

FABIAN REVIEW

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A dark, moody illustration of a forest floor. The scene is dominated by tall, slender tree trunks and dense foliage. In the center, a single, vibrant red rose stands out against the green and brown tones of the forest. The lighting is dim, creating a sense of mystery and depth.

LABOUR IN A NEW LANDSCAPE

*How can Labour flourish in modern Britain? With Dan Corry, Patricia Hewitt, James Morris and Ed Wallis **p8** / Mary Riddell speaks to Dan Jarvis about Labour's battle for relevance **p14** / The deputy leadership candidates set out their pitches to the party **p18***

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FABIAN REVIEW

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FABIAN REVIEW

Fabian Review is the quarterly journal of the Fabian Society. Like all publications of the Fabian Society, it represents not the collective view of the Society, but only the views of the individual writers. The responsibility of the Society is limited to approving its publications as worthy of consideration within the Labour movement.

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The next chapter

Labour will win again when people see that it admits past mistakes and understands the future, writes *Andrew Harrop*

LABOUR LOST IN May because the party believed 2010 was its nadir. It seemed unthinkable that millions of people who had voted for Gordon Brown, in the midst of economic crisis, would abandon the party five years later. The Scottish polls seemed unreal and the UK polls disguised the truth. But in the event, Labour lost millions of its 2010 voters, not just to the SNP, but also to UKIP, the Greens and the Conservatives.

Above all, Labour lost its grey vote, with Ipsos MORI reporting that support for the party fell among the over-65s from 31 per cent to 23 per cent. These voters, former Brown and Blair supporters, sniffed the air and concluded that a vote for Labour was too great a risk. If Labour had secured their confidence and trust, it would be in government.

Now, the party has a mountain to climb. A recent Fabian report estimated that the party needs to gain at least 106 seats in 2020 to win a majority, reaching deep into suburban and market town England. But to win, the party can't just shuffle to the right, because it also needs to convince liberal urban voters, the lost working classes and the Scots.

The party's opponents will seek to divide this broad constellation of voters on lines of culture, values, and identity. Labour's task is to unite them – and it must do so by showing it understands Britain's future and can combine fairness and hope with competence and security. This is the challenge for Labour's new 'big tent' politics.

The first step is to avoid despair. Today Cameron and Osborne are at their peak, but five years is a long time and political pendulums swing. The Conservatives will make mistakes, or be pulled from the centre-ground by their own extremists. Recession could return, and if it does, the left must be ready to pin its origins on our home-grown economic vulnerabilities.

So Labour must be prepared, as a competent, professional opposition to pounce, when 'events' shift the political weather. That will mean taking tough decisions in the short term, because the new leader must show that the party has listened and changed. Labour must be true to itself, but its aim must be to earn a hearing from pensioners and private sector workers not its own activists.

The party must not refight the battle it has just lost, nor turn back to the nostalgia of 1945, 83 or 97. It will win again when it can show it has a story of the future; that is the party of the 2020s. That means combining a deep understanding of the trends that will shape our lives – technology, inequality, ageing, climate, housing, tensions between global and local, the changing nature of government – with a hopeful account of Britain's next chapter.

It must not be a story of risk and rupture. Instead Labour must prove that, in the uncertain world of the 2020s, only the left offers a credible version of stability and security. Next time people – of every age – must say, the real risk lies in *not* voting Labour. **F**

Campaign shortcuts



LESSONS FROM THE BATTLEGROUND

It's brand that matters to swing voters, not policy—*Cordelia Hay*

Rewind back to 29th April, a week before Britain went to the ballot box, to a focus group of swing voters in Dewsbury town hall. When asked “in just one policy or idea, what does the Conservative party stand for?” they chorused back: “the economy, the long-term economic plan”, without skipping a beat. When asked the same for Labour, the room was silent.

At BritainThinks we convened a panel of swing voters drawn from battleground constituencies across Britain for the duration of the short campaign, tracking their day-to-day experiences of the election via a smartphone app, and bringing them together for group discussions. As the party continues to wring its hands and gaze at navels, and the leadership candidates limber up for the fight, looking back at the real-time experiences of our swing voters over the course of the 2015 campaign reveals some important lessons for Labour.

Lesson one: voters' impressions of the party brands and leaders matter so much more than policy. If you ask any voter why they are thinking of voting a certain way, or what attracts them to a particular party, they will invariably tell you that it's about 'policies'. But their real-time experiences of the campaign tell a very different story.

Of the hundreds of daily diary entries uploaded via their smartphones, just a fifth referred to policy. In a week when Labour announced its pledge to scrap non-dom tax status – a policy that tested well among voters who are angry about tax avoidance – our voters were more likely to be talking about Michael Fallon's attack on Ed Miliband, and Zayn Malik leaving One Direction.

The Conservatives did a better job of recognising this, reflected in the discipline of

their campaign, focused on just a handful of core messages about economic competence and strength of leadership, rather than Labour's disparate collection of policies that voters needed to work hard to listen out for and fit together.

Lesson two: Voters filter what they see through what they already know. Over the course of the campaign we were able to use the rich combination of online and offline data to map each of our voters' journeys. What was perhaps most striking was how little changed from the campaign's start to its end. In general, the campaign served to strengthen swing voters' existing views rather than prompt reappraisal.

The few messages that did get through were those which symbolised a deeper held 'truth' for our voters. For our Scottish voters, Miliband's rejection of the possibility of a post-election deal with the SNP played right in to an existing belief that Labour is a party of the Westminster establishment. For those in England any new pledge by Labour was interpreted as more 'spend, spend, spend'. By contrast, Conservative spending – including the unfunded £8bn pledged for the NHS – was rarely questioned. Labour's triple lock policy was aiming at the right problem – question marks over its economic competence – but ultimately fell on deaf ears because the party hadn't done enough to move the brand on from the perceived profligacy of the past. This was a case of too little too late for Labour.

Lesson three: even some Labour voters feel relieved about the result. On the morning of 9th May, Jessica from Ealing, who voted Labour, told us that she was “a little bit disappointed, but a little bit relieved”. For voters like Jessica, five more years of the Conservatives might have represented uncertainty for the vulnerable in our society, but five more years of the Conservatives did represent certainty for her own lot in life.

The mood among many swing voters now isn't one of despondency. Instead it is relief, confidence and even hope now that 'things are on the right track', and Labour must avoid projecting its own emotions onto the electorate. The party misinterpreted the belief in the run-up to the election that our economy was improving, but still very much in recovery mode, as ripe for an agenda about fairness, when actually this translated into many voters wanting to see the Conservatives finish the job.

Labour has to understand where swing voters are now, and going to be over the next five years, and ground its plan for the future in this. A clue is in the language voters use – few use the rhetoric of 'right', 'left' and 'centre' that is already pervading the leadership debate. More simply they talk about what's best for them and their family. They don't talk about the Conservatives' slim majority and in-fighting within the party – they talk about the Conservatives' 'decisive' win.

It would be easy to blame Labour's defeat on leadership and, yes, that was a big part of the problem. But the lessons from the Battleground Britain project tell us that Labour's biggest challenge in this new landscape is more deeply rooted than this. It's about the clarity of its brand and core message, and this message has to relate to how swing voters are feeling in their own lives. ■

Cordelia Hay is research lead at BritainThinks



ON THE MARCH

Labour's new leader must learn to harness the party's army of activists—*Felicity Slater*

The 2015 election was, for Labour, a harrowing reminder of the fundamentals of British politics. As YouGov's Peter Kellner warned repeatedly, there is no precedent for victory without a lead on economic competence or leadership. But 2015 also provides new insights into how we need to change to win, as the country evolves in the 21st century.

As any activist will know, there is nothing to rival the daily routine of knocking on door after door to put your politics to the test. I spent the short campaign in Wirral South. The seat was won by Labour in a 1996 by-election and was held on to against the odds with a wafer thin majority of 531 by new

candidate Alison McGovern in 2010. This May, she went on to win again, with another national-swing-defying majority of 4599.

Labour now faces a long summer of debate and soul searching, having headed straight into a leadership contest which has so far failed to ignite. But in order to move on to 2020 we need to learn from 2015, and here are three key lessons Labour's next leader must take to heart if we are to return to office.

The first is that first impressions matter. Voters were bringing up that Ed stood against his brother right until polling day; whether or not you might think this was unfair or irrelevant is secondary to the impact the perception had among voters. So many different messages came from the leader's office – weeks in the campaign, for example, designated to focus on the NHS would be broken up by speeches on home affairs – that it created space for a distinct, negative and ultimately Tory-driven narrative about Miliband and his leadership to emerge.

All the leadership candidates must understand that the platform on which they might eventually stand for election as prime minister is merely an extension of the platform on which they are currently standing for election as party leader. It is naïve to think that the press will give anyone a blank slate on 12 September, and, even more, to think that the electorate won't take any notice, either.

Second, don't believe your own hype. Leaders, and their teams, must not forget to situate the polls – and, crucially, whatever people are saying in Westminster – in what activists are hearing on the ground. From my first day in Wirral South, it was obvious that the 'bubble' felt the election was much closer than people were telling anyone who was on the doorstep. Our new leader must not simply listen to those who are saying what they want to hear but be open to what can often be hard and painful truths from the ground. One of the staggering facts about how blasé the party leadership was about the polls in 2015 was that someone in headquarters would have had access to all the voter ID from all our key seats – which would have painted a much bleaker, and more accurate, picture than national polling did.

Practically, this means our new leader needs to appoint the best, most experienced person to head up campaigns and ask them to challenge how the party works. It means finding organisers who have bucked the trend in Labour-Tory marginals, and seizing their ideas for how our national organisation and data-capture can harness the success of our most phenomenal ground games. And it means always taking the polls with a pinch of salt.

The third lesson is that incumbency prevails. One of 2015's saddest truths was that having outstanding candidates in target seats across the country was not enough. From Victoria Grouleff in Reading West to Sarah Sackman in Finchley and Golders Green, or Jess Asato in Norwich North to Amina Lone in Morecambe and Lunesdale: we selected early, we selected good candidates – but their outstanding efforts were nothing in the face of Ed's unpopularity.

In Wirral South, Alison was able to win because she ran an outstanding campaign, but crucially had all the advantages of office, as a highly effective and popular MP. 2015 demonstrated that a long stint as a candidate almost only ever pays off if you are the incumbent, not the insurgent. So the new leader should champion a change in when and how we select. For all that it might boost activists to have a parliamentary candidate in place almost three years before the election, it is a phenomenal ask to make of anyone – and the most likely outcome is to deter a more representative group of people from standing, while needlessly pushing those who do to the limit.

2015 proved that, even with the best army of candidates, organisers and activists, we couldn't win on the ground war alone, particularly as the party leadership wasn't willing to listen or respond to what they were reporting back. Our new leader must be relentlessly ambitious and focused about how we harness that army to our greatest advantage. But they have to get the vision and the message right to put the next election into play. ■

Felicity Slater is head of partnerships and events at the Fabian Society



BIG CONVERSATION

You cannot persuade people that Keynesianism is correct one conversation at a time—
Mari Williams

In 2010, the Tories won Cardiff North by 194 votes. In 2015 the incumbent MP

was standing down but, as in so many Tory-Labour marginals across England and Wales, we lost with an increased Tory majority of over 2000. When I congratulated the new Conservative MP for Cardiff North on his election in the early hours of May 8th, his consolatory remark to me was, "it wasn't you". I am pleased to say that I resisted the urge to retort, ungraciously, that "it wasn't you either". But he was right and my unspoken retaliation would have been too. Ultimately, the outcome of the election was determined by the respective strengths and weaknesses of the national messages presented by the Conservative and Labour parties, not by local campaigns or candidates.

In Cardiff North we ran a tightly-organised ground campaign that combined local community campaigning with extensive canvassing. Alongside Julie Morgan, our assembly member, we led successful campaigns against cuts to local libraries and bus services and we made personal contact with 66 per cent of the electorate. Yet too many voters we spoke to simply weren't convinced by Ed Miliband and Labour.

We are best when our national message is loud, clear and simple. Think 'education, education, education'; think 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime'

Although they had fewer activists, the Tories won because they targeted the right people, hitting them again and again with simple, convincing messages. The local candidate in Cardiff North would make jokes about the frequency with which he repeated their 'long-term economic plan' mantra. In 1987, Thatcher successfully deployed the 'medium-term financial strategy' catchphrase and it worked again this time. In four words the Tory message eclipsed our nuanced campaign around the cost of living.

It wasn't just about the effectiveness of the simple catchphrase though. The persuasiveness of the message also played a role. In Cardiff North the electorate bought into the need to vote for the option that they thought was better for the country, if not necessarily better for themselves in the short term. One man I spoke to a few weeks before polling day had lost his job as a result of cuts in further education, but he considered the cuts necessary. He said he was a floating voter and wanted to know >>



FEDERAL FUTURE

Labour risks being left behind in the devolution debate—
Sarah Hayward

The UK is one of the most centralised countries in the OECD. There is growing consensus that this is wrong. It is inefficient and doesn't always get the outcomes we want. Policy and spending decisions taken in narrow silos in Whitehall can frustrate delivery at a local level. If you think logically, why would pulling a lever in Whitehall have the same impact in both Camden and Carlisle? It doesn't – and we're kidding ourselves if we think it does.

But Labour risks being left behind in the devolution debate. The Tories have stolen a march with their 'northern powerhouse' and the statist in our party continue to fear postcode lotteries or swiss cheese services. But again, we're kidding ourselves. There's already a patchwork of services, variable in quality, availability and outcome across the country. It's just that at the moment no one is democratically accountable for the differences.

Labour needs to be much bolder. George Osborne recent "pause" in the upgrade of the TransPennine route has led the northern powerhouse to be dubbed the northern powercut by council leaders in the region. This gives Labour an opportunity to seize the initiative.

