadow Cabinet and the wider party to meet net zero (in step with most of the UK population), natural concern over energy costs for economically disadvantaged groups, the need to comply with international agreements and targets, and the long-term challenge of energy supply given the UK's dwindling natural resources.

But the electoral imperative to focus on energy is particularly important for Labour, and arguably more powerful compared to other parties, when considering reported (but unpublished) internal Labour party polling. Our polling reinforces this, and highlights why the Labour Party are making energy such a focus of their electoral offer to voters.

Although a subject of debate within the party, many believe Labour needs a classic 'broad tent' campaign to win power. This plays out in interesting ways for Labour when it comes to energy:

- In red-wall seats, and other 'traditionally Labour' areas that voted heavily for Brexit and supported the Conservatives in 2019, concern about jobs and de-industrialisation is a key issue.
- At the same time, climate change and net zero are prominent concerns for centrist but traditionally Conservative voters, swing voters and disaffected centrist traditional Labour voters who left under Corbyn – all of whom are liberal in outlook – and left-leaning voters from the SNP.

**ALL THESE FACTORS, BUT PARTICULARLY ELECTORAL POLITICS, MEANS LABOUR KNOWS IT WILL BENEFIT FROM A FOCUS ON ENERGY THAT BRIDGES JOBS CREATION AND DECARBONISATION – MORE TO COME IN CHAPTER 3.**

## WA MP POLLING

### WHAT MPS THINK WHEN IT COMES TO ENERGY

We mirrored our voter polling with MP polling commissioned from YouGov, asking first what goals in energy policy MPs think government should prioritise the most from three options:

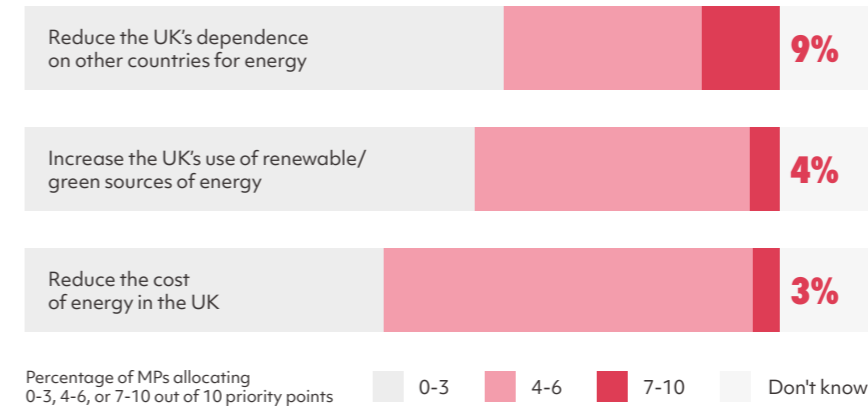
- Reducing the UK's energy dependence on other countries.
- Reducing the cost of energy.
- Increasing the use of renewable energy.

**OVERALL, THE POLLING SHOWED THAT REDUCING THE UK'S ENERGY DEPENDENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES IS SEEN AS THE BIGGEST ENERGY POLICY PRIORITY FOR GOVERNMENT BY MPS, NARROWLY AHEAD OF REDUCING THE COST OF ENERGY. BOTH ARE FURTHER AHEAD OF THE NEED TO INCREASE USE OF RENEWABLE ENERGY.**

WA MP Polling: Which energy goal should the UK Government prioritise most?

We asked MPs to allocate 10 "priority points" across three different energy policy goals – the more points they assigned to an option, the greater the priority.

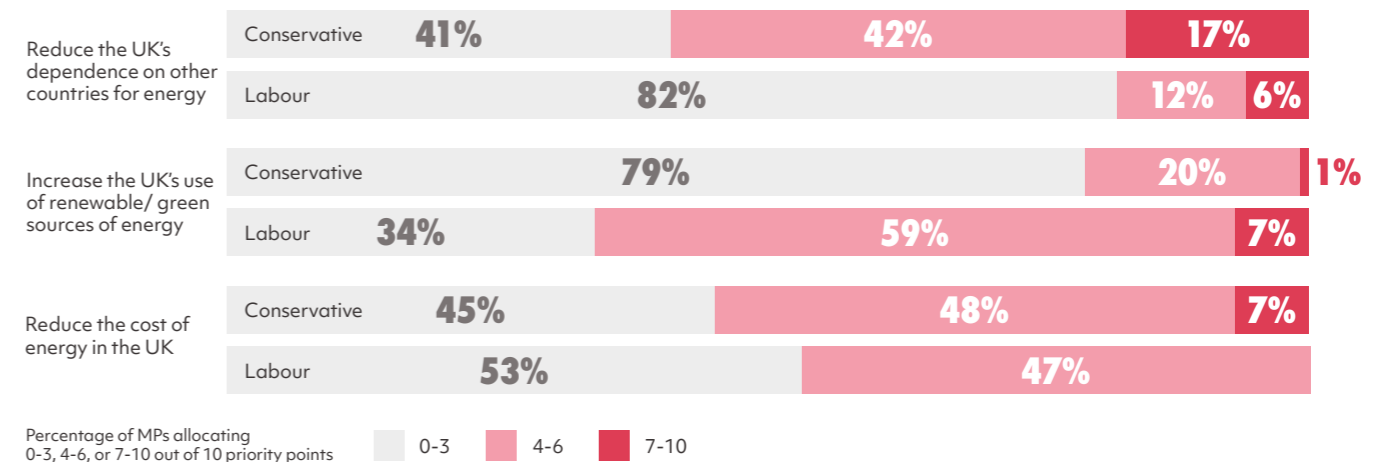
## All MPs



But when it comes to the differences between what Conservative and Labour MPs think should be the priority for government in energy, the results might provide interesting pointers into the sorts of issues that will matter to different MPs as they ramp up their campaigning activity:

### WA MP Polling: Which energy goal should the UK Government prioritise most?

By party – Labour and Conservative:



- For Labour MPs, Increasing the use of renewable energy is the highest priority over reducing the cost of energy and reducing dependence on other countries for our energy.
- Among Conservative MPs, by contrast, reducing the UK's energy dependence on other countries is viewed as the highest priority, with increasing the use of renewables the lowest by a wide margin.
- On reducing energy costs, the approach is broadly similar between both Labour and Conservative MPs, with only 7% of Conservative MPs seeing this as their top priority and no Labour MPs.

We also asked MPs questions about what impact getting to net zero should have when it comes to building the UK economy.

We asked them to choose from the following options:

- Building a UK manufacturing base is the priority – delay net zero targets to focus on building UK manufacturing capacity.
- Net zero is the priority – we should rely on importing to meet net zero targets.
- Both are priorities, but the UK skills and jobs markets mean that building UK renewable manufacturing capacity is too challenging – rely on importing to meet net zero targets.

Our findings showed that there is broadly similar support for each option, when it comes to all MPs.



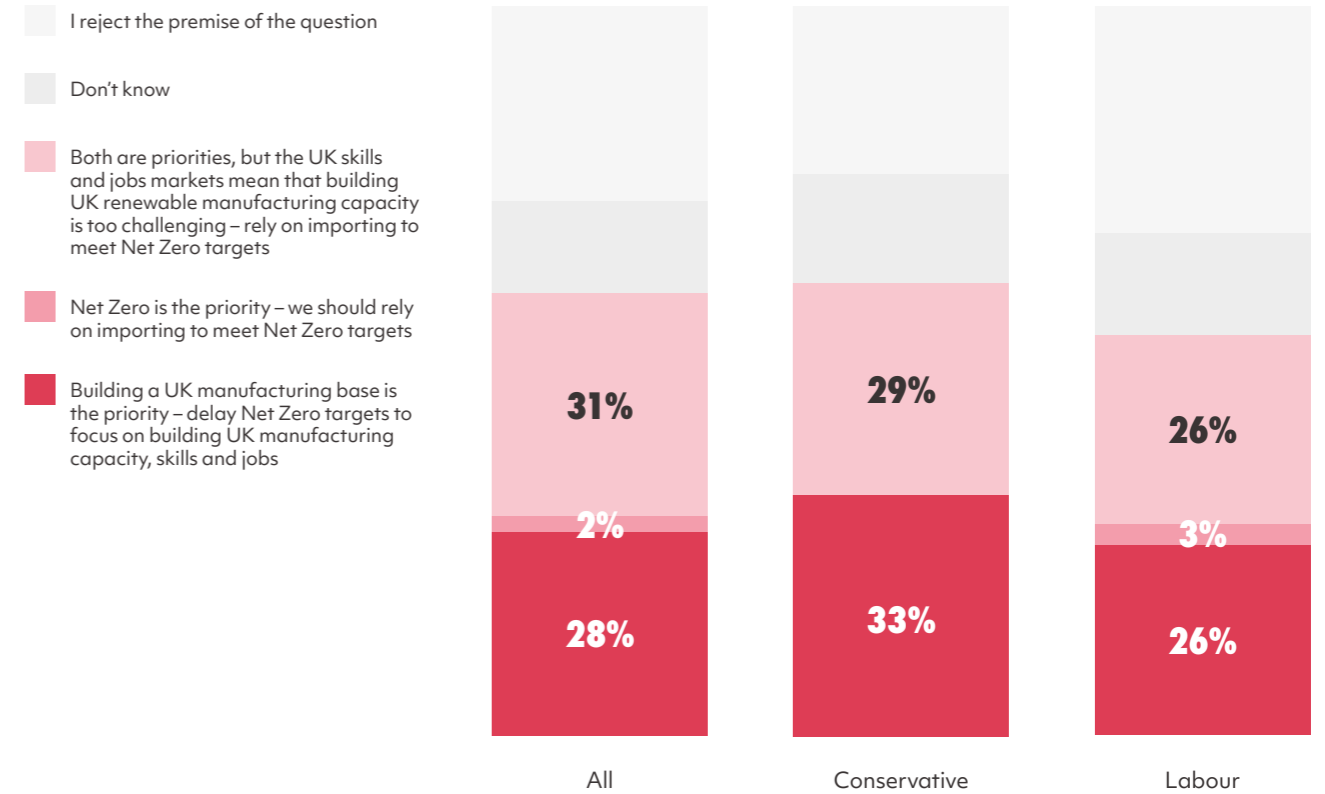
13% of MPs didn't know, and 27% rejected the premise of this trade-off

When the data is broken down by party:

- Conservative MPs are more likely to focus on the need to build a UK manufacturing base – 33% (versus 26% of Labour MPs) would delay Net Zero targets to build the required manufacturing capacity, skills and jobs.

