

# PROJECT PARLY

## Labour Manifesto Delivery Audit

A comparison of the 2024 Labour manifesto with government delivery since July 2024

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### Executive Summary

Labour has made its clearest progress where delivery depends on legislation or institutional creation. Its weaker areas remain promises requiring visible outcomes for households and public services: housebuilding, NHS waiting-time standards, asylum hotels, living standards, energy bills and migration outcomes.

**Key conclusion:** the government can point to real legislative delivery, but several high-profile pledges remain in progress, politically disputed, or off track.

## 1. Purpose and Method

This report measures major commitments from Labour's 2024 general election manifesto against publicly reported delivery since Labour entered government in July 2024. It separates delivery into four broad categories: delivered, in progress, changed or disputed, and off track or not delivered.

The judgement is necessarily a snapshot. Some pledges were designed for delivery across a full Parliament, while others depend on future data, implementation or measurable public outcomes.

## 2. Overall Delivery Picture

Independent tracker Full Fact says it is monitoring 92 key Labour pledges. Its public tracker currently lists 22 as achieved, 16 as appearing on track, 23 as in progress, 6 as appearing off track, 6 as not kept, 4 as unclear or disputed, and 15 as wait-and-see.

Interpretation: Labour has moved quickly on law-making and institutional reform. The bigger challenge is turning manifesto pledges into visible improvements in waiting times, housebuilding, living standards, energy bills and migration outcomes.

## 3. Summary Scorecard

Manifesto area	Assessment	What has happened
Workers' rights / Make Work Pay	Largely delivered legislatively	Employment Rights Act 2025 passed; most practical changes are being phased in during 2026-27.
Rail public ownership	On track / partly delivered	Public ownership law passed; operator transfers are underway.
Great British Energy	Delivered institutionally	Company created in law; bill, jobs and clean-power impacts remain to be proven.
NHS extra appointments	Delivered on narrow target	Extra appointments target judged achieved, but wider 18-week recovery is not achieved.
Housing: 1.5 million homes	Off track	Planning reforms passed, but build-rate target appears unlikely on current evidence.
Tax promises	Disputed / partly broken	Headline employee taxes not raised, but employer NICs increased; Full Fact rates NI pledge as not kept.
Private school VAT	Delivered / achieved	VAT on private school fees began in January 2025.
Breakfast clubs	In progress	Rollout has begun, but not yet in every primary school.
6,500 teachers	In progress	Delivery plan published; not yet fully delivered.
Rwanda scheme	Delivered / effectively ended	Scheme scrapped and treaty termination followed.
Asylum hotels	Off track	Hotels down in number, but people housed in hotels remained above June 2024 level in latest Full Fact data.
Neighbourhood policing	Appears on track	First-stage recruitment/redeployment target reported as met; full 13,000 target remains for Parliament.
Votes at 16	Appears on track	Bill introduced; not yet fully implemented.
Clean power 2030	In progress / very ambitious	Action plan published; 2030 delivery remains the central test.
National Wealth Fund £7.3bn	Not kept / disputed	Full Fact says the full £7.3bn is not being allocated to the fund itself.

## 4. Economy, Tax and Workers' Rights

**Manifesto promise:** Labour promised economic stability, a National Wealth Fund, industrial strategy, planning reform, 1.5 million homes, devolution and a New Deal for Working People. The manifesto said the National Wealth Fund would be capitalised with £7.3 billion over the Parliament.

**Delivery:** The Employment Rights Act 2025 is a major manifesto delivery. It became law on 18 December 2025, but ACAS says most changes have not happened yet and will come into effect during 2026 and 2027.

**Issues and caveats:** The major controversy is National Insurance. Labour said it would not increase National Insurance, income tax or VAT. The government later increased employers' National Insurance Contributions. Labour argues this did not raise tax directly on workers' payslips, but Full Fact rates the National Insurance pledge as not kept. The National Wealth Fund wording is also disputed because the full £7.3 billion is not being placed into the fund itself.

**Verdict:** Strong legislative delivery on workers' rights, but the tax and National Wealth Fund issues have damaged the pledge of strict manifesto discipline.

## 5. Housing and Planning

**Manifesto promise:** Labour promised to deliver 1.5 million new homes in England over the Parliament, supported by planning reform and grey-belt development.

**Delivery:** The government has passed major planning reform and amended the National Planning Policy Framework, including formalising grey-belt policy.

**Issues and caveats:** Passing planning laws is not the same as building homes. Full Fact currently judges the 1.5 million homes pledge as appearing off track.

**Verdict:** Policy machinery has moved, but actual delivery of new homes remains one of Labour's most vulnerable promises.

## 6. NHS and Health

**Manifesto promise:** Labour promised to build an NHS fit for the future, cut waiting times with 40,000 more appointments per week, restore the 18-week standard, introduce a Dentistry Rescue Plan and expand diagnostic capacity.

**Delivery:** The narrow extra-appointments pledge has been judged achieved by Full Fact. The government has also published a 10 Year Health Plan and moved on urgent dental appointments.

**Issues and caveats:** The wider NHS recovery is incomplete. The 18-week referral-to-treatment standard remains a major test, and waiting lists remain very high by historical standards.

**Verdict:** Labour has delivered a measurable first appointments target, but the public will judge the NHS by waiting lists, GP access, A&E, cancer care and dentistry.

## 7. Education and Opportunity

**Manifesto promise:** Labour promised free breakfast clubs in every primary school, 6,500 new expert teachers, VAT on private school fees, Ofsted reform and wider opportunity measures.

**Delivery:** VAT on private school fees was delivered from 1 January 2025. Breakfast club rollout has begun, and the government has published a delivery plan for 6,500 teachers. Ofsted reform is under way.