We need to support something much closer to federalism for our cities, counties and communities. And we should push power down to the lowest possible level. Labour will need to learn to trust local democracy. If we're to get this right then we must be radical about devolving tax and spending powers too. As Harriet Harman told the LGA conference in July, "you can't empower local government if you impoverish it".

The lowest level will vary between different services and different geographies. When Wales has around one third the population of London but a far larger



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geographic area, what's delivered at each level in Wales will be different to what's delivered in London. Yes, some of it has to be national, defence and diplomacy being obvious examples. But for most services, centralised delivery frustrates the outcome and has no democratic oversight.

Many structures already tacitly acknowledge this problem, like NHS England or the regional probation services. But Whitehall puts administrators in charge, so local people have no democratic power to change things when services don't work for them.

Councils like Camden already deliver excellent services. Our youth offending work is recognised as some of the best in the country. But government didn't look to local authorities already delivering offender management when it reformed probation; it went to two large private companies. But who has the greater democratic investment in reducing reoffending in our communities?

Across Whitehall, most departments are developing policy and delivering services that would be better delivered at a community, council or regional level. In a federated system, Whitehall would still set outcomes and national policy frameworks. We need, for example, national qualifications standards so employers can understand the skills potential employees have.

This isn't a town hall power grab – in many cases power needs to be spread much further. Why not look to see whether individual primary schools can work with their pupils and parents on specific issues.

Or residents associations. Or the voluntary sector. Take childhood obesity, for example. These types of organisation have trusting relationships and may be able to build tailored solutions to help people lose weight – or prevent obesity in the first place.

Which organisation takes the lead will vary depending on the needs of local people and the capacity of the organisations. But the point is local democracy has to be given the powers and budgets it needs.

If Labour can learn to trust its council leaders, this type of radical devolution presents a massive political opportunity, as well as a means of improving public services. We've been outflanked by the Tories on both the northern powerhouse and so called 'English Votes for English Laws' (EVEL). However, real federalism for our cities, regions and communities, with national government left to deal with the genuinely national, would allow Labour to offer a real alternative.

Labour has been out of power nationally for five years and will be for five more. But in towns and cities across the country Labour is in power. We're spending tens of billions of pounds pursuing Labour values for our communities. We're doing this in spite of national government. We're being financially innovative but ultimately we're making the best of a bad situation.

A bold federalism will ensure that the parts of the country that vote Labour, get Labour – whoever forms the national government. **F**

Sarah Hayward is leader of Camden council

what was in it for him and his family if he voted Labour. Two of us stood on his drive and tried to persuade him of the benefits of well-funded schools and hospitals and a society where those who have a bit more pay a bit more for the benefit of everyone. I'm not sure how he voted but he looked as convinced by the idea of trickle down social benefits as many are by trickle down economics.

The Tories' long-term economic plan message was complemented by attacks on Labour's economic record and general competence, framed round a few memorable anecdotes: Gordon Brown and the sold gold; Liam Byrne and the apology note; and Ed Miliband and the missing paragraph. Our references to the significance of a complex world banking crisis were lost in the simplicity of Tory attacks. Our efforts to persuade people of our economic competence by having arguments on driveways failed; you cannot persuade people that Keynesianism is correct one conversation at a time.

We are best when our national message is loud, clear and simple. Think 'education, education, education; think 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime'. We need to offer the electorate messages of simple substance, which resonate with their experiences and concerns.

We have to start developing and delivering those messages now. The Welsh Assembly elections are less than a year away but the Tories are already fighting the 2020 campaign. Every vote they initiate in parliament sends Labour into internal battles over welfare and economics.

We seek to develop carefully nuanced positions with reference to the ideological disputes of the past and competing economic theories, instead of focusing on how to explain these positions to the electorate, or what the electorate might think of them. This will result in policies and positions we can't sell to the voters that matter at the next election.

No matter how credible our local candidates, no matter how many people our local canvassers speak to or how many leaflets we deliver, if the UK national politics aren't right on the big issues, we won't win. A majority of voters share Labour values and want a society where the home you are born into does not dictate your destiny, where hard work brings rewards and the most vulnerable are looked after and included. But we need to persuade the electorate that we can deliver this, as well as reminding them that we have a strong record on economic growth and that balancing the budget over

the economic cycle is not a Tory policy but what Labour governments do.

The argument we make and, crucially, the way we express it over the next two years will determine our chances of convincing the electorate to believe in and vote for the Labour, rather than the Tory story in 2020. **F**

Mari Williams is a secondary school deputy head-teacher and was Labour's candidate in Cardiff North in 2015



INSIDE OUT

Newly elected MPs must remain community champions, not disappear into Westminster—
Ruth Cadbury

I'm not sure if I can describe the feeling I experienced in the early hours of May 8th. Relief, after years of hard work, that our seat was Labour once again having lost in 2010. Proud of my organiser and our team. Honoured to have been elected and that I could now get on with representing the constituency in parliament.

But like all of us in the Labour family, I was disappointed with the national result which was nothing short of savage. We didn't come close to winning – ours was 27th on the key seat list, and Labour only won six seats above mine on that list. My majority is 465. Only about a quarter of the key seat candidates were successful and we lost many hard-working MPs, despite all running excellent campaigns. We took blows from all directions, and in the end were knocked out, cold. Numerous candidates who put their lives on hold for years were left feeling empty in defeat. Thousands of activists are left deflated.

But we have to accept that we lost because people didn't trust us to run the country. The voters had a choice, and they picked the other team.

The party as a whole has a lot of soul searching to do. The leadership election is the start of our journey to address that. Meanwhile we have five years of opposition. In the chamber, we have to sit across from



the Tories unconcerned about the impact of their policies on ordinary people. Even the most accurate and stinging attacks from Labour MPs just roll off them like water off a duck's back. But it is vital that we continue to make the argument and hold them to account, sharing the local experiences of those impacts, using the vehicles of debates, questions and motions.

As a new MP I am learning my way around the parliamentary processes and I've already had some success in raising local issues in a way that might make a difference for some constituents. But just as important, we all have to evaluate how we engage with the public.

We heard a lot of talk about millions of conversations, but in reality most of them were just a one question conversation, while the Tories were having many real, two-way conversations with a few hundred voters in their target seats. MPs have to be community champions and local campaigners. A large amount of the distrust in parliament comes from the fact that most people hear little from their MPs until an election is round the corner. As someone who has been a long-standing councillor, I can celebrate and build on work I led on there.

Labour councils have been on the front line of the attacks on public services and the incomes of ordinary people that will be even more brutal in this parliament than the last. We adopted the London living wage for our staff and those of our contractors, and kick-started the regeneration of our town centres. We recognised the impact the welfare cuts were going to have and initiated a new food bank.

Less overtly 'Labour' but nevertheless hugely important in one area, is the smell from the large sewage works. Being in parliament has already allowed me to bring the issue to the direct attention of the new minister. But compared to being in power, as a backbench opposition MP I can make little difference to the things that really matter to us as Labour people.

We're not in politics to be in opposition. I stood because I want Labour to be in government, and we have some work to do if we have any chance of winning in 2020. Only when we have a credible vision of where we collectively want to take our country will Labour have a chance of winning the next election. We have to work together, within and beyond the Labour movement, in parliament and outside of it, to craft that vision. **F**

Ruth Cadbury is the new MP for Brentford & Isleworth



TOWARDS 2020

Labour's strong ground campaign needs marrying with a broader-based offer to the public—
Tulip Siddiq

I was a candidate for my home seat of Hampstead and Kilburn for two years before the election and I canvassed every inch of the constituency during that period. After 2010, my seat was the only genuinely three way marginal in the country and many expected the Tory vote to remain stable, and for Lib Dem voters to flock to Labour in their droves. If I had relied on that happening, I wouldn't be writing this as the MP for Hampstead and Kilburn.

Indeed, my Conservative opponent increased the Tory share of the vote by a respectable 9.6 per cent. Former Lib Dem voters split evenly between the two main parties. What won it for Labour was an even greater increase in our vote share, at 11.6 per cent – the sixth highest of any Labour-Tory battleground seat.

We should capitalise on the fact that for many Conservative voters, the Tory majority government was a surprise – many assumed another coalition would dilute their more extreme elements

Given the depressing national outcome, we all now have to pause, rethink and reflect on what went wrong. But we also shouldn't lose sight of the things we got right. From my experiences in Hampstead and Kilburn, I will be drawing a number of key lessons from the 2015 general election.

The key factor in my success locally was a successful ground game, which engaged traditional Labour voters who hadn't supported us in 2010. We shouldn't forget what a good canvassing strategy can do. The opinion polls were defied not only by 'shy Tory' voters who delivered an unexpected increase to the Conservative vote share, but also Labour voters who stayed at home.

To win in 2020, we need to pay heed to both of these groups.

This means, on the one hand, spearheading a strategy to engage our traditional supporters. As Scotland has shown, no party can any longer rely on large swathes of voters to back them without question. As part of this, we need to retain those elements of our 2015 campaign which were indeed successful.

We should hone our door-knocking strategy and retain the policy commitments of 2015 which were popular, such as our bold commitments on climate change and our sensible policies for the private rental sector.

But we clearly need to reach out in other ways and listen to those voices who had previously voted Labour but felt they could no longer support us even though they shared our core values.

However, this needs to be supported by a broad-based policy offer that will appeal to middle-class voters who supported us in 1997. Although many smaller parties have risen to prominence in the 2015 general election, we still shouldn't forget the importance of taking the fight to the Tories, and winning over Conservative voters in key marginals.

The collapse of the Lib Dem vote means that in many English seats, including mine, voters have once again coalesced around the two main parties. Labour's national message in 2015 wasn't effective for this kind of contest – on average, our vote share went up by a measly 0.6 per cent in Conservative-held seats where we were second.

This needs to change. For a start, we should capitalise on the fact that for many Conservative voters, the Tory majority government was a surprise – many assumed another coalition would dilute their more extreme elements. Such voters will be worried about their proposals on the EU and human rights, and we should take advantage of this.

Charting a clear road to victory in 2020 means taking note of what we got right as well as what went wrong. A strong ground campaign promoting key messages to target groups can help empower traditional Labour voters to return to the fold. Some policies were enticing to elements of our support base.

Now we need to marry this with a broader-based offer to the public, and take the fight to the Tories in order to form a Labour government in 2020. **F**

Tulip Siddiq is the new MP for Hampstead and Kilburn

Let Labour flourish



Ed Wallis is editor of the Fabian Review

What is Labour's place in a new political landscape? This is the question the party must seek to answer as it comes to terms with its shocking electoral defeat.

Labour's current challenge is unique – both in terms of its history, with so many of the old political certainties no more, and compared with its political rivals. Labour is the only party who needs to fight seriously on all geographical fronts, to unite voters across an increasingly disparate kingdom. And the party must conduct fleet-footed guerrilla warfare against a wide range of political insurgents, all the while opposing the old enemy – in the shape of the first Conservative majority government of the 21st century. Labour must simultaneously appear a serious party of government and a compelling radical force.

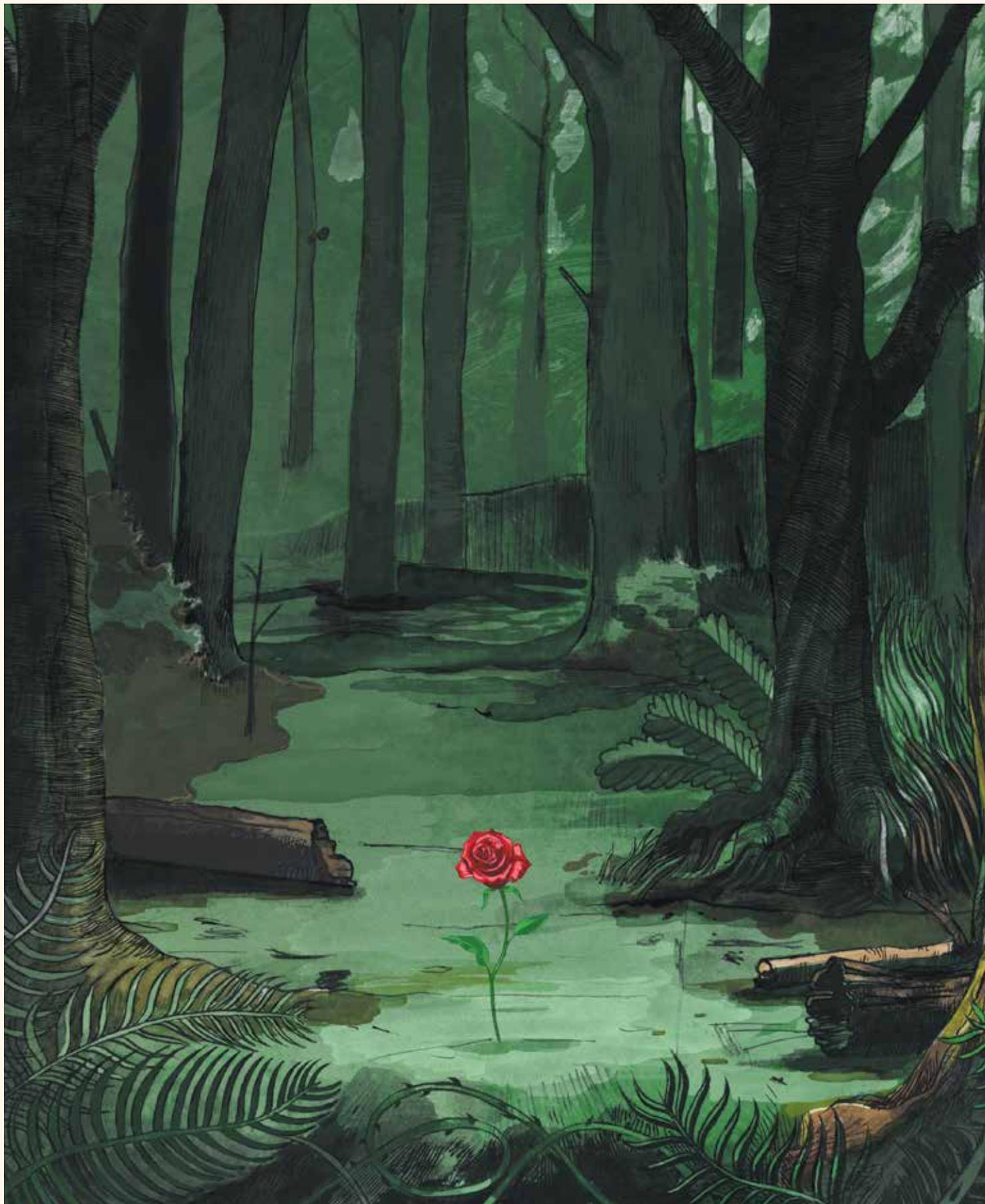
This is clearly a difficult circle to square. Seeing it as a binary conundrum about which way to march along a left-right spectrum not only fails to appreciate the complexities of modern democracies, but also suggests attracting some voters will mean repelling others. Instead, Labour must venture along a more winding path and seek to redefine what it's for. What is the role of this party, in this place, at this time? Either we have a good enough answer to that question, and we begin to win back people's trust. Or we don't – and Labour faces an uncertain future.