- Whereas a small but notable number (3%) of Labour MPs reject any reference to building the UK manufacturing base – for them, Net Zero is the priority and we should achieve it by importing, regardless of whether or when the country can build up the required skills and jobs. No Conservative MPs excluded the economic aspect in this way.

### WA MP Polling: What Impact Should Getting to Net Zero Have On Building the UK Economy





## WA MEDIA ANALYSIS

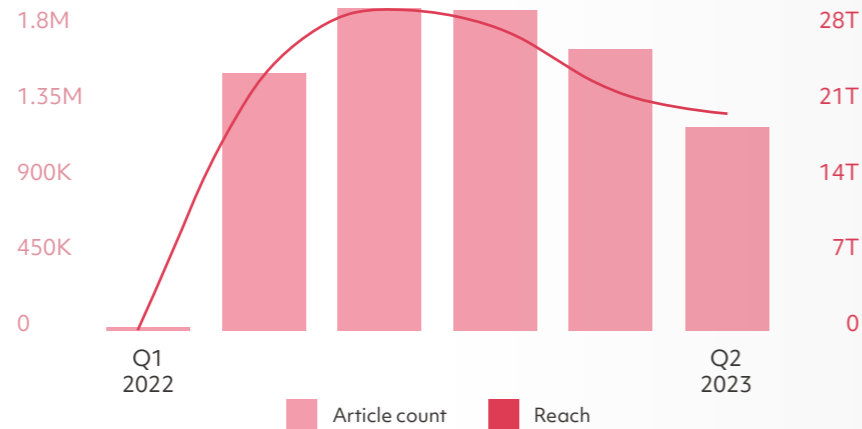
Media coverage of energy issues is at an all-time high, and Labour is winning the media campaign.

Media coverage is an important reflection of voter interests as well as a shaper of political attitudes and election campaigns, so we looked closely at media portrayal of energy issues.

There has been a sharp rise in media coverage focusing on energy in the last 18 months. While this was originally sparked by the geopolitical situation and concerns over the immediate impact on household bills, there has been a recent pivot to focus on the future of energy security – driven by political promises and public conversations around net zero and the need to decarbonise.

Our analysis was conducted using Signal AI.

**WA Media Analysis: Volume / Reach of Coverage on Energy Issues from 2022-2023**



**WA Media Analysis: Topics of Coverage on Energy Issues from 2022-2023**

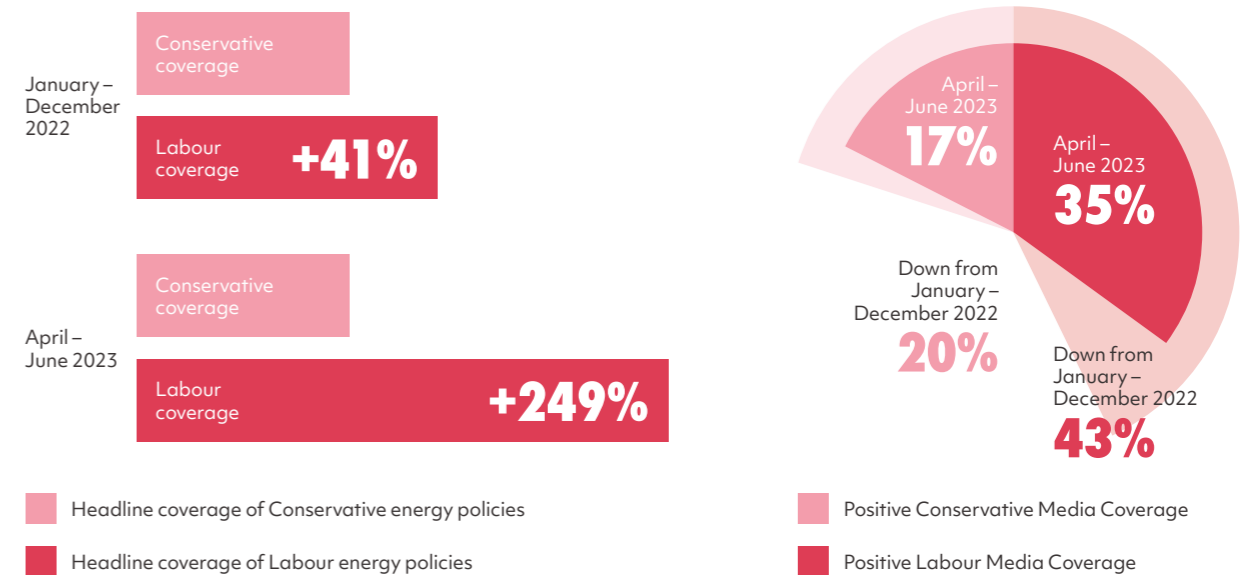
The type of media coverage we are seeing is also telling, with technical issues such as grid connections – that have historically been covered by trade or business pages – reported in mainstream media from a consumer angle.



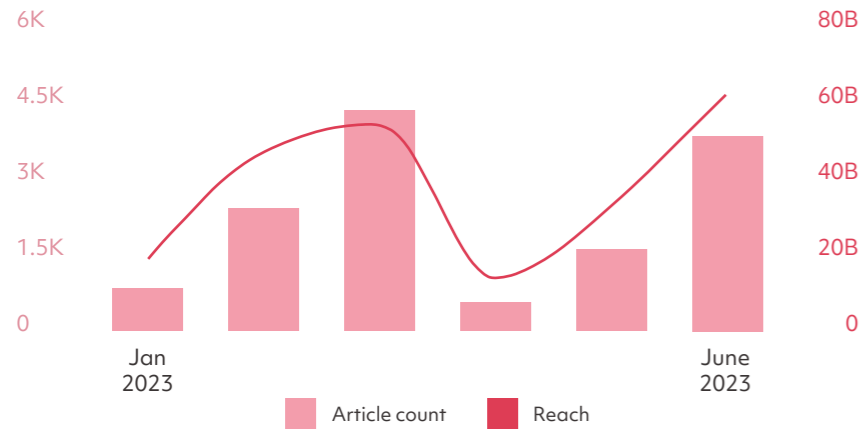
**WA Media Analysis: Volume and Sentiment of Coverage on Energy Issues from January-December 2022 & April-June 2023**

Encouragingly for Labour, our analysis shows the party dominates discussion on energy in the media – but both parties have seen a recent decline in positive headlines.

- Last year, Labour secured 41% more headline articles than the Conservatives. In the last three months of this year, that gap had widened to almost 250% more (appearing in 255 headlines while the Conservatives secured just 73).
- Sentiment of Labour-related media coverage is markedly more positive compared to coverage related to the Conservatives. Over the past three months, 35% of the energy media coverage was positive in nature for Labour compared to 17% for the Conservatives.
- But positive media sentiment has declined for both Labour and the Conservatives. For the Labour Party, positive sentiment averaged 43% in 2022, but has fallen to 35% over the past three months.



**WA Media Analysis: Labour's coverage on energy issues between Jan 2023 – June 2023**  
Analysis conducted using Signal AI



This indicates that Labour's approach to energy, which as we show seeks to go further and faster than the Conservatives, is likely more appealing to voters than the latter's steadier and longer-term objectives.

**IN FOCUS**

**LABOUR STRENGTH ON ENERGY IN THE MEDIA: CLEAN ENERGY SUPERPOWER MISSION ANNOUNCEMENT**

19th June 2023

One of the most significant spikes in recent coverage was driven by Keir Starmer's speech in June, where he set out detail on making Britain a clean energy superpower. Labour's new commitments landed well across the board, and the speech's media trail even led the front page of The Telegraph – a significant 'win' for Labour given the paper's right-wing stance.

The real test, as always, is what media commentators say given their sway over public opinion.

While there was widespread criticism for confused briefing on oil and gas commitments, one of the only real attacks came from an unlikely corner in a Guardian op-ed questioning whether Great British Energy would go far enough to decarbonise the UK's industrial base.

Given the intense columnist scrutiny about the Government's recent 'Powering Up Britain' plan, Starmer, it seems, emerged relatively unscathed.





# Labour's Energy policy thinking



# A RICH SEAM OF ENERGY POLICY

The history of Labour's approach to energy shapes today's thinking

## KEY POINTS

- Our analysis shows that many of the levers Labour pulled in 1997 are looking to be used again under Keir Starmer.
- Labour is looking at their past successes in Government, and is cherry-picking what it takes forward to the next election.
- Between 1997 and 2010, the Labour Party in Government took a centrist approach, focusing on support for vulnerable households, tackling climate change and finalising privatisation.
- A more populist, interventionist approach emerged from Labour in opposition, post-2010.