**Issues and caveats:** Universal breakfast clubs and the full 6,500-teacher pledge are not yet fully delivered.

**Verdict:** There is genuine progress, but two of the largest practical promises remain in delivery rather than completion.

## 8. Energy, Climate and Industry

**Manifesto promise:** Labour promised to make Britain a clean energy superpower, create Great British Energy, move toward clean power by 2030, and stop issuing new licences to explore new oil and gas fields.

**Delivery:** Great British Energy has been created in law. The government has published a Clean Power 2030 Action Plan and has so far not issued new licences to explore new oil and gas fields.

**Issues and caveats:** The manifesto presented clean energy partly as a route to lower bills, energy security and jobs. Those effects are not yet proven at household level.

**Verdict:** Institutional delivery is strong; practical delivery on bills, investment and clean power by 2030 remains the real test.

## 9. Crime, Policing and Borders

**Manifesto promise:** Labour promised a Border Security Command, scrapping the Rwanda scheme, a Neighbourhood Policing Guarantee and 13,000 additional neighbourhood police, PCSOs and special constables.

**Delivery:** The Rwanda policy has been effectively ended. Early neighbourhood policing recruitment or redeployment milestones have been reported as met.

**Issues and caveats:** The full 13,000 neighbourhood personnel target is for the Parliament and is not yet delivered. The asylum hotels pledge is weak so far, with Full Fact judging the number of people in hotels still above June 2024 in its latest assessment.

**Verdict:** Rwanda has been scrapped and policing work has started, but the asylum hotel promise remains a major unresolved problem.

## 10. Democracy, Constitution and Standards

**Manifesto promise:** Labour promised votes at 16, House of Lords reform, a new ethics and integrity commission and wider standards reforms.

**Delivery:** The government has introduced legislation to lower the voting age to 16 for relevant elections. Some Lords reform and standards work has moved forward.

**Issues and caveats:** Wider constitutional reform is moving slowly. Some House of Lords reforms have progressed, but replacing the Lords with a new second chamber is not delivered.

**Verdict:** Some movement is visible, but most of this agenda remains incomplete.

## 11. Bottom-Line Judgement

Labour's clearest progress has come where delivery depends on legislation or institutional creation: employment rights, private school VAT, Great British Energy, rail public ownership, Rwanda cancellation, and the start of policing and school reforms.

Its weakest areas remain promises that require visible public outcomes: housebuilding, NHS waiting-time standards, asylum hotels, living standards, lower energy bills and migration outcomes.

Category	Main pledges in that category
Delivered or mostly delivered	Employment Rights law passed; private school VAT; Great British Energy; rail public ownership framework; Rwanda scheme cancellation; extra NHS appointments target.
In progress but not yet proven	Clean power 2030; breakfast clubs; 6,500 teachers; neighbourhood policing; dentistry; votes at 16; planning reform; industrial strategy.
Off track or politically damaged	1.5 million homes; asylum hotels; the National Wealth Fund £7.3bn wording; and the National Insurance tax promise.

### Final framing for publication

Labour has made clear progress on legislation and institutional promises, but several of the manifesto's biggest public-facing outcomes remain incomplete, disputed, or off track.

## Sources Consulted

The report relies primarily on the Labour manifesto, official government and parliamentary material, and Full Fact's independent Government Tracker. These sources should be rechecked before future publication updates, as delivery status can change quickly.

**Labour Party Manifesto 2024:** <https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/Labour-Party-manifesto-2024.pdf>

**Full Fact Government Tracker:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/>

**Full Fact - National Insurance increase:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/national-insurance-increase/>

**Full Fact - National Wealth Fund capital:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/national-wealth-fund-capital/>

**Full Fact - NHS 40,000 appointments per week:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/40000-nhs-appointments-per-week/>

**Full Fact - 1.5 million homes:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/1-5-million-homes/>

**Full Fact - asylum hotels:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/asylum-hotels/>

**Full Fact - railway public ownership:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/railways-public-ownership/>

**Full Fact - ending Rwanda agreement:** <https://fullfact.org/government-tracker/ending-rwanda-agreement/>

**ACAS - Employment Rights Act 2025:** <https://www.acas.org.uk/employment-rights-act-2025>

**GOV.UK - Employment Rights Act 2025 factsheets:** <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/employment-rights-bill-factsheets>

**GOV.UK - Great British Energy Act 2025 factsheet:**

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/great-british-energy-bill-factsheets/great-british-energy-bill-overarching-factsheet>

**GOV.UK - Clean Power 2030 Action Plan:**

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/clean-power-2030-action-plan/clean-power-2030-action-plan-a-new-era-of-clean-electricity-main-report>

**GOV.UK - Planning and Infrastructure Bill becomes law:** <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/landmark-planning-and-infrastructure-bill-becomes-law>

**House of Commons Library - NHS waiting lists and elective recovery:** <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7281/>

**House of Commons Library - VAT on private school fees:** <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-10125/>

**GOV.UK Education Hub - Free breakfast club rollout:** <https://educationhub.blog.gov.uk/2026/02/free-breakfast-club-roll-out-everything-you-need-to-know/>

**GOV.UK - 6,500 additional teachers delivery plan:**

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/every-child-achieving-and-thriving/6500-additional-teachers-delivery-plan-html-version>

**Home Office - Neighbourhood policing programme:** <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/neighbourhood-policing-programme-as-at-28-february-2026/growth-under-the-neighbourhood-policing-programme-as-at-28-february-2026-management-information>

**House of Commons Library - voting age:** <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01747/>

Publication note: This report is a snapshot as of 12 May 2026 and should be updated as new official data, legislation and delivery milestones become available.