Because one of the clear lessons from Labour's defeat is that when people retreated to the quiet of the ballot box, just themselves with their hopes and fears before them, ultimately they couldn't bring themselves to put their faith in Labour. When it comes down to it, people are not really voting for a particular policy or person. To the extent that people know what's in a party manifesto, they probably

don't believe it will be delivered anyway. What people are making is a judgement on the instincts of a political party and the extent to which they feel they align with their own. On the manifold number of unpredictable events and issues that will occur over a five year parliament, will this particular group of politicians be guided by instincts that are the same as mine? Does Labour have credible common cause with the people of this country?

To unlock this, Labour must find a way to combine competence and excitement. This will require a sensible centre anchoring a radical movement. A national leadership that exudes calm credibility, on the economy, on security, on public services – that looks and feels like it will manage the country's affairs in a manner that seems reasonable to most people. A party in Westminster that looks creatively to the future, with an optimistic story about how we will collectively overcome the challenges we face.

Beyond that, power must be decentralised as far and as wide as possible, drawing on local, radical traditions, so the Labour party once again becomes embedded in particular places and present in people's lives. This means vibrant and distinct English, Scottish and Welsh Labour parties, but also letting local CLPs off the leash. It is through empowered local leadership that Labour can find its place in modern Britain – and that will mean different things in different parts of the country. The country is quite obviously too diverse for this to be set from the centre; we must no longer be seeking to craft a uniform programme under the direction of a heroic leader. Instead, a new leader must seek to do fewer, bigger things: establish in the clearest possible terms Labour's purpose and define the broad parameters of its offer – and then let Labour flourish across the country. **F**



Credibility regained

Labour's lost economic reputation will not be found in a transformational policy or particular deficit reduction timetable. It requires a long, slow slog to establish the right tone on economic policy, writes *Dan Corry*



Dan Corry was a special adviser in various departments during the Labour government including DTI, Treasury and No 10. He worked for Labour's frontbench economics team from 1989–92 and was senior economist at IPPR 1992–97.

IN THE IMMEDIATE aftermath of Labour's painful election defeat, every different colour of the progressive left emerged to give its view as to why Labour lost. Each particular brand of progressivism was able to show that – lo and behold – the data proved that a desertion from their particular creed is what lost us the election.

As the dust begins to settle, there is probably a bit of truth in every critique – whether that be lack of clarity about what the party now stands for or not having a decent pitch to aspiration and to middle England.

A particularly stubborn strand of the post-election debate is whether Labour did or did not spend too much in the years before 2007. A subsidiary of this question is whether we should apologise for it in any case, whatever the truth might be. In terms of the facts a paper I co-authored with Professor John van Reenen of the LSE in 2011 still reads pretty well. "In retrospect, it is clear that public debt levels were too high for the stage of the cycle in 2008 in the UK (alongside many other countries like the US, Ireland and

Spain)"but that" the poor state of the public finances was a consequence of the recession, not a cause of it."

But arguing endlessly with the public about what went right or wrong in the run up to 2007 will never get us anywhere, as our history clearly tells us. Most analysis of the Labour government of 1974–79 suggests that it did not do too badly relative to other western countries over this period. But in the immediate years after 1979, that simply cut no ice with an electorate who were sure that the high inflation, unburied bodies and rubbish piling up in Trafalgar square told the true and whole story. Depressing as it might be for those who gave it our all in government between 1997 and 2010, it is hard to believe that the public, who had to suffer the consequences of the Great Recession, will ever be prepared to agree that the Blair/Brown Labour government did not in some way cause it.

There is also psychology to deal with here. From the minute we lost in 2010, the chances were we would lose the next election. It is hard to imagine that after kicking a

party out after 13 years in office the public will forgive you that quickly and vote you back in. And this is even more inevitable given your new leaders are bound to be figures from the previous regime (something that affected the Tories post 1997 as well). So we may as well stop beating ourselves up about the past and try to learn some lessons from it that help us win in the future.

I was working on the economics side for the Labour party and frontbench in the 3 years running up to 1992, having left the Treasury at the end of 1988. There are many theories about that loss, but for me the key was that if you are not quite trusted on the economy, then you are not going to win. When they come to cast their vote, people metaphorically think about passing over their wallet to you and how they feel about that. The first question in their mind is do they trust you not to lose the money, not to waste a great deal of it and to only spend the minimum you need? The second is do they think you will spend in the way they would want you to and in line with their priorities and values? In 1992, despite a lot of progress since 1987, we failed both tests.

After 1992 there had to be a long, slow slog to gain that credibility on both these factors. The first – trust in your economic competence – was the most important. Of course the exit from the ERM and the inept way that the chancellor Norman Lamont (aided by special adviser David Cameron) handled it, helped an awful lot. But so too did a hard and dogged pursuit of an approach that set a tone and laid out – over a prolonged period – a set of serious and symbolic policies that made people realise that Labour really cared about how to run an economy. An approach that was pro-business and positively relished the idea of wealth creation as much as it did spending the proceeds of that growth. It was not an easy path and shadow chancellor Brown lost a lot of his popularity amongst party activists during this period for keeping to it.

Harder still in this period, especially for many left economists, was a desertion of overt Keynesianism. A narrative of boosting demand in the economy to achieve growth and consequently reduce the deficit and debt was ditched in favour of what I have called ‘supply side Keynesianism’. This shift to focus on stability and investing in things that boost the supply side of the economy and make us more productive – like upskilling the workforce and getting more research into new products – had to be done for both political and economic reasons. As one who in 1983, 1987 and 1992 tried to explain crude demand Keynesianism on the doorstep I can assure you that it is a very hard ask indeed.

All of this can't just be pushed by one or two people in the party or the public will see straight through you. The whole party has to get behind it. Sure, after 1992 the lead was taken by Gordon Brown, but the whole party became not only disciplined but focused. It became clear that the bulk of the Labour party really meant it when they said you could not let borrowing get too high, not just that they thought they had to say it to get re-elected.

Getting the centre-left to really focus on economics is

never easy. We are far more comfortable spending public money to solve the problems of the world and debating new forms of capitalism than getting down to the hard graft of micro economic policy that improves outcomes and macroeconomic policy that works in the modern world. But supply side Keynesianism does provide a place most of the party is comfortable, where we focus on the need to invest in infrastructure and public services to get the supply side really humming. This was essentially the Labour policy after 1992. It is also extremely relevant today because it is an answer to the crucial issue of productivity and its stagnation and also to the underlying problems of the economy that are glaring at us if we look beneath the bonnet.

Such an agenda allows us to link an economic policy that makes sense to the public with our desire to create social

justice in a way that more than the bottom few deciles can relate to. It means less of a rather abstract call for more investment in infrastructure and more of a focus on things that mean something to a typical voter, be that their trains, buses, schools, roads, houses, or hospitals. Indeed we have had too little focus in recent years on how we are going to make public services work for the public and invest in

them to underpin growth. Instead we have been diverted into electorally marginal byways like debating how we feel about the involvement of particular forms of private activity in these areas.

So the lesson from 1992 is not so much that we should search for a transformational, symbolic policy or a particular time path for deficit reduction. It is that the context, the tone, the mood we set around our approach to economic policy have to be right and have to be genuine, with the party fully behind it. So as Labour's contests for leader and deputy leader get into full swing, it is worth pointing out that getting the right shadow chancellor is just as important as getting the right leader. It's certainly far more important than the deputy leader. Potential leaders should therefore stand on a ticket with their shadow chancellors, so we get a proper look at the party's economic future and make sure the approach we take to the economy is front and centre of the debate.

So as we look forward, we have to get the balance right. We should ignore some apocalyptic talk about the Labour party being finished and treat with suspicion those who preach very simple answers like just getting a leader that ‘connects’ a bit more. We should also resist despair in the wake of government policy of the kind that followed George Osborne's summer budget. Nigel Lawson threw much larger rocks and had much bigger guns. It was tough to come back then and will be now. But we have shown before that if we dig in we can recover. Cracking the economic side of all this is key to our comeback and it is not a quick fix.

Doom is nigh at present on the left: demographics, Scots, the white working class, cosmopolitans and London, UKIP and so on. It is a familiar fatalism from previous times we have been knocked out. But the lessons from the past are not of doom and gloom but of hard work to establish economic competence once again. **F**

**Getting the right shadow
chancellor is just as
important as getting the
right leader. It's certainly
far more important than
the deputy leader**

Window of change

Labour's new leader will need to signal big changes on spending, immigration and national identity in the first few weeks of their tenure, writes *James Morris*



James Morris is a partner at GQR and former pollster to Ed Miliband and the Labour party

IF MCDONALD'S WANTED to sell upmarket steak, they'd need to do more than put porterhouse on the menu. Similarly, persuading voters to trust Labour on spending required more than the last minute addition of a fiscal lock at the front of the manifesto. But, while McDonald's doesn't need to transform itself into the Hawksmoor to succeed, a Labour party that fails to restore its name for care with public money has no future.

Above all else, this is a brand problem. Ask voters if tax rises or borrowing increases worry them more and they will say tax rises by 16 points. But make the choice about Labour tax rises or Labour borrowing and it is Labour borrowing that causes the greater concern. In Scotland, we saw anti-austerity voters turn away from Labour because they did not trust the party with the money they wanted spent.

Fiscal trust is not just important electorally, it also shapes the kind of policy programme Labour can offer. If you are trusted to spend wisely, you are trusted to spend more. If Labour wants to argue that investment is key to long term productivity growth, it needs to be trusted to make the investment. If you think that investment should be debt-funded, you should be an even fiercer proponent of efficiency and prioritisation than someone who holds the more politically palatable view that in periods of growth the state should run an overall surplus.

So far, the focus of the leadership debate has been on solving this problem by acknowledging that Labour should not have been running a structural deficit in the mid-2000s. That is, at best, a baby step forwards. When candidates then go on to argue that that spending did not cause the crash, they are engaging in a largely irrelevant debate. Voters don't think spending was the main cause of the crash, they blame bankers, and lax regulation. However, they think that, like Old Labour, New Labour's answer to every problem was spending, and that as a result Labour wasted money.

Talk to swing voters and you'll find them primed with one example after another of waste in public spending.

Sometimes it is simple inefficiency: failed IT projects that cost billions, stories of public servants taking taxis rather than trains, contracts that let companies charge large amounts to change a lightbulb in a hospital. At other times it is about Labour's priorities: welfare payments for recent immigrants who haven't worked, executive pay in local government, the Iraq war. Sometimes concerns are media confections, but you will be hard pressed to find a nurse or council worker who doesn't think their employer could be more efficient.

The worst response to this kind of critique is to argue that it is not actually that much money in the grand scheme of things. If you want to persuade people to support aid spending, for example, you need to show it is effective, not that the amounts are paltry. It is no use arguing that migrants overall pay more in tax than they claim in benefits. Treating migrants as a group who are in some way mutually responsible for each other does nothing to legitimate the individual claiming without contributing. Instead, Labour needs to be authentically angry about every pound that is wasted and have a plan to deal with it. To that end, public service reform arguments are now more relevant than they were in the days when advocates of choice faced off against those who said people just want a decent service.

If Labour is arguing for prudent public spending, it needs a different story for how to improve the country. Ed Miliband's idea of predistribution is right here in terms of policy development, if not rhetoric. The party needs to show it can make things better without spending, reforming the market at the same time as it reforms the state.

Just as the party needs to show change on spending, so it needs to show change on immigration and national identity. Labour's failure to pick up marginal seats is partly explained by the success of UKIP – as Stephen Fisher has pointed out, the more successful UKIP were in a marginal seat, the less likely it was that Labour would win it. Englishness and immigration are no less important to winning the Tory



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voters Labour needs to win to have a chance of a majority. Rebuilding the Scottish party involves finding a new way to be a party of Scotland, not Westminster.

The political challenge in England is to find a concept of Englishness that does not hark back to the 1950s, but embraces a form of multiculturalism. For all their insularity, deceit and intimidation, on this specific issue Labour can learn lessons from the SNP.

Unlike many European populist parties, it is comfortable with Scots of any colour or creed (though they unreasonably try to the line at contrary constitutional views). Labour needs an account of English identity in particular that is inclusive but fundamentally breaks from the uber-nationalist yearning for the nation state to become a redundant entity. By 48 to 20 voters think 'Labour should be more patriotic and do more to promote British identity', rather than be 'more internationalist and keep the flag waving out of politics'.

The key window for these brand changes will be the first few weeks of the new leader's tenure. That is the point when they are undefined and able to signal real shifts. Once that window closes, attempts to change become increasingly harder to believe.

In Ed Miliband's first speech as leader he said Labour was wrong to have spent as if it had abolished boom and bust, and acknowledged that concern about immigration was not prejudiced. Those messages thinned out over the subsequent years, making it hard to claw back competence in the short campaign.