To help your understanding of the potential direction of a future Labour Government in energy, WA Communications conducted a review of Labour's (relatively) recent history of energy policymaking.

Given Labour's foundational history, heavily rooted in the trade union movement and related industrial interests, it's unsurprising that the party has a rich history in energy.

New Labour, elected on a landslide victory in 1997, initially focused on the social, redistributive potential of energy policy, with the introduction of a windfall tax on energy companies at Chancellor Gordon Brown's first budget in July that year.

At the same time, Labour trumpeted the benefits of privatisation, with Peter Mandelson saying he was "convinced that competitive markets are the best way of stimulating efficiency in industry, of providing consumers with real choice and bringing down prices."

**"I AM CONVINCED THAT COMPETITIVE [ENERGY] MARKETS ARE THE BEST WAY OF STIMULATING EFFICIENCY IN INDUSTRY, OF PROVIDING CONSUMERS WITH REAL CHOICE AND BRINGING DOWN PRICES."**

**Peter Mandelson, then Trade and Industry Secretary, November 1998**

Later in the 2000s, Labour's approach to privatisation remained broadly stable, but the focus of its energy policy shifted increasingly towards addressing concerns around environmental and climate impacts, and energy security.

In 2006, Tony Blair announced that the Party would be U-turning on its previous commitment not to support an expansion of nuclear power. The 2007 Energy White Paper strongly recommended an increase in nuclear power production. Since this pro-nuclear stance was taken, subsequent Conservative governments have broadly maintained support for new nuclear – although only one new power plant, Hinkley Point C, has begun construction.

Gordon Brown made gains on climate change policy when he became Prime Minister. The 2008 Climate Change Act put carbon reduction targets into law and the creation of a new Department for Energy and Climate Change sought to join up policy on energy and carbon reduction across Whitehall. The Climate Change Act is the foundation of what is now the UK's Net Zero target by 2050.

**"PRIVATISATION HAS FAILED TO DELIVER AN ENERGY SYSTEM THAT DELIVERS FOR PEOPLE, BUSINESSES OR OUR ENVIRONMENT."**

*Labour Party manifesto 2017*

After Labour's 2010 election defeat, the twin approach to energy policy that focused on tackling climate change and providing greater protection for domestic energy consumers extended under Labour leader Ed Miliband in opposition, but with a far more interventionist approach.

Miliband, who had served as Brown's first Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change, campaigned in the 2015 election with promises to freeze energy bills, separate the generation and supply businesses of the 'Big Six' energy companies and require electricity to be sold through an "open exchange".

The more critical view of privatised energy companies intensified even further after Jeremy Corbyn's election as leader of the Labour Party in 2015. The pro-business agenda that had dominated the Labour Party's broad approach to energy policy under New Labour became a distant memory, with the 2017 Labour Party claiming that "privatisation has failed to deliver an energy system that delivers for people, businesses or our environment". In 2019, Labour's manifesto pledged to nationalise the energy companies, nationalise the national grid, and ensure that utilities were run not "from Whitehall but by service-users and workers".

As we will show in the next Chapter, under Keir Starmer we have seen a return to a nuanced, but clearly more pro-business approach, with ambitions to leverage private capital, but to steer the market with a state-owned energy company.

# TOWARDS 2030: AN AMBITIOUS AGENDA AND A TIGHT TIMELINE

Keir Starmer has put clean energy at the heart of his appeal to the country

**THE LABOUR PARTY HAS ANNOUNCED AN AMBITIOUS TARGET OF DECARBONISING THE ELECTRICITY GRID BY 2030. TO REACH THIS GOAL, SIGNIFICANT SPENDING PLEDGES HAVE BEEN MADE, WITH INVESTMENT IN CLEAN ENERGY TO RAMP UP TO £28BN PER YEAR IN THE SECOND HALF OF A FUTURE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.**

While this pledge has been regarded by some policy experts as being unrealistic given timeframes and economic headwinds, the Labour Party is unlikely to dial down its commitment ahead of the next General Election, seeing the target as a key point of differentiation between it and the Conservative Party and as a catalyst for economic revival. Labour has even gone so far as to make the 2030 target one of Keir Starmer's Five Missions for a Better Britain.

While some MPs in the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) might privately admit that completely decarbonising the UK's electricity by 2030 is unachievable, the goal is a signal that the Party is serious about climate change, and driving meaningful progress in a policy area which many feel has been neglected under the current Conservative Government.

The Labour Party under Keir Starmer has undoubtedly become more pro-market than under Jeremy Corbyn, without going as far to adopt the radical pro-business approach of New Labour. This has enabled nuanced positions in key policy areas where subtle interventionism from the state will be used to steer direction, whilst stimulating private investment.

Applied to the energy sector specifically, a policy to fully nationalise energy companies has been dropped, but the creation of Great British Energy as a publicly owned energy company brings its own challenges, not least how a future Labour Government would intervene as it implements a more 'hands-on' approach with the market and how that affects the status quo private businesses have become accustomed to.

Although headlines have focused on targets and capital spend and borrowing, an equally important strand of Labour's energy policy will be their delivery plan. At a recent visit to the Hinkley Point C construction site, when talking about the party's support for nuclear alongside renewables Keir Starmer said "What we need to do is to make sure that we don't just talk about it, we deliver it".

**HAVING A ROBUST, MODELLED AND BUDGETED VIEW OF HOW TO DECARBONISE ELECTRICITY BY 2030 COULD BE A KEY DIFFERENTIATOR BETWEEN LABOUR AND THE CONSERVATIVES AT THE GENERAL ELECTION, BUT IS UNLIKELY TO ARRIVE BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTION.**

**Over the past three years, Ed Miliband, Keir Starmer, and Rachel Reeves have set out transformative ambitions for the energy sector. By 2030 Labour aims to:**

- Quadruple offshore wind, with an ambition of 55 GW by 2030, and fast tracking at least 5 GW of capacity for floating offshore wind.
- Double onshore wind capacity to 35 GW.
- Treble solar power capacity to 50 GW.
- Get new nuclear projects at Hinkley and Sizewell over the line, extend the lifetime of existing plants, and back new nuclear including Small Modular Reactors.
- Empower a Future Systems Operator (FSO) for grid connections.
- Invest in carbon capture and storage, hydrogen, and long-term energy storage to ensure that there is sufficient zero-emission back-up power and storage.
- Maintain a strategic reserve of back-up gas power stations to guarantee security of supply.
- Double the Government's target on green hydrogen, with 10 GW of production for use particularly in flexible power generation, storage, and industry like green steel.
- Decarbonise electricity by 2030.
- Insulate 19 million homes.

# LABOUR'S EMERGING THINKING ON ENERGY POLICY

## SEPTEMBER 2020

- Labour calls for the UK to be the first country to implement climate change-related financial reporting.

## NOVEMBER 2020

- Labour's **Green Economic Recovery Plan** calls for £30bn in capital investment to be brought forward as part of a rapid stimulus package to invest in low-carbon sectors. This also aims to create 400,000 jobs in the 'next 18 months.'

## JUNE 2021

- Labour calls for **making electric vehicle ownership affordable** by offering long-term interest-free loans for new and used electric vehicles to those on low to middle incomes to remove the upfront cost barrier; and trialling a national scrappage scheme.

## SEPTEMBER 2021

- Shadow Chancellor Rachel Reeves announces a **climate investment pledge of £28bn a year** (although in June 2023 postpones this as a commitment to be reached in the second half of the next Parliament) that would provide capital investment in the green economy.

She proposes that the pledge will be financed by borrowing, and would "leverage at least as much again in private investment".

According to Reeves, self-styled as "Britain's first green Chancellor", this investment would support:

- Giga-factories to build batteries for electric vehicles.
- The hydrogen industry.
- Offshore wind with turbines made in Britain.
- Flood defences.
- Energy-efficient homes.
- And highly skilled jobs across the UK.

- Party conference speeches from Keir Starmer and Ed Miliband:

- Announce Labour policy of investing up to £3bn in steel industry to help it go green.

- Ed Miliband says a Labour Government will **require every major business to state its carbon footprint** and how its business is consistent with net zero.

- Keir Starmer adds: "Everything we do in government will have to meet a 'net zero' test to ensure that the prosperity we enjoy does not come at the cost of the climate".

## OCTOBER 2021

- Labour set out 'five demands' of the government to 'keep net zero alive', including:

- Support for developing countries through reversing the overseas aid cut, delivering and surpassing the \$100 billion pledge for countries to cut emissions and adapt to climate change and vaccinating the world's poorest;

- Pressuring the big emitting nations, phasing out fossil fuels, and ensuring a just transition for workers;

- Protecting nature with a robust Net-Zero and Nature Test for all government spending;

- Mobilising private finance behind climate action by requiring financial institutions and FTSE100 companies to publish their carbon footprint and adopt credible 1.5°C-aligned transition plans.

## SEPTEMBER 2022

- Rachel Reeves announces an **£8bn National Wealth Fund** for green investment.

- Keir Starmer's Conference speech announces that **Great British Energy** will be established within the first year of a Labour Government. He also commits to:

- 100% clean power, completely decarbonising the electricity grid, by 2030.

- Doubling Britain's onshore wind capacity, trebling solar power, quadrupling offshore wind, investing in tidal, hydrogen, and new nuclear.

- Insulating 19 million homes with a £6bn scheme.

## MARCH 2023

- Labour commits to investing in carbon capture in four clusters across Britain.

## JUNE 2023

- Labour postpone its £28bn/year commitment to green energy investment, saying **it will instead reach £28bn in the second half of the parliament at the latest.**

- Labour **publish 'Making A Clean Energy Superpower' policy paper**, which promises to:

- Cease issuing new licences to explore new oil and gas fields, but current licences will remain in place.

- Approve the next round of renewable projects in Contracts for Difference auctioning - with a £500m British Jobs Bonus every year.

- Overturn the ban on cheap onshore wind.

- Support 50,000 clean power jobs by 2030.

- Headquarter GB Energy in Scotland.

- Retrofit up to 1.4m homes in Scotland.

- Provide specific incentives for developers that create good jobs in areas currently reliant on energy industries.

# IN THE SPOTLIGHT: THE 2030 GOAL

## Achieving the 2030 goal will be a (Clean Energy) Mission

### KEY POINTS

- The scale of ambition in Labour's 2030 target cannot be understated.
- WA is yet to speak to an industry expert who thinks the goal is achievable.
- Labour is likely to combat any challenges to their targets by blaming Conservative inaction on climate, as has been recently indicated by the Climate Change Committee.

**A key Labour pledge is to make sure 100% of the UK's electricity is from clean sources by 2030, five years sooner than the Conservatives are targeting.**

The recent and biggest announcement toward this came on Monday 19th June 2023, with Keir Starmer alongside Scottish Labour Leader Anas Sarwar, Rachel Reeves and Ed Miliband, setting out Labour's Mission to Make Britain a Clean Energy Superpower.

The mission mapped out how Labour wants to cut household energy bills by up to £1,400 a year, save business £53bn in energy bills by 2030, and create a million new jobs.

While other Labour targets in the months leading up to Labour's clean energy mission announcement had been amended or toned down, this announcement doubled down on the 2030 pledge.

This earlier target, Keir Starmer has claimed, would require the UK to:

- Double onshore wind capacity.
- Treble solar power.
- Quadruple offshore wind.
- Commit large-scale investment in carbon capture, tidal, hydrogen and nuclear power.

This is clearly going to be a stretch. While Labour's target a clear point of difference compared to the Conservatives, there are concerns that it's simply unachievable, as it's even more ambitious than the 2019 manifesto pledge.

**IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH WA, AN ACADEMIC WHO ADVISES LABOUR TOLD US THAT SENIOR PARTY FIGURES HAD ALREADY ACKNOWLEDGED PRIVATELY THAT THE 2030 TARGET WAS UNREALISTIC AND TOLD US THAT WHILE THEY "WOULD NEVER FAULT QUICKER AMBITION ON ACTING ON CLIMATE CHANGE... YOU HAVE GOT TO BE PRAGMATIC. IS THIS PRAGMATIC? I'D SAY PROBABLY NOT. IT IS ALREADY A BIG CHALLENGE TO BE GOING FOR 2035".**

Speaking with WA's team in March, the Head of Environment and Green Transition at the New Economics Foundation, Chaitanya Kumar, echoed this view: "if you thought the 2035 target for decarbonising the power sector was tough, obviously, they've gone in and said we'll try and do it by 2030. Credit to Labour... But there isn't anything obvious that gives the sector much confidence."

Despite the scepticism, Labour won't back down, at least not before the election. The Labour leadership sees the target as a catalyst for economic revival and a core part of its approach to the economy. It's highly unlikely that there will be a shift in rhetoric away from the fundamentals of green growth, or its central position to Labour's overarching economic agenda before the next General Election.

Starmer made his views clear on this in July 2022, when he argued that there is no greater risk to business than climate change, and that failing to decarbonise means that "you can forget about growth".

What 'tough choices' would Labour need to take to (attempt to) deliver the 2030 target?

Should Labour win power, extensive policy and regulatory changes will be needed to deliver on the 2030 target. Shadow Chancellor Rachel Reeves recognises the scale of the ambition:

**CLEAN POWER REQUIRES "HARD CHOICES THAT A LABOUR GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST".**

*Rachel Reeves, Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, January 2023*

One of the central focuses for Labour's approach will be Great British Energy, which we cover in the next chapter.

Beyond GBE, to have any chance of achieving this target, no option can be left off the table.

There is debate within the party about priorities, of course, and as [\[page 50 on the manifesto process\]](#) outlines, a long way to go as the party develops its detailed manifesto proposals.

### LIKELY AREAS OF FOCUS WILL BE

#### 1. A major overhaul of regulatory and planning legislation:

- a. All current National Policy Statements could need rewriting.
- b. The Development Consent Order process might need reconsidering, and how it could potentially encompass a number of other approval processes.
- c. Mandates should be given to the Planning Inspectorate, Ofgem, the Environment Agency, and others.
- d. Ensure every relevant agency has the skills and expertise required to expedite approvals.
- e. Energy market reform that decouples the wholesale prices of electricity from gas.

#### 2. More prescription about "what goes where":

- a. Map out where new energy developments should go, from offshore wind to new nuclear.

- b. This would make private markets more confident when investing in projects, and allow supply chains to prepare requisite construction and operational skills to be nurtured.

#### 3. A review of the role of National Grid:

- a. This would be both as a system and transmission operator.
- b. Current arrangements mean getting connections for new capacity is taking far too long and is approached with a project-by-project mindset, and not from a whole system perspective.
- c. A senior Labour shadow minister has privately told WA that the move to renewable energy "requires major overhaul of the national grid" and that "the national grid is not set out to deal with some of [the] issues".
- d. Ed Miliband has set out his plans for a Future Systems Operator to be the system architect regarding all energy transmission, working in partnership with DNOs and devolved administrations.

# IN THE SPOTLIGHT: GREAT BRITISH ENERGY

## What's the shape of things to come?

### KEY POINTS

- GBE is a compromise between those who wanted to fully nationalise the energy industry, and the new, more pro-business leadership team.
- It allows Labour to influence the energy market with a 'soft touch' by taking minority stakes in projects.
- By having Government as a shareholder, it would be of mutual interest to GBE to reduce barriers to developments.

In September 2022, Keir Starmer told Labour Conference that a Labour government would create a publicly owned energy generator, Great British Energy. According to the party's accompanying announcement, Great British Energy "will harness Britain's sun, wind and wave energy to:

- Save £93 billion for UK households.
- Deliver one hundred percent clean power by 2030.
- Cut energy bills for good.
- Create thousands of good local jobs.
- Deliver energy security.
- Make the UK energy independent."

It is our understanding that GBE would be up and running in the first half of the next parliamentary term were Labour to be in a position to form a majority government.

Starmer justified the need for GBE by linking foreign investment in energy generation to a loss of financial returns for the British people. He claimed that "energy bills in Swansea are paying for schools and hospitals in Stockholm" and that "five million people in Britain pay their bills to an energy company owned by France". The Labour Party's new National Wealth Fund would provide initial funding for GBE, which could start as a small-scale generator before seeking to build up market share.

GBE therefore speaks to the wider framework into which Labour has attempted to fit its energy policy – where investment in the green economy goes hand-in-hand with fair economic growth.

### GREAT BRITISH ENERGY: THE PRIORITIES

At the launch of Labour's clean energy mission, the three initial priorities for GBE were set out:

#### 1. To invest and take stakes in leading-edge energy technologies

- a. Such as green hydrogen, floating offshore wind and tidal power.
- b. Continue the work of Great British Nuclear.
- c. Boost UK R&D in emerging technologies.

#### 2. Co-invest in established energy technologies

- a. For example, expanding wind farms on the public estate.
- b. Where there is a clear case that public investment can complement the private sector to accelerate rollout.

#### 3. Scale up municipal and community energy, as part of the Local Power Plan

- a. Partnering with local authorities and communities to expand small and medium-scale projects.
- b. Aimed at, for example, onshore wind and household solar.
- c. Would also involve shared ownership with private sector.

However, as with Labour's other central energy policies, including the Climate Investment Pledge and the 2030 clean power target, there has been a lack of clarity on the precise remit of GBE.

### DOES GREAT BRITISH ENERGY MEAN NATIONALISATION?

**We can say with confidence, no, or at least not nationalisation as we know it**

The Labour Party would face the same set of challenging economic conditions as the current Conservative Government if it were to win the next General Election, and public sector spending constraints would remain.

In this economic context, Rachel Reeves has backed away from the Party's previous support for nationalising UK industries such as electricity and water, which had been key commitments under former Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn in 2019.

In an interview on BBC Radio Four's Today programme in July 2022, Reeves suggested Labour no longer supported nationalisation, arguing such policies were incompatible with the Party's fiscal responsibilities. Reeves said that "to be spending billions of pounds on nationalising things, that just doesn't stack up against our fiscal rules".

In this context, GBE would see the Government attempt to take the lead in clean energy and provide public returns by funding a single publicly owned energy company and avoiding full nationalisation of energy companies.

In the jostling between the Conservatives and the Labour Party to take the mantle of proponents of green energy, GBE creates another point of differentiation. Labour seeks to present itself as a facilitator of green and fair energy supply in contrast to the Conservative Party's more market-based approach.



GBE would also appear to be a compromise between the pro-nationalisation and green lobbies within the Labour Party and those advocating a more centrist, market-based approach, helping with internal party management.

The Head of Environment and Green Transition at the New Economics Foundation, Chaitanya Kumar, told WA Communications that "every time Starmer or Miliband are drilled on nationalisation they can say 'no' but look at this state owned GBE".