At the next election, being a fiscally responsible party that is proud of the country it seeks to represent is table stakes. Unless the Tories screw up completely, it will not be enough to persuade people to vote Labour. To do that, Labour needs to have done all its defensive rebuilding, and be on the offensive. It will need to define the challenge of the age, and propose a credible solution to it that shows people how the country would be better under Labour.

David Cameron's first take on this was 'broken Britain', which he shifted into a focus on the deficit when the financial crisis hit. Labour should be equally nimble, but it needs to begin laying the ground now for a critique of Britain after ten years of Tory government.

The debate so far has thrown up a range of options: the centralisation of power, inequality, a failure to reward responsibility, austerity. There may be merit in all of these, but candidates shouldn't run away from Ed Miliband's idea that Britain succeeds when working people succeed.

Though it never cut through, it was a unifying and overarching narrative that spoke to both growth and distribution. Given the need to show distance from the recent past, candidates are welcome to claim their inspiration was Hillary not Ed, who is running for president on a very similar ticket.

Labour should present itself as practical and sensible, not radical and revolutionary. By 71 to 24, even Green voters prefer sensible changes to radical ones and concrete plans to big visions. This rhetorical imperative shouldn't be confused with the idea that Labour lost because voters were scared off by its radicalism. In fact only 19 per cent of voters thought Labour radical, four points below the share who thought the Tories 'radical'. Voters who considered Labour but then voted Conservative were more likely to think the Tories 'radical' by a margin of 7 points.

Whatever route the new party leader takes, rebuilding trust in Labour spending means recognising that part of their job is to rebuild the Labour brand. Voters will filter what they say through their preconceptions of the party. Arguments that would be triumphant in Tory or SNP mouths can be disastrous from the Labour party. The party, needs to give the leader room to lead, but also see their role as holding them to account for brand progress, not just ideological purity. It is only by making a deep change in the way Labour is seen that Labour can be trusted to take Britain forward again. ■



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The opportunity to serve

Dan Jarvis has hung up his army boots but now finds himself enlisted in a fight for Labour's future. "We are in for a battle for our continued relevance", he tells *Mary Riddell*



Mary Riddell is a columnist for the Daily Telegraph

SHORTLY BEFORE THE House of Commons rose for the summer recess, Dan Jarvis allowed himself a rare break from work and family. “I went out on my own for a bike ride. It was a beautiful summer’s day, and from nowhere a storm descended.” Jarvis cycled on through the hills near his Barnsley constituency, cavalier in the face of risk.

“Two people died in the Brecon Beacons that day. I was completely zen, but there was lightning forking all over the place, and thunder and torrential rain. I thought how lucky I was. I’ve had the perfect apprenticeship for this place. Things have happened that could have finished me or steeled me. Basically, they steeled me.”

The influences to which he refers are war and bereavement. A decorated soldier and a former major in the special forces, Jarvis served in Kosovo, Northern Ireland, Sierra Leone, Iraq and Afghanistan before leading a company of 150 men on a six-month assignment in Helmand Province. Though his unit of paratroopers all survived, several were badly hurt during the perilous mission to train Afghan recruits.

Before he embarked on that foray, his wife Caroline had been diagnosed with the bowel cancer from which she died three years later in 2010, leaving two very young children. In the following year, Jarvis was elected to serve as Labour MP for Barnsley Central, replacing Eric Illsley, who stood down after being convicted of fraud for his part in the MPs’ expenses scandal.

“If I was getting deep with you, I would say that politics is the most perfect distraction I could have had. For the first few months I was busy looking after my kids. Then I was here, and it provided me with a focus. This is a different way of making a contribution.” Jarvis is settling into the office once occupied by Harriet Harman, and the walls are still bare, apart from a snapshot of him, wearing fatigues and touting a machine gun.

Although Jarvis hung up his army boots four years ago, the dust of the battlefield clings to him still. While he does not draw any comparison between war and politics, he fought the last election with the same determination that he once deployed in military action. Bar his cycle ride, he has taken no time off since polling day, and he has the air of someone who runs on overwork and adrenaline.

Some thought that, even before Ed Miliband lost, Jarvis was seriously thinking of whether he might stand as the next Labour leader. Is that true? “No. Let me be incredibly clear and straightforward. I gave it no serious thought before the election. I was essentially running on empty. I was on the point of exhaustion. I’d been to scores of marginal seats [and] I had no time with my family. There was a bit of florid speculation that if we didn’t win, people might come to me, but I never really seriously considered it. I never had time.” Jarvis, who had “sensed it [election victory] was drifting away from us,” had barely come to terms with the scale of Labour’s defeat when his phone began to ring. Weary as he was, he had to weigh the pressure of MPs urging him to stand against his responsibility to his second wife Rachel, a freelance graphic designer whom he married in 2013, as well as to their three-year-old daughter and his two older children, now 12 and 10.

“My initial instinct was always that this was not the moment. I barely see my kids as it is. My son’s just off to secondary school, and my oldest two have had a really tough time with the loss of their mum. We’ve just now found our rhythm as a family, but my younger daughter’s

first formed sentence was: ‘Why is daddy always at work?’ It was a pretty reasonable question.” Two days after the election, he gave his decision. “I made it clear that I would want to do my bit in terms of supporting the party, whatever that might be, but that it wouldn’t be as leader.”

Jarvis’s next task was to decide which candidate he would back. “I saw them all. I spent a lot of time interrogating their analysis of why we had lost and ... what they thought we needed to do.” While some colleagues had expected that Jarvis’s views would make him a natural ally of the most Blairite candidate, Liz Kendall, their “robust discussion” did not in the end elicit his endorsement.

It was perhaps a foregone conclusion that Jarvis would back Andy Burnham, whom he had first heard speak in 2010. “It was a very emotionally charged speech – brilliant, moving and uplifting.” Jarvis’s first wife was then only weeks away from death, and the fact that Burnham’s own wife was undergoing major surgery provided a common bond. “It was a tough time for us both. I never had that conversation with him at the time ... but I think we have reflected back on it. He’s been very good to me.”

There was, however, little room for sentiment in Jarvis’s assessment. “Who is the person best placed to lead the party to a place where it can win in five years’ time? My decision was based purely around that analysis.” He agrees that winning in 2020 will be difficult, even if his favoured team of Burnham with Stella Creasy as deputy were chosen.

“It’s a long and tough road back. We can be in a position to compete in 2020, but it’s going to take a lot of doing. Business as usual is not going to work for us. We’re not in one-more-heave territory. The way we do politics has fundamentally to alter, and the way we exist and function as a Labour party needs to be overhauled. We have it in us, but it will take a great deal of pulling out.

“Whoever is the next leader will have a tough time of it, and they will require everyone to get behind them.” But harmony and cohesion are hardly the hallmarks of an acrimonious leadership contest and a split within the party over whether the left winger Jeremy Corbyn should even be on the ballot paper. The decision by Unite to endorse Corbyn must, I suggest, have dismayed the Burnham camp given that their candidate was expected to get the Len McCluskey blessing. “I can’t say it [Unite’s choice] was the biggest surprise I’ve ever encountered. What’s important is that members of trades unions think about who is best placed to deliver a Labour government. I don’t think it’s Jeremy Corbyn. I don’t think even Jeremy thinks it’s Jeremy Corbyn.”

Might Jarvis still hope one day to run for the leadership? “We haven’t even elected the next leader of the party. Whoever it is will have my full support. I will do my bit and hope that person will be prime minister. I will do everything I can to make that [happen]. But much more than that I have not thought about.”

Jarvis’s current focus is on analysing how Labour can tackle the threat of UKIP. “We kept on saying that we were going to take on UKIP, but we never really did. We were much more comfortable taking on the Lib Dems.” Labour voters defected to UKIP, in his view, partly because “our policy offer just wasn’t broad enough.” While such voters recognised that Labour would take on vested interests at the top and protect those at the bottom, “what was left in the middle was a gaping chasm.

“The ironic thing is that it was Ed Miliband who first wanted to talk about the ‘squeezed middle’, but in the end the middle was squeezed out. Millions of people felt we had nothing to offer them. It got to the stage where, if I walked up a driveway and saw a white van, I knew what was coming – and someone who used to vote Labour was going to express extreme disappointment.” Immigration, he believes “was used as a proxy for a broader concern about a range of issues.”

To win back UKIP voters, and to staunch any further drift, Labour will in his opinion have to acquire a different type of recruit. “We don’t have enough people in the parliamentary Labour party who have done other things and who have real life credibility. If people understand you have experience and challenges in your own life, you are more than half way to winning the battle.

“We need to get better at talent-spotting. We’ve got some amazing local councillors, but we’ve also frankly got people who have taken the public for granted for far too long.” Given the success of special advisers with powerful patrons (a definition that covers all the candidates bar Corbyn), does he think that Labour should introduce targeted shortlists, along the lines of all-women shortlists?

Jarvis is an admirer of the “future candidates programme”, which trains and mentors people “who don’t have long links into the party or the patronage of unions or senior political figures.” Promising candidates should, in his suggestion, receive financial backing because “there are some extremely capable people who can’t even afford to be Labour candidates. If you could draw down resources, you are in a stronger position to compete. For Labour to exclude working people because they don’t have the money or the time skews the process from the outset.”

The party should also focus much more heavily on education, skills and training, in his view, if it is to win back UKIP voters. “What we were saying on education was ... tinkering round the margins with no big appealing offer.” He also calls for bold thinking on adult education and retraining. “I just don’t sense we tapped into that agenda in the way we might.”

Jarvis recently moved from a shadow frontbench role with the justice team to a shadow Foreign Office job. One of his first tasks was to frame a reply, with Harriet Harman and other senior colleagues, to Michael Fallon’s move towards endorsing military strikes on Syria. Having indicated that it would look carefully at any such proposal, assuming it met certain basic criteria, such as legality, Labour is now awaiting developments.

Almost all of Jarvis’s past life is bound up with the military world. Although his parents, a college lecturer and a probation officer, came from a civilian background, he went to Sandhurst after graduating from Aberystwyth University and went on to serve with distinction in successive war zones. He met Caroline when both of them were working for General Sir Mike Jackson – Jarvis as Jackson’s aide-de-camp, and his future wife as the general’s chef.

While the instinct to serve his country runs as strongly as ever in Jarvis, his fervour for military adventures does not extend to the political realm. Asked whether he would have voted for the Iraq war, he says: “I think some people are mistakenly of the view that because I was in the army I’m more [gung ho]. If anything, it’s the opposite.”

In recent weeks he has called for an investigation into the errors made during the Afghan war. That suggestion

was greeted with horror by some senior colleagues, who wrongly accused Jarvis of trying to instigate a second Chilcot inquiry and tried to warn him off. “There was significant concern that any kind of inquiry would turn into a witch hunt. I’m not looking to hold individuals to account but to demonstrate to the public that we should look to the [Afghan] campaign to inform future decisions.

“This was a campaign that ran longer than two world wars combined, led to the deaths of 453 service men and women ... and cost billions of pounds. Some people don’t like it. But to me there’s an inescapable logic. We owe it to the people who lost their lives. And if someone has a problem with that, I’m sorry. But there are a lot of grieving people out there. We must look back and learn.”

In the future, he believes, Britain needs to ask much more searching questions of our long-time allies who nurtured the extreme Sunni movements that give rise to Islamic State and who fail to stop funding reaching terrorists. “Yes, I think we do. One of the questions I asked about Afghanistan was whether we were using our leverage to stop corruption.

“It’s the same with [the Middle East]. Billions [of pounds] are siphoned round the world, and we need to use our leverage to cut it off. Some of it comes out of the Middle East. We need to be very clear ... that we need to work with [allies] to stop the money at source and stop it funding the terror that it undoubtedly is funding. That involves having some tough conversations with our partners.” Such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar? “Absolutely.”

Closer to home, he warns that the travails of Greece could have an impact on a Britain struggling to define its own relationship with the rest of Europe. “We need to be mindful of our referendum,” he says, warning that “the fall-out of a Yes vote could unleash a tidal wave of nationalism across England. There are big questions on devolution. If Labour wants to be sustainable over the long term, it has to be at the heart of that debate.

“We have been an extremely well-meaning but largely amateur operation in recent times, against a ruthless Tory machine, largely run by [George] Osborne, who will probably be the next PM and our opponent in 2020. We need to professionalise every aspect of our being. And we should be under no illusion that, if we don’t, we are in for a battle for our continued relevance.” And perhaps for the party’s very existence? “Absolutely. There is no rule in politics that says there needs to be a healthy, functioning Labour party.” Should Labour founder, it will not be due to any lack of effort on the part of Dan Jarvis. Affable and good company as he is, he has devoted himself to politics with an ardour that even he finds extreme. “My wife and I keep promising that we will get a moment to ourselves. You do need time with the family.”

Though he is looking forward to a two-week break in August, he does not expect to get a taste for leisure. As he reflected, on the day he rode his bike through a lightning storm, his priorities lie elsewhere. “The army wasn’t pretty, it was often tough, but it gave me the opportunity to serve. Now I have been given another chance to serve, and people have invested their faith and trust in me.

“I am not going to let them down. I work too hard, and I commit more to this than perhaps I should, but it is the most amazing privilege – fighting to build a better country.” Should Labour win that battle in 2020, Dan Jarvis will have earned himself one more award for valour. **F**

Hard road ahead

Lessons of Labour's past defeats tell of how long and difficult the road back to power is, writes *Patricia Hewitt*

Since Labour's dreadful defeat in May, commentators have been drawing comparisons with 1992, 1987 or even 1983.

I was a parliamentary candidate in 1983, then press secretary and later policy co-ordinator to Neil Kinnock, before helping to found IPPR and, in 1997, becoming MP for Leicester West. What strikes me most now is not the comparison between 2015 and any one of those earlier defeats, but the sheer scale of the change that Labour made between 1983 and 1997 – and how long and difficult the journey was.