### **IF NOT NATIONALISATION, THEN COMPETITION OR PARTNERSHIP?**

- Labour sees GBE as a way to stimulate private investment and dictate the direction of travel to boost confidence amongst developers
- Labour has stated it wants GBE to partner with developers of established technologies, as well as nurture nascent ones
- How Labour chooses to prioritise the focus of GBE will be paramount to its success

A key concern for investors, developers and operators working in energy – especially generation – is whether, and how, GBE will work with them. We believe that it is too early to tell, and there is not enough detail on GBE yet to make a call either way, but that partnerships between private companies and GBE will be the likely way forwards.

Ed Miliband has said that GBE would provide a partnership approach that could complement the private sector by encouraging investment and creating jobs in the supply chain.

The Director of Common Wealth think tank, Martin Lawrence, told WA that GBE is "explicitly ruling out the nationalisation of existing assets but its saying that they should build a share of the future market in low carbon generation... It is seen like this is a common sense, entrepreneurial state vehicle. It is unclear which direction GBE would go, depends on how ambitious its investment portfolio is."

The success of such an approach would crucially require a future Labour Government to be a constructive partner, and not one which gets in the way. Laying out the detail on this ahead of the next General Election is a critical part of building confidence that Labour's energy plan is not only credible, but also deliverable in the timescale required.

**In an interview with WA Communications, a Labour shadow minister reported that:**

**"IT IS A BASIC CASE OF HAVING A PUBLIC SECTOR COMPARATOR THAT CAN IMPOSE DISCIPLINE ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR. IF THE MARKET WAS WORKING BRILLIANTLY, THERE WOULDN'T BE ANY NEED BUT IT IS A CLEAR CASE OF MARKET FAILURE. GBE LOOKS LIKE A GOOD WAY OF DOING THAT."**

**Talking to WA Communications, a member of the shadow frontbench added that:**

**"ONE ADVANTAGE OF GB ENERGY IS THAT BY ITS EXISTENCE, IT CAN DE-RISK INVESTMENT AND BRING DOWN THE COST OF CAPITAL CONSIDERABLY. IF GB ENERGY HAS A 10% STAKE IN A PROJECT, IT SAYS A LOT ABOUT THE PROJECT ITSELF."**

**A senior Labour shadow minister also told WA:**

**"THE KEY THING IS PUTTING ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT AT THE HEART OF ECONOMIC POLICY, RATHER THAN THE OTHER WAY ROUND... IT IS SOMETHING I DON'T THINK ANYONE IMAGINED A MAJOR PARTY WOULD DO IN THIS COUNTRY."**

Labour can use this approach to their advantage. GBE could be a useful vehicle with which to resolve several long-standing blockers to projects.

Shadow Energy Minister Alan Whitehead said in Parliament that "[GBE's] assets would stay with the public and the money would come back to the public purse".

Through GBE, a Labour Government could own stakes, or 'golden shares', in national critical energy infrastructure. Giving projects such firm Government support would enable vast sums to be raised from the private sector, while maintaining control over what is built, and where. This approach, if executed well, could be popular amongst developers, consumers and taxpayers alike, as it would also incentivise the Government to reduce barriers to projects.

**Opinion on market impact is divided. A Labour shadow minister told WA that GBE:**

**"IS SOMETHING THAT WILL BE HEAVILY NEGOTIATED WITH INDUSTRY BECAUSE THE VERY THREAT OF IT BEING IMPLEMENTED WILL HAVE AN EFFECT ON MARKET BEHAVIOUR. IT IS A USEFUL LEVER FOR GOVERNMENT."**

An academic specialising in energy policy told us, however, that the larger energy companies would not view GBE as a threat and that the smaller energy companies would welcome the additional investment it could provide.

The creation of GBE could, however, have a significant impact on the market. While the Labour Party has said that GBE would complement the private sector and not seek to compete with it, GBE could only achieve its aims of supporting jobs and the green supply chain successfully if it operated at significant scale. This scale would very likely distort the market and competition, with a potentially negative effect on the commercial opportunities available to private sector businesses.



# OTHER AREAS TO WATCH

## PROFITS AND TAXES

As we've shown above, Labour has been vocal in its aims to create a thriving private sector to build the necessary infrastructure needed to hit net zero.

**BUT SINCE THE ENERGY CRISIS, THE LEADERSHIP HAS NOT HIDDEN THEIR DESIRE TO BRING THE PROFITS OF BUSINESSES IN THE SECTOR UNDER GREATER SCRUTINY. A STRONGER EMPHASIS ON SUPPORT FOR CONSUMERS AT THE EXPENSE OF BUSINESSES COULD REDUCE PROFITABILITY AND AFFECT INVESTMENT IN THE TRADITIONAL ENERGY SECTOR.**

Shadow Chancellor Rachel Reeves said in January 2023 that Labour would "extend the windfall tax, closing the fossil fuel investment loophole, and taxing oil and gas giants at the same rate at which they're taxed in Norway".

## NORTH SEA OIL & GAS

This has been a fractious issue for Labour in recent months, to say the least.

Labour's leadership has so far been vocal in its support of the oil and gas sector's green energy transition, with Shell and BP committing £25 billion and £18 billion respectively to the UK's energy sector over the coming decade and focusing on low and zero carbon power.

With the troubles facing the SNP, there has been a tectonic shift in the polls in Labour's favour. Polling now indicates tangible gains are within Labour's reach in Scotland, with dozens of seats now in play. These seats could be the difference between a hung Parliament and a working majority.

**NEEDLESS TO SAY, KEIR STARMER CAN ILL AFFORD BAD PRESS IN SCOTLAND, AND WILL DO ANYTHING TO PROTECT THIS NEW, UNEXPECTED POSITION.**

It is therefore no coincidence that the Clean Energy Mission launch was made in Scotland, with Scottish Labour Leader Anas Sarwar playing a key role, and joining Starmer for questions with the press. It was also announced at that event that Great British Energy will be based in Scotland, with many speculating it will be in Aberdeen.

In comments made at the Davos Summit in January 2023, Starmer said the oil and gas sector would "play its part" during the transition to net zero. However, Ed Miliband has used much stronger language, repeatedly signalling a rapid phase-out of the oil & gas sector.

A nuanced position has emerged, with Starmer saying at the Clean Energy Mission launch that any new licences in the North Sea approved by the current Government will be honoured if they come into power. Previous statements about not allowing new licences have been clarified, or perhaps now limited, only to stopping new exploration licences.

It has been well reported that Ed Miliband wanted to take a much stronger line on oil & gas, but has been sidelined in the interest of consolidating Labour's newfound strength in Scotland, leading to doubts in his future in the Shadow Cabinet.

In addition to drilling permits, there have been many questions asked about how Labour would apply their own Energy Profits Levy, or Windfall Tax. Having resisted Labour's calls for one, under the weight of public opinion the Government conceded and implemented a scheme which has negatively impacted the willingness, or indeed ability, of private companies to invest in green infrastructure.

Starmer is on the record as saying he wants a "proper" windfall tax, recognising that oil & gas companies need to have profits in order to invest.

## THE CONSUMER MARKET – MORE ASSERTIVE PRICE CAPS

**WA UNDERSTANDS THAT LABOUR WOULD SEEK TO PROTECT CONSUMERS FROM RISING ENERGY BILLS WITH A MORE ASSERTIVE ENERGY PRICE CAP AND CHANGES TO PLANNING REGULATIONS.**

**LABOUR HAS NOT HELD BACK IN CRITICISM OF OFGEM, INDICATING THEY WOULD MAKE SIGNIFICANT REFORMS IF IN GOVERNMENT.**

Whilst the main focus has been on how to achieve the 2030 commitment, and headline announcements on funding and Great British Energy, under Starmer the party has consistently shown that it would protect consumers from excessive energy prices through continued intervention, supporting a freeze in the energy price cap, which would have limited average bills to £1,971 a year, and pledging to end higher tariffs for those on pre-payment meters. It is likely to continue to promise to limit energy bills in the run-up to the next General Election, having pre-empted government plans to extend the windfall tax in January 2023.

Pressed about whether Labour would continue with the energy price guarantee over the longer term, Rachel Reeves has not been forthcoming, suggesting that energy prices were likely to decrease in the near term and that the extended windfall tax could provide additional flexibility if required.

On funding, Labour indicated that the cost of its energy price cap extension for three months would cost around £3 billion and would be funded by increasing the windfall tax on the profits of oil and gas companies from 35% to 78%, backdating the tax to the start of 2022 and preventing energy companies from claiming relief if profits are re-invested. At his Budget in March 2023, the Chancellor of the Exchequer Jeremy Hunt set out plans to extend the energy price guarantee to July at a cost of £2.95 billion.

On the theme of social justice, Reeves frames the energy bills debate in a way that deliberately sets energy companies against consumers, stating that “you’ve got [sic] one side these huge profits that oil and gas companies, energy companies are making” and “on the other side you’ve got these bills”. This suggests that while the Labour Party may seek to appear fiscally responsible, it views energy prices as an issue of social justice which it would be prepared to address with additional limits to consumers’ bills in the future if required. Ed Miliband has also not been reticent in criticising the energy regulator, Ofgem, for perceived failures that have led to higher energy bills. In December 2021, Miliband stated that “the Government and Ofgem are responsible for a failure of regulation over the last decade” and that consumers were paying higher bills because of the government’s “decade of failure to make our energy bills resilient”.

Wholesale gas prices for 2023-24 are predicted to go down more than 70 per cent from their peak in August 2022. The long-term outlook is uncertain, with 2023-24 still feeling difficult for households, and energy bills set to be 20% (or £400) higher in 2023-24 than in 2022-23.

A risk for the Labour Party is that an over-emphasis on climate change could appear out of touch at a time when the public is particularly focused on inflation and the economy.

Set against this context, Labour will also look to develop a narrative in which climate policies complement, rather than crowd out, other objectives such as tackling the cost-of-living crisis and drive forward levelling-up objectives. With the uncertainty of when the next General Election will take place, there is the additional risk that waiting buys the Conservatives time to see wholesale energy prices fall to pre-crisis levels, providing a light reprieve to the cost of living.

Thus far, the majority of focus on energy has been on the big targets of building clean energy capacity and hitting net zero. As the General Election approaches, businesses should expect to see more detail on consumer issues and the retail market, and how Great British Energy can contribute to positive consumer outcomes.



## DELIVERABILITY IS KEY

A focus on fiscal responsibility will influence the scale and pace of Labour’s energy commitments

**Labour knows that with the election approaching, even though voters are concerned about energy affordability and climate change, the Party must remain committed to fiscal responsibility, especially in an inflationary environment.**

Therefore, with the Conservatives sharpening their attacks on its spending pledges, some might say it was inevitable that Labour would have to reverse its original 2021 funding commitment.

Rachel Reeves appeared on the BBC’s Today programme in June 2023 to issue the U-turn, blaming the Conservatives for worsening the economic conditions the Party will inherit after the General Election, adding that “financial stability has to come first”. The reversal accompanied others, for example on tuition fees and universal free childcare – overall a signal of Reeves’ commitment to fiscal rectitude, as to paraphrase her predecessor, Gordon Brown.

Instead, Labour’s aim is now to gradually build up investment in the green transition during Labour’s first term in office, reaching £28bn in 2027.

**IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH WA COMMUNICATIONS JUST BEFORE REEVES’ ANNOUNCEMENT, A LABOUR SHADOW MINISTER, PERHAPS ANTICIPATING THE CHANGE, SAID THE £28 BILLION A YEAR FUNDING WOULDN’T “START STRAIGHT AWAY” AND THAT “YOU WON’T GET IT SPENT EVERY YEAR IN A METRONOMIC WAY” – A VIEW NOW FORMALISED BY THE SHADOW CHANCELLOR.**

The U-turn followed increasingly vocal concerns from the likes of former Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls, who said the initial £28bn a year may be financially unsustainable, commenting Labour “will have to show before the election that what they’re proposing falls within that commitment to a falling debt to GDP ratio”, adding that “if it looks like climate change is the exception... that will be a big problem for Labour”.

Even Ed Miliband, one of the key architects of the policy who reportedly privately challenged the U-turn, publicly backed the new plan on The World at One the day it was announced, stating that the commitment to meet fiscal rules must come first.

**AND THE DEVIL WILL BE IN THE DETAIL**

Labour’s big commitments so far come with little by way of detailed thinking.

**SPEAKING TO WA COMMUNICATIONS, A LABOUR SHADOW MINISTER REPORTED THAT “BEHIND THE HEADLINES THERE IS A HUGE AMOUNT OF DETAIL THAT IS YET TO BE RESOLVED AND FRANKLY THAT IS UNLIKELY TO BE PUT INTO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN AHEAD OF AN ELECTION”.**

*(Page 41 sets out Labour’s Manifesto development process).*

For example, the original investment pledge included £8 billion towards a National Wealth Fund to be co-invested with private companies in green projects.

The fund, according to Reeves, would ensure that “when we invest in new industries, in partnership with business, the British people will own a share of that wealth”. However, little detail on how this would work was published.

Again, scant detail accompanied Labour's energy policy roadmap Stronger Together: a fairer, greener future, published following Keir Starmer's Labour policy review in September 2022, which suggested that the investment pledge would support investment in "home-grown forms of power", encourage the development of British supply chains by "buying, making and selling more in Britain" and invest £6 billion to upgrade the energy efficiency of homes.

While these are impressive as political slogans, they offer no new detail and simply repeat the headline announcements previously made by Reeves and Miliband, in 2021.

Some of this is likely to be deliberate and political, with the Party not wanting to provide too much detail on its policies for fear of opening itself to excessive scrutiny. Or indeed to having its policies stolen by opposition parties, looking to capitalise on the uncertainty of when the General Election will be. However...

**Energy policy is such a complex and data-driven matter, and Labour simply doesn't have the resources to run the energy models, economic forecasts and other analysis required to develop policy detail.**

**This presents businesses with further opportunities to influence the direction of travel.**

**Those with access to such data or modelling could have an advantage when talking to Labour.**



# THE RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

What impact will Labour's plans have on the energy sector?

**An incoming Labour Government will require significant shifts from every corner of the energy world in terms of approach and attitude. There will be tangible opportunities, but for some, there may be risks.**

Below is WA's top-line summary of some of the main opportunities and risks for the energy sector:

## RENEWABLES

RISKS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GBE could compete with the private sector, negatively affect the market, and reduce demand.</li> <li>• Currently very little UK capability to manufacture the amount of capacity required, increasing need for imported goods.</li> <li>• Supply chain will take time to ramp up, both in skills and materials.</li> <li>• New planning and permitting regimes will require developers to adapt quickly and show they are constructively engaged.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greater focus on removing current barriers e.g. grids, planning and consenting, investment into ports for floating offshore wind.</li> <li>• The Green Prosperity Plan and increased public investment mean more opportunities sooner, with a stronger focus from government that could lead to further funding and greater investor confidence.</li> <li>• Critical blockers will be removed as a matter of urgency, with potentially more funding for emerging technologies such as floating offshore wind and marine energy.</li> <li>• Demand may increase if a Labour Government introduces targets for clean power by 2030, providing opportunities for expansion.</li> </ul>

## HYDROGEN

RISKS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hydrogen may not be seen as 'green' enough. Labour shadow ministers have already expressed concerns about 'blue' hydrogen, and the technology required to produce it at scale may mean it's seen as impractical in the near term.</li> <li>Needs big system thinking, which Labour hasn't done yet. The hydrogen market is in its infancy and needs stimulating.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vocal support for investment in hydrogen – particularly green hydrogen – from Rachel Reeves, Ed Miliband, and others.</li> <li>Likely to reduce barriers to entry for new projects.</li> <li>Impetus to save British Steel and protect other key industries through clear decarbonisation pathways drives demand for hydrogen.</li> <li>Opportunity to sell hydrogen as part of a wider solution, not just by itself.</li> </ul>

## NUCLEAR

RISKS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lull in newbuild programme could mean that consent for new projects will take more time to get online unless there's definitive stimulus.</li> <li>Inheriting a disheartened industry, with a supply chain totally dependent on go-ahead of Sizewell C.</li> <li>Uncertain appetite from private finance to invest in new nuclear projects.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Labour has been clear that it is part of the energy mix and the industry could then see an increase in demand.</li> <li>Chance to encourage that the work of Great British Nuclear be fed into Great British Energy to deliver a pipeline of nuclear projects.</li> <li>Labour has said the work of Great British Nuclear will be absorbed into GBE.</li> </ul>

## CARBON CAPTURE, UTILISATION AND STORAGE

RISKS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Labour has already expressed the limitation of CCUS in tackling climate change and may provide greater focus on achieving clean power more quickly.</li> <li>Not known whether a future Labour Government would continue with the current CCS cluster process.</li> <li>Seen as an unproven technology, with the shadow team questioning the feasibility of CCUS.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Likely support for projects in industrial areas where jobs need protection, such as the Humber and Teesside.</li> <li>Chance to craft pro-jobs narratives in these regions, and influence a delivery plan for projects.</li> <li>Labour frontbench have privately told WA that Labour would be willing to support projects that "want to have a go" – thus minimising the role of competition.</li> </ul>

## NETWORKS

RISKS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Already frustration with the time it takes to get new projects connected to the grid.</li> <li>Labour is planning to bring more scrutiny to electricity networks and put pressure on developers to get new connections built at pace.</li> <li>Labour more likely to intervene if they don't see enough progress from private sector.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Significant investment will be required in networks to get power to the grid.</li> <li>Investment will also be required to manage a more variable power system.</li> <li>Investment also required in improving UK HVDC cable manufacturing capability.</li> </ul>

## RETAIL MARKET

RISKS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Social tariffs or rising block tariffs could reduce energy companies' revenue and competitiveness, reducing profits and future investments.</li><li>• Open question as to how radical Labour wants to be on the retail market.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Main focus for Labour so far has been generation and infrastructure, meaning intervention in the retail market might not be imminent.</li><li>• The introduction of social tariffs or rising block tariffs could lead to a more satisfied customer base, with greater confidence in the retail energy market – securing its privatised future.</li><li>• There has been very little published by Labour in this area, forward-thinking companies could have opportunity to influence policy direction.</li></ul>

## INVESTORS

RISKS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The left wing of the Labour Party and the need to provide appealing policies to this base could increase the risk of greater Government intervention in the energy market, with reduced profits for energy companies and investors.</li><li>• Currently uncertain as to what routes to market are for new projects.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Clear targets and policy direction from a Labour Government could give greater confidence to investors and encourage investment in net zero technologies.</li><li>• Scaling back of manifesto spending commitment will increase reliance on private capital.</li></ul>

# Labour's policy-making process and key energy influencers



# THE DECISION MAKERS AND INFLUENCERS SHAPING LABOUR'S ENERGY POLICY

While senior Shadow Cabinet members have been keeping their cards close to their chest, given the complexities of the British energy market and the size of the scaling-up challenge, Labour will not be basing their policymaking on internal work and views only.