In 1983, we enthusiastically cheered Michael Foot at packed rallies. But the voters were telling us a very different story. I was on the left of the party. But as I met once rock-solid Labour voters who laughed at me, telling me to come back when Labour had come to its senses, I – and many others of my generation – learnt a bitter lesson. We had been so busy trying to win the argument inside the Labour party, we'd stopped trying to persuade the people we claimed to be representing.

Neil Kinnock was willing to tell the party the truths it didn't want to hear. He abandoned Labour's anti-Europeanism. He forced often reluctant 'soft left' MPs to confront Militant. He transformed the party's campaigning, backing Peter Mandelson, Philip Gould and the Shadow Communications Agency. And he desperately tried to support the miners – his family and community – while distancing himself from Scargill's disastrous tactics.

Four gruelling years. But we started the 1987 election with one poll putting us almost neck-and-neck with the Liberal-Social Democrat Alliance and no guarantees that we wouldn't end up in third place. Thanks to a brilliant campaign, we pulled clear. But when the votes came in, all we had done was crawl up three points, from 27.6 per cent in 1983 to 30.8 per cent. We were off the life-support machine, but only just.

Something far more was needed – and the next step was the Policy Review. Before rethinking different policies, the party



needed to understand how the world was changing and then re-imagine how our core values could become a compelling vision for our country. We started with two key projects. 'Aims and Values' was meant to reassure the party that traditional values, and especially our belief in equality, would anchor the policy debates. But 'Labour and Britain in the 1990s' was telling the party why we lost the election and how we had to change. It made the modernisers the target of some pretty vicious hostility.

Neil Kinnock was willing to tell the party the truths it didn't want to hear

The two documents provided the foundation for the Policy Review itself. Although Gerald Kaufman brilliantly led the defence group to abandon unilateral nuclear disarmament – a policy that had proved disastrous in 1987 – Neil became increasingly frustrated by the failure of most of the groups to come up with policies that he regarded as sufficiently radical. John Smith, the embodiment of a reliable Scottish bank manager when Scottish bankers were still trusted, began to build trust in Labour's economic competence. Another battle – to get more women into parliament and into the shadow cabinet – began to change Labour's macho image that was so off-putting to women voters.

Five years more of relentless effort. Another 3.5 percentage points on our vote. Another Tory victory. This time, the biggest problem was tax. The abolition of the ceiling for national insurance contributions, 'only' hitting a few to finance benefit increases for the many, proved a disastrous

symbol of Labour's hostility to success. An exhausted Neil Kinnock knew that too many voters simply couldn't imagine him as prime minister. John Smith took over, immediately establishing a Commission on Social Justice, whose first task was to get Labour off the hook of his shadow budget.

Tony Blair always acknowledged that New Labour was built on the foundations laid by Neil Kinnock. But it took Tony to tell the party that economic success was as important as social justice, to win the trust of middle Britain and lead Labour to its own landslide in 1997. And Tony always knew, and relentlessly urged us to remember, that the world and the voters go on changing all the time – forget that, and you're lost.

It was a lesson forgotten five years ago, after a defeat worse than 1987. 'Getting our party back' meant not just five wasted years – but five years when everything else went on changing while Labour fell back into its old comfort zone.

Labour no longer faces the threat of entryism. But the profound cultural alienation from most Scottish voters looks like a far bigger challenge than the Militant minority ever posed. And the Conservatives are stealing Labour's clothes – devolving power to Greater Manchester, supporting the living wage (at least rhetorically) and, of course, planning boundary changes as well.

I don't pretend to have all the answers. No individual, no one party grouping, does. I just know from those long, painful years after 1983 that transforming an already twice-defeated Labour party, in a world that is changing faster and more frighteningly than we ever imagined, is going to make extraordinary demands upon the new leader – and upon a new generation of modernisers. Whether the party is up for that will determine whether 2015 was another 1983 or 87 or 92. **F**

Patricia Hewitt was Labour MP for Leicester West in 1997–2010 and served in Tony Blair's governments as Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Cabinet Minister for Women and Secretary of State for Health

Labour's task

Labour faces an unprecedented challenge. It must re-find its place and purpose in a new political landscape and knit together a diverse coalition of voters to win back power.

We asked the five candidates for deputy leader what cultural and organisational changes the Labour party needs to make to reconnect with the British people.



"WE NEED TO CHALLENGE THE IDEA THAT ENGLAND IS NATURAL CONSERVATIVE TERRITORY"

Ben Bradshaw

Is this as bad as it gets? In 2010, when we scraped just 29 per cent of the vote, Labour's worst performance for almost a century, we told ourselves it was. It couldn't get any worse. But five years later, despite the collapse of the Liberal Democrat vote, only three in ten voters backed Labour and we actually lost MPs. And it wasn't just in Scotland we went backwards; in England and Wales we lost seats to the Conservatives.

But while we have a mountain to climb to win again in 2020, we can do it.

Election night was a dark night but it also showed how Labour can win again. In Hove, Peter Kyle won a seat from the Conservatives, and in Norwich, Bristol and Wirral we made gains. Labour wins when Labour is at its best: inclusive, progressive, positive and embedded in the local community. Community politics isn't something that has been invented in the last few years.

It is what local CLPs up and down the country have been doing for years.

In 1997 I won my seat from the Conservatives, and I've seen off a Tory challenge in every election since. In Exeter we've built up our party to have one of the biggest memberships outside London. We have councillors who champion Labour politics street by street, we've kept the council Labour, and we campaign year in, year out.

At the last election, on a bad night for Labour, we kept Exeter Labour against the odds, and my Labour majority here trebled.

We do need to do more to support CLPs, to spread best practice, and to build a party that is inclusive. I want to be a deputy leader who is going to focus on the cultural, organisational and leadership challenges that the party faces, especially in areas with no Labour MP, and few councillors. But Labour doesn't need to throw out the campaigning rule book to enable us to win again.

For a party that aspires to govern for the nation, Labour needs to do much better in the south of England. Yes we face a challenge from UKIP in some seats, and yes we need to take the fight to the SNP, but there is no route for us back to Downing Street that does not go through the south.

We need to challenge the idea that England is natural Conservative territory. It is nonsense. The Tories now hold 60 per cent of the seats in England but at the election they won only 40 per cent of the vote. In fact the Conservatives haven't for over fifty years won a majority of votes. In the 19 elections

since 1945 not once have the Conservatives won more than half the vote in England; but in 12 of those elections they have won more than half the constituencies. England is not naturally Conservative.

English votes for English MPs is a Tory strategy to secure themselves in office with the support of a minority of voters. The electoral system is weighted in favour of the Tories, and I believe we need to address the electoral unfairness that locks too many people out of being able to determine the next government.

It would be a mistake for Labour to respond to May 2015 by seeking to adopt the language and policies of our opponents. I am not in the Labour party to be a milder version of UKIP, nor to attempt to outflank the Tories. Yes we need an immigration system that the public has confidence in, but immigration has made Britain a better country. We should celebrate that. Yes we need a welfare system that works, but we should never use the language of benefit scroungers. Labour doesn't win by shifting onto our opponents' territory.

We do though need to open up the political process to people outside the Westminster bubble. If Labour is to win again, as an analysis by the Fabian Society showed, four in five of the voters we need to win over voted Conservative in May. We need to stop treating people who vote Conservative as if there is something wrong with them.

Our starting point should be to recognise that we have lost a lot of voters who are good people with good motivations, who

share many of our values – but they’ve lost confidence that we have the right ideas to realise those values. That’s what we need to address to win them back.

At the last election we had some excellent policies – our progressive housing policy would have helped the generation stuck in rented accommodation – but too many voters liked what we said, but thought we lacked economic credibility and couldn’t be trusted to govern the country in their name. To win again we need to win back people’s trust; we need to demonstrate we are ready again for power. **F**

Ben Bradshaw is MP for Exeter



“LABOUR IS NOT SIMPLY A MACHINE THAT KICKS INTO GEAR AT ELECTION TIME BUT A MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE COMMITTED TO SOCIAL JUSTICE”

Stella Creasy

It’s a number of months since we lost the election in May but still, for many of us, the pain of losing is unabated. With five long years stretching ahead of us, watching the Tories dismantling the welfare state, demoralising people working in public services and destroying opportunities for our young people, our challenge is to turn that pain into determination – not despair. This doesn’t have to wait until 2020 – as the American trade unionist Joe Hill once urged in the wake of defeat, “don’t mourn, organize”.

In the course of a leadership and deputy leadership contest, there will be much debate over character and policy. But one of the lessons we must also take from our election defeat is a willingness to ask if our campaigning approach, which saw thousands of volunteers working incredible hours to knock thousands of doors, needs to change too. Too often, a member’s knock at the door will be greeted with a reply that “we only ever see you at election time – you

just want one thing”. This rarely does justice to the years of hard work that elected representatives have put in, but it poses a very real challenge that the party has to meet head-on.

Voters need to know that Labour is not simply a machine that kicks into gear at election time to get some of us sitting on a green bench in parliament, but a movement of people across the country committed to social justice. As deputy leader, I want to bring a track record of innovation and creativity to complement our tried and trusted methods of working with the public. To help Labour become a movement again, not a machine.

The efforts I led to crack down on legal loan sharks like Wonga would never have been successful if it was just me. We built a campaign with thousands of people across our communities and our country – and we won. Now we must do the same for the Labour movement itself. Being out of office does not mean we are out of power – we can campaign now for change to show the public what we stand for. But imagine what more could be achieved if we are returned to power. To do that requires us to ask how best to use the energy and expertise of all. We need to have new leadership, not just at the top of our party but throughout, by rebuilding a movement of 250,000 leaders, each being supported to develop campaigns and collaborate with their colleagues in organisations like the Fabians on the causes that brought them into political activism in the first place.

Much current focus is on who Labour selects as candidates and on having a wider pool of possible MPs – but becoming a movement means thinking not just of future candidates, but future members and what support they need to take on this role. That’s why I am proposing measures such as a development officer for Young Labour, to help us build the leadership skills of our younger members and supporters to be able to in turn recruit their peers to Labour. We also need an academy for campaigning to help build the skills and networks of future Labour activists including councillors, organisers and CLP secretaries.

Helping support the leadership skills of our members as they campaign locally can only take you so far – you need a strong message and compelling leadership too. But advances in technology make it possible to change the way we campaign, so that we can really get to the heart of what makes voters tick, and build long term relationships with them as individuals. This doesn’t have to cost the earth: my own

CLP in Walthamstow, and other CLPs like Edgbaston, Gedling and Copeland have all experimented with new ways of using data. And it doesn’t mean everyone has to carry an iPad as they canvass. But it will make a big difference.

So alongside using new technology in a different way, and new techniques for training members, using cash to help support grassroots activism will also empower our activists. As well as a dedicated diversity fund to support the involvement of those currently underrepresented in our movement, I want us to directly match-fund new campaigns and projects to engage with communities. Members, supporters and affiliates often have great ideas – offering financial support will not only help us support such activism, but also incentivise fundraising and enable them to link up with local campaigners who may share our values but not our membership card.

Renewing our movement in these ways and more will take time, patience and a passion for working with our people to get the best out of them. You cannot undertake this from a back room in Westminster, but have to want to be out on the frontline going CLP to CLP, community to community. But I know it can be done.

I have the passion for social justice, experience of securing such change and confidence in our movement to be sure that if we work in this way, we can win again in 2020. **F**

Stella Creasy is MP for Walthamstow



“WE FOUGHT A STATIC, TWO DIMENSIONAL CAMPAIGN IN A DYNAMIC, THREE DIMENSIONAL ERA”

Angela Eagle

Labour lost badly in May and there is no doubt that the task of winning power in 2020 is daunting. We will need to present the British people with a compelling offer that responds to the economic and social realities of their lives. To do that we need to

ask some serious questions of ourselves and look urgently at how can we make Labour relevant once more in a changing Britain and reconnect with our lost voters. We must also look at how we can connect with the millions of people who are completely disenchanted with the political process itself.

I believe that Labour is a crusade or it is nothing. We have always fought injustice and oppression here and abroad. We were formed to ensure that those who had no power and no voice in our society could be empowered both in parliament and in the workplace. We have fought to make our society fairer and more equal. We have always believed that such societies are happier and more sustainable. But the global banking crisis has ushered in the political triumph of small state economic orthodoxy and our society is increasingly dominated by a few very powerful interests. Never before have our Labour values been more relevant. Following our resounding election defeat it is obvious that we have to change both organisationally and culturally if we are ever to earn the chance to change our country for the better once more.

Culturally, Labour must end the stifling top down command and control party forged in the Blair era. We need our members to be more than just door-knocking fodder and the background in a photo op. We have to trust our members more and open up the party encouraging more people to join and get involved in a wider range of activities, embedding ourselves in every community. I also believe we need to communicate more regularly with our members and have a more interactive website. Currently our members only tend to get a message from us when we're asking them for money. We have to give the 50,000 new members who have joined us since May 7th more than general committee meetings to go to! Let's make politics sociable and fun again.

When I was elected to chair the National Policy Forum I took the view that the entire process should be opened up to allow members a real say. I delivered the most open and transparent policy process for many years. By launching an online policy hub and meaningfully engaging with all parts of the NPF we ensured greater democracy in practice. This was a start and a break with the past but there is much more that we need to do. We can start by embedding this open culture of real political debate in the party at all levels and we need new thinking about how this can be properly represented at our annual conference more effectively. We should be proud of our links with the trade unions and other affiliates. They enrich our party and help keep us connected to millions of people.

Organisationally, the party did what it could in the election with far fewer resources than the Tories had and there were some heroic victories. But there were many more losses. All our candidates fought hard and none deserved to lose. But we fought a static, two dimensional campaign in a dynamic three dimensional era. Many marginal seat candidates got to the count thinking they had won only to see their Tory opponents increase their majorities. This demonstrates that we missed what was going on as well as the pollsters. Our voter pool was too narrow. Even in my constituency of Wallasey, where we doubled the Labour majority with a 9 per cent Tory to Labour swing, it was clear that the scaremongering about the SNP threat in a hung parliament was working. It was also clear that our clutch of retail policy offers was adding up to less than the sum of its parts because we hadn't dealt with the false Tory narrative about the causes of the global banking crisis so we were not trusted on the economy.

In response to this we have to upgrade our voter contact infrastructure and buy into the micro targeting databases which Jim Messina used so effectively for the Tories. Our techniques haven't really changed since the 1990s but the world of campaigning has moved on and we have to invest in state of the art know how to be competitive. All this is possible and delivering it will make our party fit to win in 2020. **F**

Angela Eagle is MP for Wallasey



"OUR PARTY MUST ALWAYS ASPIRE TO LOOK AND SOUND LIKE THE COUNTRY WE SEEK TO REPRESENT"

Caroline Flint

The Labour party exists to win elections to improve lives and make the world a better place. But if the shock of our crushing election defeat is beginning to fade, the scale of the challenge facing us is only just beginning to dawn. It is no exaggeration to say that we

now face a fight for the very survival of the Labour party. It is a fight in which I wish to play a part, and why I am standing to be Labour's next deputy leader.

As the debate about why we lost and how we rebuild in the years ahead intensifies, we are already facing contradictory demands for change. Some say the answer lies with middle England, with greater emphasis on economic competence and rewarding aspiration. Others argue that to win back Scotland we need to champion the NHS, public services and redistribution. Other voices say we must concentrate on winning back disaffected working class voters, who found us unconvincing on immigration and welfare.

In all honesty, we do not have the luxury of that choice. We lost working class and middle class voters. We lost support in areas that were previously described as our heartlands and in middle England. We lost in the south and in the north. What all these results show – the rise of SNP in Scotland, the rise of UKIP in the north, our poor performance even among natural Labour voters in the south – is that not only are we failing to appeal to floating voters, in many places we were not even convincing our core voters. Just about the only place we didn't lose ground was in our big cities.

So the challenge is not just about the centre ground, it's about the ground to the south, the north and in Scotland. It's about carving out new Labour territory – we need support from all classes, all backgrounds and all corners of the UK.

This is more than a narrow electoral calculation. Wanting to get on in life, to work hard, to make something of yourself, and to hope for a better future for your family, those are things I believe in, things that have always been an essential part of Labour's reason for being and always must be.

We do not win the votes of people with decent jobs and decent incomes, from the van driver, to the sales manager, to the graphic designer and the restaurant owner, by appealing simply for their solidarity with others, or by merely telling them what we're opposed to. We have to be for them as well – and without their support and the wealth they create, we will never be able to help those that most need a Labour government.

But to change the country, we must have the courage to change our party too. We didn't lose this election for want of a better ground campaign – and we owe it to the thousands of Labour party members and supporters who slugged their guts out during the election to be honest about the causes of our defeat.

One of the reasons people found it hard to connect with us at the election was

because there were too few people at the top of our party who look and sound like they understand what life is actually like for most people, let alone have the answers to the challenges ahead. Our party must always aspire to look and sound like the country we seek to represent. But there are still too few women, ethnic minority and working class candidates, councillors and MPs. If I'm elected as deputy leader, I'll level the playing field for candidates, so money and connections are no advantage in selections.

We must also open our party to many more supporters. As deputy leader, I would support reducing and simplifying membership fees and recognising the role that our members can play in the life of our party. We need our members for so much more than their subs or to deliver some leaflets. That's why I want to create Labour's Got Talent, to draw on the talents, skills and contacts they can share.

Most of all, we need a leadership team who both members and voters can connect with – a deputy leader who can inspire our members to go the extra mile, inspire people to join our party and become our councillors and MPs of the future, and inspire the voters we lost with the confidence to support us again and hope for a better future.

As deputy leader, I will lead, inspire and fight for our values. We can reach out to those who have turned away from Labour. Together, we can win again. **F**

Caroline Flint is MP for Don Valley



“TO WIN WE’RE GOING TO NEED TO CHANGE A LOT OF VOTERS’ MINDS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. AND TO DO THAT WE’RE GOING TO NEED TO CHANGE AS A PARTY”

Tom Watson

The hard truth is that we lost the 2015 election because we lost touch with our people. We let the Tories define the ground

on the economy in the long, leader-less summer of 2010 and we never won it back. By 2015, people didn't believe that we could make their lives better, including millions of 'natural' Labour supporters who voted directly against their own interests and against a lot of their core beliefs.

So what needs to change to stop this happening again? We can have a long technical debate about whether the task is to re-calibrate or to redefine. What's clear, though, is that we mistook contact for conversations, voter id for relationships and mobilising for organising. We now need to have the humility to recognise that we didn't even notice we had lost the nation's trust.

To win we're going to need to change a lot of voters' minds over the next five years.

And to do that we're going to need to change as a party. In a world where our opponents outnumber us so badly, the truth is there aren't enough Labour voters to just identify them between elections – basically just asking them 'are you with us' – and then turn them out come election time. And that's why the old top-down, Westminster-knows-best, machine politics has to end.

Labour's future lies in movement politics: doing things with people, making alliances with single-issue campaigns and community groups.

It's all about making change happen by listening, asking and acting together. Being even bigger than our quarter million members. A proper movement doesn't wait on broken polls to tell us what the voters think, it knows instinctively because the bond with them is so strong.

The tragedy is that we were going in the right direction. We need to pick up where Arnie Graf left off: recruiting more supporters, widening our membership and organising in our communities to make change happen on the ground.

I worked with Arnie Graf when I was Labour's national campaign co-ordinator, and I'm not too proud to say he taught me a lot: the art of building relationships, giving a sense of power and agency to local people, developing leaders from the communities we represent.

Labour people really liked it. When people told Arnie that they were in politics to give a voice to the voiceless, he used to tell them that they were capable of speaking for themselves. Labour needs to be able to hear that.

After all, how can we ask voters to trust us with the economy if we can't even keep the neighbourhood clean? Community

organising work like this won't bring electoral rewards overnight, but over time it will help grow our party and win back voters' trust.

Councillors have to be at the heart of our renaissance. No one knows better the hopes and fears of a local community than Labour councillors and their activist teams. As deputy leader I'll fight for a greater say for councillors in all the party's decision making: at shadow cabinet, in the NEC, at the NPF, everywhere. Labour in local government is leading the way in renewing our party and it's high time Westminster listened and learned.

The way we organise as a party also has much to learn from our trade union brothers and sisters. Over the last decade unions have changed the way they campaign, combining smart analytical targeting with tremendous grassroots activity. A close relationship of trust and co-operation can help us reconnect with many of the working class voters we most need to win back from the SNP or UKIP.

And as your deputy leader I'll intensify our online campaigning into a true digital revolution, marrying communications with organising so that we use email and social media not just rally the faithful, but to persuade the undecided. I want to create digital branches, some of which might be organised around vocation rather than geography, and all of which would allow members to participate in ways they can't currently do.

Three quarters of Labour party members rarely or never attend local meetings or canvassing sessions. We need to find new ways to engage them. Why don't they want to come to our boring meetings? The question answers itself. Why do we keep holding meetings three quarters of our members don't want to come to? Good question.

The way we recruit candidates will change too. As your deputy leader I'll create grants and training programmes to expand the opportunities for women, BAME and working class members to become candidates.

We need a Labour party that looks a little less like a Westminster cocktail party and a little more like the country we seek to serve.

The good news is that all of these can happen, and they will. The election was a crushing indictment of our method, but it wasn't a complete rejection of our values. We must remember that. **F**

Tom Watson is MP for West Bromwich East

In spirit

The 'in' campaign should turn the EU referendum into a choice between two different stories of our national future – Danny Boyle and Nigel Farage, writes *Mark Leonard*



Mark Leonard is director of the European Council on Foreign Relations and author of Europe Was the Future Once... and how it can be once again. He writes in a personal capacity

FOR THE NEXT 18 months, Europe will dominate the national political conversation. What part Labour will play, however, is still up for grabs. Wary of sharing a platform with David Cameron after the Scottish independence referendum, some in the party see little to be gained from getting involved in the cross-party campaign. And there is the added, nostalgic temptation of sitting by and watching the Tory party rip itself apart over Europe – just as it did in John Major's day. But if the Labour party stands aside from one of the most important debates about the future of our country in decades it will not just marginalise itself politically, it will prove that it is not fit for government. So how should it engage?

In essence, the referendum on EU membership will be in two parts. The first is a renegotiation that will last, most likely, until the end of the year. The second, a referendum campaign proper, most likely next year.

Labour's role in the first part seems difficult to identify as it is very much the David Cameron show. Cameron is on a tour of Europe's capitals trying to secure agreement on his four main issues: reducing market regulation and signing trade deals, changing the relations between Eurozone ins and outs, enhancing the role of national parliaments, and changing access to benefits for migrants.

The prime minister hopes to wrap up his negotiations by December and take his package to the people. Meanwhile, for the 'out' side the renegotiation period is a chance to portray the current EU as useless and try to foist on the government an impossible reform agenda. The wily Mathew Elliot and his Business for Britain group have put this strategy into practice with their 1,000 page report, serialised in the *Daily Telegraph*, *Change, or Go*.

In this first period, it is vital to forward a centre-left reform agenda to prevent Labour from looking like a bystander with nothing to say, ceding the ideological momentum

to Cameron's right-of-centre programme. A centre-left reform agenda should balance the quest for liberalisation and reducing red-tape with the promise of growth and social protection, and measures to help the losers from free movement and free trade. But it must also avoid the trap of the 'out' campaign, and ensure that this reform agenda is both realistic and relevant to Britain's interests.

But as we move into the second, campaign phase, the 'in' case cannot just be about arguing for a new, slightly improved (or worsened, depending on your perspective), transactional deal from Europe. Rather the 'in crowd' should be putting forward the patriotic case for British membership. In doing this, it should learn three lessons from the Scottish referendum.

Fundamental to this is balancing the rhetoric of risk against the narrative of hope. Clearly, the heart of the 'in' campaign will be to focus strongly the risks of leaving. Frankly, the 'out' side's arguments don't add up and put the whole economy in jeopardy. But a cold-blooded, reductionist campaign may win the battle but lose the war. To win a decisive victory and avoid the risk of a neverendum, the 'in' side needs to anchor its accounts of the risks in a bigger patriotic story about what kind of country we want to be.

Back in the mid-1990s I experienced these debates with a report I wrote for Demos that argued for rebranding Britain by drawing on its history as a diverse, multinational, outward-looking, creative island. The response of the public to an attempt by the left to define and engage with our national story was surprisingly enthusiastic – it showed that it is always better for us to have that conversation than to allow others to define what patriotism means. And many of the stories we put forward at that time were picked up and brought to life by Danny Boyle in the 2012 Olympics opening ceremony, endorsed by a Conservative prime



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minister and mayor of London. It is that spirit that the 'in' side needs to find now. It should turn the referendum into a choice between two different stories of our national future – between Danny Boyle and Nigel Farage.

The 'in' campaign must avoid the trap of simply talking about economics while leaving the other side to own national sovereignty. Business for Britain and other groups like them understand that the economic arguments are stacked against them. Their goal, therefore, is to confuse the issue. By shoving as many business spokespeople as they can in front of cameras and microphones, talking ceaselessly about the problems of red tape, of Greece, of austerity they will seek to show that while the economics is contested space, the only way to regain control of our borders and our sovereignty is to leave.

The 'in' campaign will need to try to do the opposite – showing that they have a plan to make free movement fair while claiming that the economic argument is beyond contestation. But I hope they do not leave it at that. The 'in' campaign must do all it can to claim the mantle of self-government.

The lesson from Scotland is that the Yes campaign succeeded in turning the referendum into a carnival of democracy; voting 'Yes' was seen as a positive and affirmative act. The pro-Europeans – who are, after all, offering this referendum – should try to make it into a similarly hopeful action, in contrast to the backward-looking, gloom-laden Eurosceptics.

Reframing the debate will help with this. Undecided voters in the referendum need to understand that the biggest threat to Britain's sovereignty is not in Brussels but in Beijing. As China begins to remake the world order, the heft of EU membership in reality gives the British people a much greater control of their affairs. That's not to say that reform isn't needed.

In addition to supporting some of David Cameron's measures to strengthen national parliaments and the voices of non-eurozone members, Labour should push for a root-and-branch change to how decision-making is done in Brussels. But pro-Europeans can show that leaving the EU – as Norway has done – hinders rather than helps the cause of self-government.

At the same time as Britain contemplates its membership of the EU, an epochal shift is happening to politics in the continent. Across Europe, insurgent parties – Syriza, Podemos, Alternative für Deutschland, the Danish People's Party – are smashing the old political order, fuelled by a rising perception of division between the elites and the people. And at first glance, the 'in crowd' looks like an elite affair. There will be all the leaders of the main political parties, the CBI, much of the business community and many national newspapers on board. So the challenge for the 'in' side is to break free from this perception, unless it wants to risk the ceaseless attacks of voters disenchanted with politics as usual. To combat this, the 'in' side will need a plurality of voices, and voices that 'speak human'. And its narrative will need to be more human too and develop less abstract arguments, dealing with how individuals and communities will be affected, rather than throwing around frightening, but essentially meaningless, statistics.

Labour must go into this debate with confidence and conviction. By developing a vision of a more social Europe it can show how the EU can benefit people as well as the companies they work for and the City of London. By playing a full part in the cross-party campaign as well as developing its own organisation, Labour can help to win a vote that will be critical to the country's national interest. And by putting forward a vision for a bigger future for Britain, Labour will also take a step towards proving it is ready to be a party of government. **F**

What kind of capitalism do we want?