There will most certainly be a plurality of views taken into consideration. Labour's energy policy will reflect extensive consultation exercises with academia, trade union movements, think tanks and business.

Next Left: A guide to engaging with the Labour party provides an overview of the senior advisers and key influencers shaping the party's policies across every sector, including:

- The key figures heading domestic and economic policy in the Leader of the Opposition's Office, the team behind the Shadow Chancellor, and the party's media relations experts.
- The think tanks and trade unions that shape the party's broad thinking.

- The party's city and regional mayors across England, who could provide political and policy inspiration for an incoming Labour government at Westminster.



## THE SHADOW ENERGY TEAM

### ED MILIBAND

Shadow Secretary of State for Climate Change and Net Zero



Former Labour leader, Ed Miliband, has a long-held interest in energy and climate change policy. Back in 2008, Miliband was the first Secretary of State with the sole brief of energy and climate change under a new government department created by then Prime Minister, Gordon Brown. Miliband is one of a few members of the current Shadow Cabinet with experience serving in government and his influence extends far beyond his brief. Miliband's credentials will be vital to the leadership team preparing the party for government and, as Starmer adopts a corporate leadership style akin to that of a FTSE CEO.

### ADVISERS

**Jonty Leibowitz** has been in post for more than two years. Leibowitz previously worked for independent think tank the Centre for Local Economic Strategies and was a Social Innovator Fellow for social innovation accelerator Year Here.

**Tobias Garnett** is a former human rights lawyer, who served as a Policy Adviser to Keir Starmer during his Leadership Campaign before being appointed to Miliband's office.

In addition, two other party advisers are highly influential on Energy and Net Zero issues:

**John Bachelor** is the Leader of the Opposition's economic policy advisor on Net Zero, having joined Keir Starmer's team from the civil service, where he worked as an Economist at BEIS, and as a Senior Policy Adviser at HMT.

**Finn McGoldrick**, Political Adviser to Jonathan Reynolds, Shadow Secretary of State for Business and Industrial Strategy.

### Kerry McCarthy MP Shadow Minister for Climate Change and Net Zero

Elected in 2005, Kerry McCarthy's politics have been described as 'Brownite'. She has served on Labour's shadow frontbenches under all three leaders since 2010, albeit resigning from Corbyn's Shadow Cabinet following the EU referendum result in 2016. She was the first parliamentarian to make the case for veganism in the House of Commons in 2011.

At Labour's 2022 Party Conference, McCarthy made clear the importance of government-led funding and initiatives to ensure a fair transition to net zero. In the event of a Labour Government, McCarthy is likely to serve in either the Department for Energy or Department for Environment and Rural Affairs.

**Dr Alan Whitehead MP**  
Shadow Minister for Energy  
and Climate Change

Ever since his election in 1997, Whitehead has been a clean environment enthusiast. In September 2015, Alan was appointed as Shadow Minister for Energy and Climate Change, a position he resigned from in June 2016, calling for Jeremy Corbyn to stand down in the wake of the EU referendum. He was reappointed in October 2016.

Whitehead swayed from being a semi-hard left winger to a soft-leftist, but has been consistent in lobbying for the sourcing of more energy from clean sources, with scepticism of nuclear and CCS.

Though Alan announced he will stand down at the next election, his record of advocacy for energy-related issues and affiliation with SERA and Greenpeace mean Whitehead will be an influential factor as Labour forms its energy policy in the run-up to a General Election.

**Jonathan Reynolds MP**  
Shadow Secretary of State for  
Business and Industrial Strategy

With energy costs also significantly affecting businesses, and numerous industries struggling to decarbonise, Reynolds has already been outspoken about how especially small businesses should be helped with energy costs, having criticised the Government for not providing support soon enough for many businesses which have had to close.

He has also been vocal about the collapse of Britishvolt, the now mothballed car battery production facility, stating that Labour would get eight gigafactories built by 2040.



**INFLUENTIAL  
PARLIAMENTARIANS**

**Rt Hon Rachel Reeves MP**  
Shadow Chancellor of the  
Exchequer

As the former Chair of the Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy Committee, Reeves has a high level of policy knowledge surrounding energy markets and infrastructure projects, and has said she would be the UK's first "Green Chancellor".

If in Government, she is likely to act as a centrist brake against leftward drift. She is seen as a *bête noire* for many on the left of the party and it is likely that Reeves will continue to act as a check when in office.

**Pat McFadden MP**  
Shadow Chief Secretary  
to the Treasury

McFadden, alongside Miliband, is one of the few Labour MPs with ministerial experience, having served under both Blair and Brown in Government, but also as a political advisor to Blair and John Smith before entering Parliament.

A key ally of Keir Starmer, he is seen to be a prominent voice in the shadow team. He is the first line of defence for any frontbenchers looking to make spending commitments, so will be well aware of the cost implications of Labour's energy plans. A recent article in the *New Statesman* labelled him "Labour's Great Survivor", so it can be expected that he will take a prominent role into Government should Labour win the General Election.

**Darren Jones MP**  
Chair of the Business  
and Trade Committee

Darren Jones is a young Labour MP elected in 2019 who is already Chair of a Select Committee and sponsored the Forensic Science Regulator Act 2021.

As technology becomes increasingly important in energy and climate change policy, Jones is well positioned to capitalise on his legal career in technology law and provide Labour with technical policy expertise.

He has led Committee inquiries into decarbonising the UK housing stock calling on government to go 'further and faster' to insulate homes, and energy pricing and the future of the energy market calling for a permanent social tariff for vulnerable customers. Jones is also married to a net zero consultant and technology entrepreneur. However, he is now on the outside of the energy brief following Sunak's departmental reorganisation, so his influence on energy policy might diminish.



## THE CANDIDATES TO WATCH

### Miatta Fahnbulleh

Labour Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Camberwell and Peckham

Miatta was the chief executive of the left-wing think tank New Economics Foundation - a role she held since 2017 - only to step down following her selection as the parliamentary candidate for Camberwell and Peckham. Fahnbulleh also served as a policy adviser to the leader of the opposition, Ed Miliband, from 2013 to 2015.

Camberwell and Peckham has been represented by Labour's Harriet Harman since 1982, making it almost certain that Miatta will go on to represent the seat following a General Election.

Considering her previous relationship with Miliband and that the two recently appeared together at an event on Labour's net zero plan, Miatta is a likely contender for a ministerial position in Miliband's department and a prospective energy policy decision-maker, with an economic emphasis.

### Melanie Onn

Labour Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Great Grimsby

Melanie Onn is the former MP for Great Grimsby, and is poised to retake the seat having been recently selected as the Labour Candidate.

Since leaving Parliament, Onn spent three years as Deputy Chief Executive of RenewableUK, the trade association for wind, wave and tidal energy.

If successful in retaking her seat, she will be a key ally to the renewable energy industry, and would be a likely candidate to take Alan Whitehead's spot as Energy Minister after he steps down.

### Ieuan Môn Williams

Welsh Labour Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Ynys Môn

Before becoming Welsh Labour's PPC for his home seat of Ynys Môn, Ieuan spent five years working at the Nuclear Industry Association, having previously worked for the constituency's last Labour MP, Albert Owen.

He has been vocal in his support for new nuclear build on Anglesey, and this is highly likely to continue should he win the seat. Speaking to WA, he voiced his support for the "Energy Island" programme, aimed at bringing more marine and tidal projects, as well as floating offshore wind manufacturing.

## INFLUENCERS AND OPINION FORMERS

### IPPR

The Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) has had major influence on Labour energy policy to date.

The left-leaning think tank has called for significant investment in the green economy to deliver net zero commitments and is likely to have been a significant influence on the decision to commit to the party's Climate Investment Pledge.

In its policy report on the Green Transition published in July 2021, the IPPR recommended a minimum public investment of £30 billion a year until 2030, funded by borrowing, to tackle climate change. It argued that the funding should be used to "accelerate the path to net zero, to create jobs and 'level up' the country. These figures are close to the Labour Party's own announcements, with the Head of the IPPR's Centre for Economic Justice, George Dibb, stating that "Rachel Reeves' commitment [of] £28bn of new investment is in line with IPPR's proposals".

In its Green Transition report, the IPPR also stated that the UK Government should promote and introduce the following energy proposals:

- zero-interest business loans for investment in business energy efficiency and decarbonisation;
- industrial energy 'big switches' that offer power purchasing agreements to multiple industries to reduce energy costs;
- incremental carbon pricing on activities with the worst environment impacts;
- a legal requirement for financial institutions to set science-based interim and long-term targets for net zero and for nature;
- require the 'default' defined contribution pension funds to be net zero-aligned by 2030.

While neither the Government nor the Labour Party have adopted the above proposals, the influence of the IPPR on Labour Party policy development means that these could provide an indication of the type of policies that are likely to be considered as part of the Labour Party manifesto ahead of the next General Election.

The IPPR's Energy and Climate work is led by Luke Murphy – head of the think tank's Environmental Justice Commission.

Having previously worked for the Labour Party, Murphy heads up the energy, climate and infrastructure team. Luke has been at the centre of many recent reports, and should be considered a potential candidate to become a Special Advisor if Labour get into Government.