Parties of the centre-left are most successful when they have a compelling account of what makes an economy grow. Labour must build on, not abandon, its debate about the dynamics of capitalism, argues *David Coats*



David Coats is the director of WorkMatters Consulting and a research fellow at the Smith Institute

THE VIEW THAT Labour became increasingly ‘anti-business’ under Ed Miliband’s leadership is now widespread and has become a central feature of the current leadership campaign. Some of the candidates have made every effort to demonstrate their ‘pro-business’ credentials, by disavowing much that has been done since 2010. So far, however, the discussion is generating more heat than light and is unlikely to offer the prospect of a new, distinctively Labour vision of what constitutes a ‘good economy’.

Most of the content of the 2015 manifesto was about distributional questions: higher taxes for the most affluent, a higher minimum wage, the widespread adoption of the living wage, student fees, rent caps and the energy price freeze. Each of these policies may have merit, but they only tell half the story. Parties of the centre-left are most successful when they embrace the politics of production – when they have a compelling account of what makes an economy grow. If living standards are to rise then the economy must be expanding. Companies must be successful in managing people and processes more effectively to achieve productivity growth.

Our case has to be rooted in the belief that we have a better understanding of the dynamics of capitalism than our opponents. Arguably Labour has lacked a compelling story about production since the 1960s. The last serious effort, Harold Wilson’s white heat of the technological revolution, was exemplified by George Brown’s National Plan, a paler British version of the indicative planning that was

believed to serve the French economy so well at the time. Rational technocrats in Whitehall would work with the best of British business, to boost investment, identify emerging technologies and sources of competitive advantage, rationalise uncompetitive companies and ensure balanced regional development. There was an element of hubris about all of this, perhaps, representing the strong current in Labour thinking that ‘if you can plan for war then you can plan for peace’. Unfortunately, the devaluation crisis in 1967, the underlying weakness of the British economy and the need to implement emergency measures put paid to these good intentions. Labour was left with a vacuum in its thinking about how British capitalism (or what was then described as a mixed economy) could be run more successfully.

By 1974, Labour’s winning story consisted of little more than ‘we can keep the unions on side’; more ambitious objectives had been abandoned. The fundamental flaw in that position was revealed by the Winter of Discontent in 1979 and Mrs Thatcher’s first election victory. In 1983 we offered a prospectus that promised a better yesterday, with policies that assumed the government was more capable than business of delivering national prosperity. It was back to *dirigiste* planning with a vengeance, a policy that delivered a Tory landslide.

During Neil Kinnock’s leadership all of these ideas were abandoned and some effort was made to demonstrate that Labour could tell a distinctive and compelling story about economic management. There was, for a time, a focus on

boosting productivity growth, flirtations with industrial policy and in Roy Hattersley's *Choose Freedom*, a lengthy exposition of the role of the state in the economy. This was an excellent start. Hattersley recognised that government set the rules of the market, identified that certain goods would never be supplied by the market alone (transport to outlying areas, healthcare free at the point of need) and argued that the state had a critical role to play in preventing monopoly and oligopoly. In other words, the democratic state prevented the exploitation of citizens by over-mighty corporations and acted as guardian of the public interest.

In the early Blair period some attention was given to developing a strategy to make British capitalism more productive and responsible. The flirtation with stakeholder capitalism, most famously espoused by Will Hutton's *The State We're In*, promised much but delivered little once the extent of business opposition became clear. By the time of the 1997 election Labour's position was implicitly to accept the post-Thatcher status quo. Of course, there were critical commitments that changed the business environment – the national minimum wage, signing the Maastricht Treaty's social chapter, new rights for workers and unions and the implementation of a windfall tax – but with the exception of the latter these changes were legacy commitments of the Kinnock and Smith leaderships rather than distinctively New Labour policies. The 1997 victory is best viewed as a moment of great electoral triumph and profound intellectual defeat. All that could be done was to file the rough edges off Thatcherism and hope for the best. As long as the economy was growing and tax receipts were buoyant the government seemed to have enough money to achieve Labour's traditional social objectives.

There is a case for saying that the situation was even worse than that. Labour in government continued to rejoice in the UK's flexible labour market, celebrated the success of light touch regulation and embarked on a war against the 'red tape' that was supposedly restraining business growth. The capitulation to conventional economic thinking is described with some asperity in Roger Liddle's account of his time as Tony Blair's Europe adviser in *The Europe Dilemma*. He suggests that the government was captured by a particular view of "hyper-globalism":

Arguably, it subtly moved New Labour from being a project of social democratic modernisation that had at long last come to terms with the centrality of a competitive market economy, to one that made an over enthusiastic accommodation with the excesses of financial capitalism.

This critique is also pertinent to those individuals who believe that Labour lost the 2015 election because it was 'anti-business'. It would be disastrous for Labour to revert to the pre-crisis New Labour common sense, simply because this contributed to the conditions that made the crisis possible. Nor would it be wise to conflate the business interest with the public interest, or believe that being 'pro-business' demands that we accept without question the strictures of lobby groups like the CBI. If we had gone that far in 1997 there would have been no minimum wage, no windfall tax, no extra spending on health or education and no return to the European social policy mainstream.

For the avoidance of doubt, this is not an argument in favour of the approach adopted in the last parliament. As the manifesto demonstrated, Labour had no story to tell about what makes an economy successful. This is more than a little surprising, principally because the leader's rhetorical ambition at times suggested a more radical approach. The much-derided predators and producers speech could be read as an initial (albeit flat-footed) effort to identify what 'good business' means – companies that are innovative, invest for the long term, offer decent wages and conditions of employment and compete on quality rather than a race to the bargain basement. No effort seems to have been made to enlist the support of responsible businesses in the enterprise and members of the shadow cabinet were unable to give examples of the predatory behaviour to which Ed Miliband had referred.

Lurking somewhere in this agenda is a credible, pro-good business prospectus: it would be very unwise for Labour now to junk it entirely. The new leader cannot avoid addressing really tough questions about how capitalism can be managed more effectively to achieve inclusive prosperity, where all citizens benefit from economic growth. Questions about short-termism, the role of the state, the nature of the innovation system, the supply of skills and the employment relations culture needed to sustain high productivity may sound like abstract concerns of little relevance to the doorstep conversation. But our experience in May shows that we need an intellectually credible policy prospectus. Cherry picking issues for their populist appeal simply failed to convince the electorate. In other words, Labour must be clear about *why* action is needed, *what* the government will do and *how* policies will be implemented.

Compelling answers to these questions could have been developed over the course of the last parliament. Unfortunately, an apparent lack of intellectual self-confidence meant the party fell back on a minimalist approach with symbolic commitments detached from a wider narrative. We had five years to develop a compelling account of the politics of production and failed miserably to do so.

A simple example may suffice to make the point. The leader's office commissioned Sir George Cox, former director-general of the Institute of Directors, to examine the problem of short-termism in British capital markets and the impact on the real economy. This formed a companion piece to the report on the same topic prepared for the coalition government by Professor John Kay. Cox recommended an innovative programme of tax reform (to prevent speculation) and corporate governance changes (to support committed ownership). Both proposals could have been integrated into a wider policy story about the foundations of economic success. In the event, Labour proposed that there should be a single worker representative on the remuneration committees of listed companies to restrain excessive executive pay packages. Rhetorical ambition was overcome by timidity in policy – and it is doubtful in any event whether one worker voice amongst many would have had any practical effect.

Other social democratic parties have managed to develop successful growth stories that both win business support and contribute to electoral success. Our Nordic counterparts, for example, have always understood that the logic of capitalism leads inevitably to 'creative destruction'.



Old industries die, new ones are born. Blacksmiths and carriage builders disappear to be replaced by steelworkers and auto-workers who in turn disappear to be replaced by people working in services (both high and low value).

Creative social democrats know that competitive markets and open trade drive innovation and technological change. The task is to ensure that markets operate within a framework of rules and that the fruits of growth are fairly distributed. The case for a strong welfare state is that secure people are willing to take risks. Workers are much less likely to resist change if the government is committed to full employment, makes every effort to ensure that unemployment is not a financially devastating experience, and invests in skills development so that displaced workers can find a secure job in the changing world of work. The New Labour mantra that economic dynamism and social justice enjoy a symbiotic relationship remains true. Over the last five years we simply failed to develop a compelling story about the first part of that equation.

Once again, this is surprising, not least because the intellectual tide is now running in Labour's favour. Labour in the 2015 campaign was clear that rising income inequality is a problem, but this was presented as a matter of fairness and social justice, not a question of economic necessity. Since 2010 the International Monetary Fund's research department has published a series of papers all of which confirm that the social objectives sought by progressives are of economic importance. For example, the IMF argues

that economies with high levels of income inequality are prone to crises on the scale of the Great Depression and the recent global meltdown. Rising inequality in a period of low interest rates stimulates excessive borrowing by low-income households whose living standards are under pressure because their real wages are stagnant. This is a consequence of a shift in bargaining power away from those on middling to low incomes. When interest rates rise or asset prices fall the tower of debt comes tumbling down, with devastating consequences for the solvency of banks and for the performance of the real economy. Inclusive prosperity, in which everybody gets a fair share of the fruits of growth, requires a lower level of income inequality. This is also essential for the sustainable generation of demand on which robust economic growth depends. A fairer society is therefore in the interests of business and workers. This is not an argument that Labour made with real conviction between 2010 and 2015.

Similarly, the IMF has shown that redistribution can have a positive effect on growth by counteracting the forces just described. Ensuring that those on low incomes have enough money in their pockets for full social participation contributes both to growth and economic stability.

One might conclude therefore that the UK's problems are not best explained by the interventions of the European Union, 'uncontrolled' immigration or scroungers cheating the benefits system. Flexible labour markets, the collapse of workers' bargaining power and the erosion of the welfare state have much to answer for. The right-wing story is simply untrue.

The same might be said for those who believe that excessive employment regulation or other forms of "red tape" are to be blame for the UK's relatively poor performance. As we have already observed, by international standards, the UK is a lightly regulated (probably under-regulated) economy. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has been unable to establish any link between the strength of employment protection legislation and employment performance over the course of the economic cycle; decoded this means that tougher employment laws do not necessarily destroy jobs.

Paul Krugman, the Nobel prize winning economist, is notorious for observing that "productivity isn't everything, but it's almost everything". Creating an environment where businesses are encouraged to make the best possible use of their workers and their assets is critical for national prosperity. Labour should have enlisted the support of good businesses in making this case, with an array of imaginative policies for innovation, the regions and the workplace. The opportunity was there – and we missed it. Simply condemning the manifesto (and Ed's leadership) as frighteningly left-wing is too simplistic. Labour was neither too left-wing nor too right wing; we were just not good enough.

The challenge for the leadership contenders is to recognise these weaknesses without accepting the Conservative government's economic policy story. There must be a distinctive Labour narrative about how to grow the economy and achieve inclusive prosperity. Developing a credible prospectus for the achievement of both objectives is essential if the party is to have a decent chance of depriving the Tories of their majority in 2020. **F**

Sun, sea and socialism

Deborah Stoate reveals what went on at Fabian summer holidays



Who put the social in socialism? Surprisingly, the early Fabians. According to Margaret Cole's *The Story of Fabian Socialism*, early Fabians such as George Bernard Shaw and Lawson Dodd "enlivened the Society and prevented it from being the set of solemn prigs which outsiders were apt to conjure up". They supported a proposition by Mabel Atkinson – "a truculent, stormy element in Edwardian Fabianism" – to organise annual Fabian holidays, or summer schools as they were more soberly called.

So the first summer school took place and these Fabian holidays continued into the 1980s, though they took a different and more educational format as the years progressed. They were immensely popular, financially profitable, lasted sometimes for 6 weeks, and seemed to fulfil the first principle of the early founders – that socialists should live in a community and work out their social economic and political philosophy together. And have fun. So study and debate combined with day-trips, tennis tournaments, bathing and musical and dramatic entertainments.

The earliest schools started with Swedish drill led by "a cubical lady" called Mary Hankinson who put everyone through exercises before breakfast, made them all play in the cricket team, do the washing up and go to bed at 10pm. Hankinson clashed fiercely with Beatrice Webb because she expected Beatrice to make her own bed. According to Margaret Cole, Beatrice had her own views on that. Drill was performed in bloomers and there was a craze for sleeping out of doors. A Professor Joad was sacked as school director for staying out all night with two young ladies, having already suffered a rebuke for "excessive wenching". Margaret Cole noted in a speech in 1972: "One day my brother came to visit us at the school. It was a fine afternoon and there was nobody in the building so he went out into the grounds. The first thing he encountered was Professor Joad wearing nothing but a hat... He left immediately."



© Fabian Summer School 1922, with George Bernard Shaw second row

Nude sunbathing was the norm, which Margaret Cole in the same speech agreed with, as "it did teach people to be more careful in looking after their bodies so that they did not look too bad without clothes."

Indeed Beatrice, after one of the more riotous summer schools, wrote a stern list of "Points to be Remembered". Point 6 – "Quiet and freedom from noise is most important. Would it not be possible to exclude the more boisterous, larkly entertainments and substitute something of the nature of religious music – or time for meditation?" Despite Beatrice's exhortations, the 'larkiness' continued and schools, according to Margaret Cole continued to be "pretty uninhibited" – they were once turned out of Frensham for indecency.

To give the impression that the holidays were simply 'larks' would be wrong

As late as 1951 at a school in Broadstairs, someone found some song sheets and forwarded them to Kent County Council, which found them to be obscene and blasphemous and they were turned out. Music played an important part in the Fabian holiday – participants regularly brought their musical instruments, a piano was hired if necessary and in the early days, participants were issued with 'Songs for Socialists'. This had been compiled by a committee (naturally) and included stirring socialist anthems and in later years, satirical and self-parodying

songs. For instance, to the tune of 'I Do Like to be Beside the Seaside':

"Oh we do like a furious game of croquet,
Or a swim in the coolest hour of night.

And there's lots of other things that the early morning brings

On Frensham hillsides, or Frensham heights."