### **Tony Blair Institute for Global Change**

Only two of the living former Prime Ministers are from the Labour Party, and the Institute for Global Change is Blair's legacy project that commands influence both in the UK and internationally.

Beyond the reported informal conversations between leaders and former leaders, the Institute for Global Change is perhaps the more formal mechanism by which Tony Blair influences policymaking, and its reports can often be found cited in Labour Party policy documents.

Keir Starmer has also recruited from Blair's Institute by appointing Head of Insights, Marinna McFadden, as his deputy campaigns director. McFadden is also married to Labour's Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Pat McFadden MP.

### **Green Alliance**

Since 1979, Green Alliance has been the leading UK think tank on energy and environment policy and, crucially, works across the political spectrum hosting major speeches by political leaders including Tony Blair, David Cameron, Al Gore and Caroline Lucas.

Demonstrating the extent of its cross-party convening power, in 2015 the Green Alliance brokered a joint statement on tackling climate change between the three political leaders the Conservative, Liberal Democrats and Labour parties ahead of the Paris Climate Accords in 2016.

The Green Alliance has deep routes in parliamentary politics, with its Climate Leadership Programme aimed at informing MPs on the latest thinking on climate science and policy, and is the Secretariat of the Environment APPG.

### **Common Wealth**

Established in 2019, Common Wealth has gained traction as a left-of-centre think tank operating within the energy and climate change space to "design models of ownership for a democratic and sustainable economy". Founded by Mathew Lawrence, formerly a Senior Research Fellow at IPPR, Common Wealth won the Prospect's Think Tank Award 'One to Watch' in 2020. With Labour proposing a Great British Energy company, Common Wealth published a report suggesting that state ownership of electricity generation could save the taxpayer £20.8 billion per year.

It remains to be seen the extent of Common Wealth's influence; however, it has definitely prompted interesting conversations across the spectrum of Labour Party policymakers.

### **Climate Change Committee**

The CCC is an independent non-departmental body that has grown in influence as the Government increasingly seeks its advice. The CCC also tracks progress on reducing emissions and regularly reports to Parliament, and its verdict and reports are important. In July 2022, the CCC's work featured in the legal arguments of a group of climate campaign organisations that won a judicial review against the Government. The High Court ordered the Government to outline further details on the delivery of its Net Zero Strategy. The CCC is chaired by the UK's longest-serving former environment secretary, Lord Deben, who was instrumental in passing the Climate Change Act of 2008.



# LABOUR'S POLICY-MAKING PROCESSES, AND THE TIMELINE TO A MANIFESTO

Labour's energy policy-making timeline and how to engage



Next Left: A guide to engaging with the Labour party sets out Labour's policy-making process, from the work of the National Policy Forum and its Policy Commissions, to the important role this year's Party Conference will play, and the eventual Clause V meeting that will sign off Labour's 2024 election manifesto.

## TIMELINE

**21ST – 23RD JULY 2023**

### NATIONAL POLICY FORUM (NPF)

The Joint Policy Committee's draft platform is submitted to a meeting of the National Policy Forum.

Roughly 200 members will come up with a final platform to take to conference.

This process will be accompanied by significant input from the Leader's office and Shadow Cabinet.

**8TH – 11TH OCTOBER 2023**

### ANNUAL LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

The final National Policy Forum platform will be voted on at Annual Conference 2023 – forming part of the party programme which is drawn from when producing the general election manifesto (although as outlined in more detail on page 19 of Next Left: A guide to engaging with the Labour party, there is not a direct link between conference motions and manifesto policies).

**STARMER REGARDS THIS AUTUMN'S CONFERENCE AS A KEY STEPPING STONE TOWARDS THE ELECTION – WITH SHADOW CABINET MEMBERS ANNOUNCING MORE DETAILED POLICIES TO THE WIDER ELECTORATE THIS AUTUMN.**

**LATE 2023 / EARLY 2024**

The manifesto development process itself is normally led by a handful of senior party advisers, with input from members of the frontbench.

This process is usually highly secretive and tightly controlled by the Leader's office.

**2024**

### CLAUSE V MEETING

Once the general election is called, a Clause V meeting – bringing together representatives from every part of the party – signs off the election manifesto.



# LABOUR'S POLICY-MAKING PROCESSES, AND THE TIMELINE TO A MANIFESTO

## THE COMPLEXITY OF LABOUR PARTY STRUCTURES SHOULD NOT DETER BUSINESS FROM ENGAGING

Labour party structures are more complicated than their Conservative equivalents and can appear impenetrable to outsiders.

This is reflected in the policy-making process, which seeks to incorporate the views of a wider range of affiliated groups and stakeholders via a lengthy, formalised process designed to negotiate the diverse and often competing views within the party.

This does not, however, mean it's a closed door for business. Irrespective of formalised processes, a small group of senior figures will decide the policy offer Labour puts to the country in 2024, and informal influencing will continue in parallel to process-heavy policy development, presenting opportunities for the private sector.

## THE LABOUR PARTY IS IN THE MARKET FOR GOOD IDEAS AS IT SEEKS TO TURN AMBITIOUS TARGETS INTO DELIVERABLE POLICY

As we've shown, Labour's policy position at present is high level and broad brush. The leadership's focus has to date been establishing – and embedding in the public mind – the principles by which a Labour party would govern, with fiscal responsibility front and centre.

As Labour puts meat on the bones of its policy agenda it will be eager to hear from business as to how a Labour Government could turn these targets into a credible programme for Government.

## THE POLICY PLATFORM THAT WILL SHAPE LABOUR'S MANIFESTO

The initial blueprint for Labour's election policies came in May, in an 86-page National Policy Forum document drawing together submissions from Labour groups, NPF reports, past consultations and pledges announced by the shadow cabinet.

The National Policy Forum (NPF), the body of representatives from all the major groups in the Labour Party, is responsible for overseeing the democratic process underpinning policy development. A number of consultations recently closed, including on a 'green and digital future'. An NPF meeting in July will agree a series of reports, which will then be debated and voted on at Conference.

In addition to Rachel Reeves and Ed Miliband, Jonathan Reynolds, Shadow Business Secretary, will also play a role in ensuring the views of the private sector are considered. The external engagement team at Labour HQ, led by Vidhya Alakeson, provides another route in for businesses.

The early indications we can draw from this emerging policy platform, more detail on how it was developed, and the remaining steps to defining Labour's general election offer are outlined on our website:

<https://wacomms.co.uk/the-policies-that-will-shape-the-2024-labour-manifesto/>

## PARTY CONFERENCE WILL BE A KEY MILESTONE AS LABOUR SEEKS TO SET OUT ITS STALL

The Party's policy position is likely to crystallise in the period between now and Christmas, with the period before party Conference in October being particularly active.

Starmer regards this autumn's conference as a key stepping stone towards the election – with shadow cabinet members announcing more detailed policies to the wider electorate this autumn.

## THE MANIFESTO WILL BE DEMOCRATICALLY AGREED – BUT THE REAL DEBATE TAKES PLACE BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

The 'Clause V' meeting is the mechanism by which a Labour manifesto is formally agreed.

The meeting brings together representatives from the NEC, the Shadow Cabinet, the Parliamentary Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party ('PLP'), the Leaders of the Scottish and Welsh Labour Parties, and the Chair and three vice Chairs of the NPF and eight Trade Union members of the TULO Contact Group to decide which items from the Party programme shall be included in the manifesto.

## HOW TO TALK TO LABOUR ABOUT ENERGY POLICY – QUICK TIPS

- Research what has been said about your technology/project by Labour MPs and Trade Unions.
- Engage with officers at relevant Trade Unions in parallel to MPs and Shadow Cabinet, as well as regional Labour Party Directors.
- Approach MPs who have sit on relevant Select Committees, APPGs, or are associated with pressure groups.

- Ensure your message compatible with the 2030 zero carbon electricity goal, and wider 2050 net zero aims.
- See if there are any current gaps in Labour's energy policy which you could provide a palatable solution for.
- Talk up job and apprenticeship numbers, as well as any reskilling or retraining opportunities, and promote if your projects are in the traditional "Red Wall".
- Use any relevant national and international examples of what benefits your project would bring.

While the process is likely to involve healthy debate, it would be unusual for delegates to reject the proposed manifesto or lobby for inclusion of policies against the Leadership's will.

In both 2017 and 2019, Labour's Clause V meeting took place in the month preceding polling day. Given that changes are unlikely at the point a Clause V meeting is convened, businesses should seek to shape the agenda well ahead of this. It is never too early to engage, and with Labour in listening mode, good ideas will find a receptive audience.

We hope you find this guide a useful framework to understand the opportunities to engage with Labour at a pivotal period, shape the direction of the party's policy development, and align your organisation with the Shadow Cabinet's priorities.

To explore our analysis in more detail, and understand how these points apply specifically to your organisation, sector and situation, please get in touch:

[angushill@wacomms.co.uk](mailto:angushill@wacomms.co.uk)



Next Left: A guide to engaging with the Labour party explores the party's preparations for the general election – and how organisations can contribute to its thinking.

It provides more detail and context on many of the areas included in this report, including:

- Keir Starmer's thinking, and the party's overall approach to working with business.
- The senior advisers, prominent parliamentary candidates, and influential organisations.
- Labour's policy-making process, how its manifesto is being developed, and the timeline to the election.
- How to get heard — the messages that land, the role of strategic communications, and the opportunities to engage.

Read our guide in full at: <https://wacomms.co.uk/report/next-left-a-guide-to-engaging-with-the-labour-party/>



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