However, to give the impression that the holidays were simply 'larks' would be wrong. A director was appointed for each fortnight and their log books, which are in the Fabian archive, make entertaining reading. Looking at photos of the schools, it's apparent that older children were also there which surely must have curtailed some activities. Leading Fabians always attended – George Bernard Shaw (see photo), the Webbs, the Coles, academics and politicians – so ordinary members mixing with them identified more completely with the aims and work of the Society. Familiarity brought confidence and those who might remain silent in a meeting, might at a summer school find themselves challenging Webb or Shaw. Schools were thus a great leveller for all involved.

So the annual Fabian holiday provided elucidation of socialist thought, development of ideas on its practical application, cultivation of upcoming talent and through communal living, cultivation of a friendly democracy. And fun.

I can't see it being revived today though. Imagine the *Daily Mail* headlines. ■

Deborah Stoate is local Fabian societies officer

Listings

BEXLEY

Regular meetings.
Contact Alan Scutt on 0208 304 0413 or alan.scutt@phonecoop.

BIRMINGHAM

For details and information,
please contact Andrew Coulson at Andrew@CoulsonBirmingham.co.uk

BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT

30 October. Karin Kristianson, General Secretary of the Cooperative Party 27 November. Andrew Noakes Meetings at The Friends Meeting House, Wharcliffe Rd, Boscombe, Bournemouth at 7.30. Contact Ian Taylor on 01202 396634 for details or taylorbournemouth@gmail.com

BRIGHTON & HOVE

24 July. Professor Richard Wilkinson on 'Equality and Sustainability' Details of all meetings from Ralph Bayley: ralphbayley@gmail.com

BRISTOL

Regular meetings.
Contact Ges Rosenberg for details on grosenberg@churchside.me.uk or Arthur Massey 0117 9573330

CAMBRIDGE

Contact Cambridge Fabians at cambridgefabians@gmail.com www.cambridgefabians.org.uk www.facebook.com/groups/cambridgefabiansociety

CARDIFF

Society reforming. Please contact Jonathan Evans at wynneevans@phonecoop.coop if you're interested

CENTRAL LONDON

Details from Giles Wright on 0207 227 4904 or giles.wright@fabians.org.uk

CHATHAM and AYLESFORD

New Society forming. Please contact Sean Henry on 07545 296800 or seanhenry@live.co.uk

CHISWICK & WEST LONDON

All meetings at 8.00 in Committee Room, Chiswick Town Hall Details from the secretary, Alison Baker at a.m.baker@blueyonder.co.uk

COLCHESTER

Details of meetings from Maurice Austin – maurice.austin@phonecoop.coop. Friends Meeting House, Church St., Colchester

CUMBRIA & NORTH LANCASHIRE

Meetings, 6.30 for 7.00 at Castle Green Hotel, Kendal. For information contact Robin Cope at robincope@waitrose.com

DARTFORD & GRAVESHAM

Regular meetings at 8.00 in Dartford Working Men's Club, Essex Rd, Dartford Details from Deborah Stoate on 0207 227 4904 email debstoate@hotmail.com

DERBY

Details for meetings from Alan Jones on 01283 217140 or alan.mandh@btinternet.com

DONCASTER AND DISTRICT

New Society forming, for details and information contact Kevin Rodgers on 07962 019168 email k.t.rodgers@gmail.com

EAST LOTHIAN

Coffee Morning on Saturday 1 August at 10.30. Details of all meetings from Noel Foy on 01620 824386 email noelfoy@lewisk3.plus.com

EDINBURGH

Regular Brain Cell meetings. Details of these and all other meetings from Daniel Johnson at daniel@scottishfabians.org.uk

EPSOM and EWELL

New Society forming. If you are interested, please contact Carl Dawson at carldawson@gmail.com

FINCHLEY

Enquiries to Mike Walsh on 07980 602122 mike.walsh44@ntlworld.com

GLASGOW

Now holding regular meetings. Contact Martin Hutchinson on mail@liathach.net

GLOUCESTER

Regular meetings at TGWU, 1 Pullman Court, Great Western Rd, Gloucester. Details from Malcolm Perry at malcolmperry3@btinternet.com

GRIMSBY

Regular meetings. Details from Pat Holland – hollandpat@hotmail.com

HARROW

Details from Marilyn Devine on 0208 424 9034. Fabians from other areas where there are no local Fabian Societies are very welcome to join us.

HASTINGS and RYE

Meetings held on last Friday of each month. Please contact Valerie Threadgill c/o the Fabian Society, 61 Petty France

HAVERING

6 August. Deputy Leadership Hustings. 7.30 Havering Town Hall Details tbc Details of all meetings from David Marshall email david.c.marshall@talk21.com tel 01708 441189 For latest information, see the website haveringfabians.org.uk Havering Fabians:

IPSWICH

Details of all meetings from John Cook: contact@ipswich-labour.org.uk twitter.com/suffolkfabians

ISLINGTON

Details from Ed Rennie at islingtonfabians@hotmail.co.uk

LEEDS

Details of all meetings from John Bracken at leedsfabians@gmail.com

MANCHESTER

Society reforming. Details from Christopher James on mcrfabs@gmail.com www.facebook.com/ManchesterFabians or Twitter @MCR_Fab

MERSEYSIDE

Please contact James Roberts at jamesroberts1986@gmail.com

MILTON KEYNES

Anyone interested in helping to set up a new society, contact David Morgan on jdavidmorgan@googlemail.com

NORTHUMBRIA AREA

For details and booking contact Pat Hobson – pat.hobson@hotmail.com

NORTHAMPTON AREA

Please contact Dave Brede on davidbrede@yahoo.com

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE

Please contact Richard Gorton on r.gorton14@btinternet.com

NORWICH

Society reforming. Contact Andreas Paterson – andreas@headswitch.co.uk

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Details from Lee Garland: secretary@nottsfabians.org.uk, www.nottsfabians.org.uk, twitter @NottsFabians

OXFORD

Please contact Michael Weatherburn at michael.weatherburn@gmail.com

PETERBOROUGH

Meetings at 8.00 at the Ramada Hotel, Thorpe Meadows, Peterborough. Details from Brian Keegan on 01733 265769, email brian@briankeegan.demon.co.uk

PORTSMOUTH

Details from Dave Wardle at david.wardle@waitrose.com

READING & DISTRICT

For details of all meetings, contact Tony Skuse at tony@skuse.net

SHEFFIELD

Regular meetings on the 3rd Thursday of the month at The Quaker Meeting House, 10, St James St, Sheffield.S1 2EW Details and information from Rob Murray on 0114 255 8341 or email robertljmurray@hotmail.com

SOUTH EAST LONDON

Contact sally.prentice@btinternet.com

SOUTH WEST LONDON

Contact Tony Eades on 0208487 9807 or toneyeades@hotmail.com

SOUTHAMPTON AREA

For details of venues and all meetings, contact Eliot Horn at eliot.horn@btinternet.com

SOUTH TYNESIDE

Contact Paul Freeman on 0191 5367 633 or at freemanpsmb@blueyonder.co.uk

STOCKPORT AREA

New Society forming. Please contact Mike Roddy at roddy175@btinternet.com

SUFFOLK

Details from John Cook, ipswichlabour@gmail.com, www.twitter.cdom/suffolkfabians

SURREY

Information from Warren Weertman secretary@surreyfabians.org.uk

TONBRIDGE and TUNBRIDGE WELLS

Contact John Champneys on 01892 523429

TOWER HAMLETS

Regular meetings. Contact: Chris Weavers, 07958 314846 or E-mail, towerhamletsfabiansociety@googlemail.com

TYNEMOUTH

Monthly supper meetings, details from Brian Flood on 0191 258 3949

WARWICKSHIRE

All meetings 7.30 at the Friends Meeting House, 28 Regent Place, Rugby Details from Ben Ferrett on ben_ferrett@hotmail.com or warwickshirefabians.blogspot.com

WEST DURHAM

Welcomes new members from all areas of the North East not served by other Fabian Societies. Regular meeting normally on the last Saturday of alternate months at the Joiners Arms, Hunwick between 12.15 and 2.00pm – light lunch £2.00 Contact the Secretary Cllr Professor Alan Townsend, 62A Low Willington, Crook, Durham DL15 0BG, tel. 01388 746479 email Alan.Townsend@dur.ac.uk

WIMBLEDON

Please contact Andy Ray on 07944 545161 or andyray@blueyonder.co.uk YORK Regular meetings on 3rd or 4th Fridays at 7.45 at Jacob's Well, Off Miklegate, York. Details from Steve Burton on steve.burton688@mod.uk

SAVE THE DATE

South West Regional
Fabian Society
Conference

'A New Beginning:
Labour's Way Forward.'

Saturday 14 November,
Miramar Hotel,
Bournemouth.

Details of speakers TBA.

Fabian News

Noticeboard

Fabian Executive Elections

Call for nominations: Closing date for nominations is Friday 14th August 2015

Nominations are now invited for:

- 10 Executive Committee places
- 3 Local Society places
- Honorary Treasurer
- Scottish Convenor
- Welsh Convenor

Election will be by postal ballot and electronic ballot of all full national members and local society members. Nominations should be in writing and individuals can nominate themselves. Local society nominations should be made by local societies.

At least two of the 10 national members and one of the three local society members elected must be under the age of 31 at the AGM on 21st November 2015. There will be no more than five places for Westminster parliamentarians.

Nominees should submit a statement in support of their nomination, including information about themselves, of not more than 70 words.

Nominations should be sent to:
Fabian Society Elections,
61 Petty France, London,
SW1H 9EU.

Or they can emailed to
giles.wright@fabians.org.uk.

Please write the position nominated for at the top of the envelope, fax or subject line of the email.

The closing date for nominations is Friday 14th August 2015.

Fabian Fortune Fund

WINNER:
Mark Abbott £100

Half the income from the Fabian Fortune Fund goes to support our research programme.

Further information from Giles Wright,
giles.wright@fabians.org.uk

Young Fabian And Fabian Women's Network Elections

Nominations are also open for the annual election to the Young Fabian executive, open to any member under the age of 31. For full details see www.youngfabians.org.uk. The Fabian Women's Network is also seeking nominations for its executive committee.

For details and information about how to get involved, please visit www.fabianwomen.co.uk.

Deadlines for nominations for both committees are Friday 14th August 2015

AGM

The AGM will take place on Saturday 21st November at 2pm in central London. Any full member, national or local, may submit a resolution to the AGM. The deadline for resolutions is Friday 14th August 2015. They should be addressed to the General Secretary at the address above or emailed to giles.wright@fabians.org.uk.

Resolutions will be circulated in the autumn issue of Fabian Review and amendments will be invited. Any amendments must be submitted five weeks before the AGM.

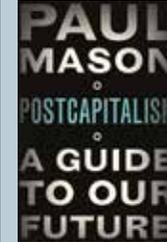
Please contact Giles Wright at giles.wright@fabians.org.uk or phone 020 7227 4903 for more information about the above.

Stephen Hailey

Stephen Hailey, who died in May 2015, was for many years the Fabian auditor and a keen supporter of all our work. His role as auditor, however, was exceptional.

Not only did he tutor me, as a very green general secretary, in the ways of accounting and management, but he acted as an informal (and free!) consultant, helping devise new ways of working, budgeting and planning. All this in such an apparent low key way that I never felt he the tutor and me the student, though that was the reality. For his part, teaching new auditors at Arthur Anderson, our then accountant – Marjorie Tait – kept

FABIAN QUIZ



**POSTCAPITALISM:
A GUIDE TO OUR
FUTURE**
Paul Mason

The award-winning Channel 4 presenter Paul Mason shows how, from the ashes of the recent financial crisis, we have the chance to create a more socially just and sustainable global economy. Moving beyond capitalism, he shows, is no longer a utopian dream. This is the first time in human history in which, equipped with an understanding of what is happening around us, we can predict and shape, rather than simply react to, seismic change.

Penguin has kindly given us five copies to give away. To win one, answer the following question:

Which banks were nationalised by the UK government following the financial crisis of 2008?

Please email your answer and your address to:
review@fabian-society.org.uk

Or send a postcard to: Fabian Society, Fabian Quiz, 61 Petty France, London, SW1H 9EU



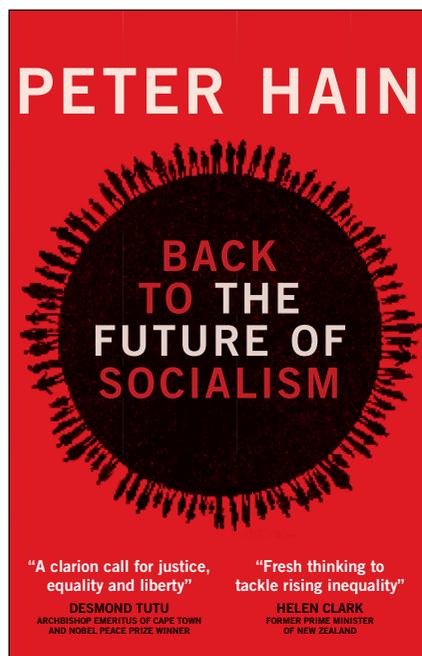
**ANSWERS MUST BE RECEIVED NO
LATER THAN 28 AUGUST 2015**

the best example of meticulous, paper-based double-entry book-keeping when others were moving to computers. So his students would train on her books – to the Society's advantage and to Stephen's amusement.

It was typical of the man, thinking laterally so that everyone gained – though mostly myself who ended up, inter alia, managing large budgets, regulating actuarial standards and insolvency practices, and chairing an Audit Committee, all on the basis of what he taught me.

Dianne Hayter

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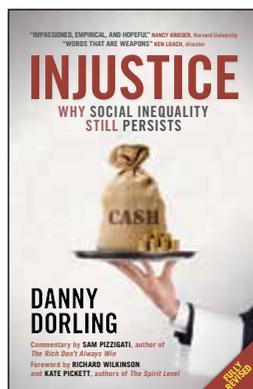
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