

FABIAN REVIEW

The quarterly magazine of the Fabian Society

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IDENTITY CRISIS



*Paul Mason and Pete Dorey on the battle for the souls of the Labour and Conservative parties and Zubaida Haque on being British **p10** / Richard Carr traces the march of the moderates **p16** / Stella Creasy talks campaigning, change and choices **p24***

Does Labour have a progressive plan for the NHS?

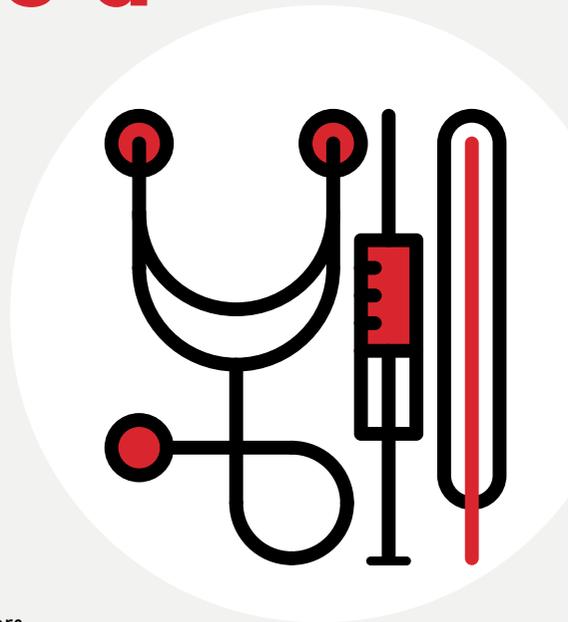
Sunday 22 September

12.30–2pm **Holiday Inn Brighton Seafront**

PROPOSED PANEL:

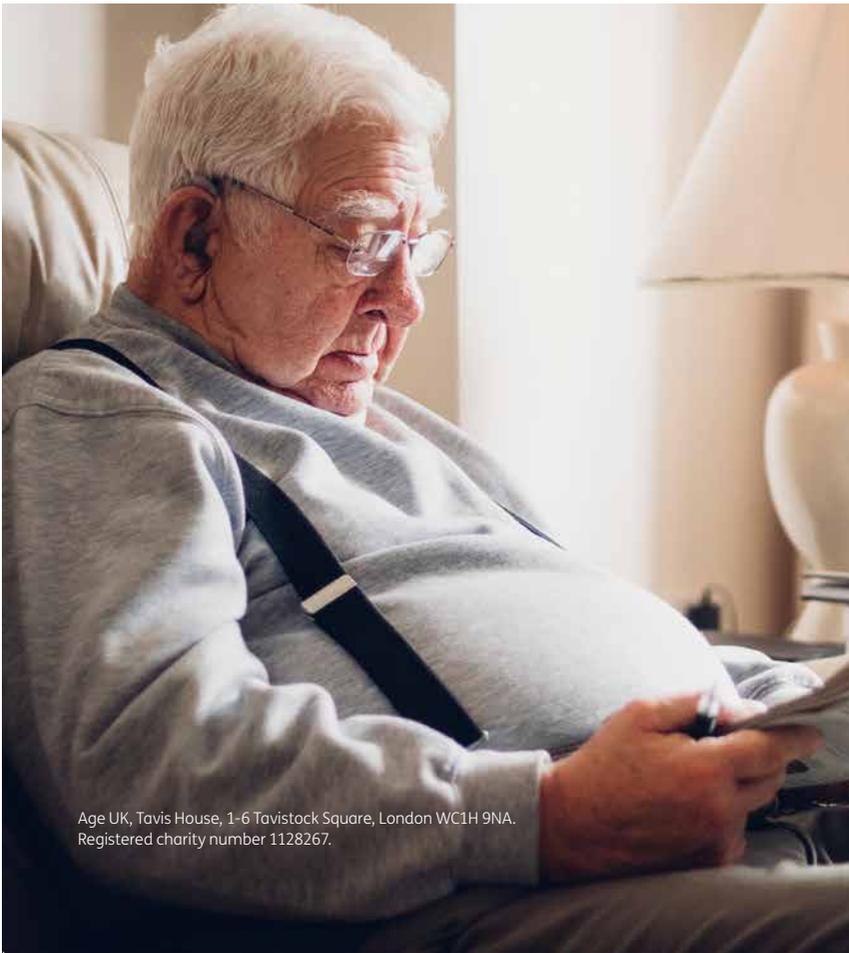
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**FABIAN
SOCIETY**

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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Facing the voters

At a time of splintering national and party identities, Labour will need to build alliances against Tory extremism if it is to reunite the country, writes *Andrew Harrop*

THE DATE IS not yet set. But it is all but inevitable that a weary nation will soon face its third election in under 30 months. And, like two years ago, this is an election where almost no one thinks the Labour party can win a majority. The 'best case' this year is that Labour will emerge as the largest party in a hung parliament. Even that will require a big improvement in the party's recent fortunes.

Labour has still not come to terms with this sobering reality, even though the challenges it faces are structural not cyclical. Its change in fortunes came with the post-2014 collapse of the party's vote in Scotland, not Jeremy Corbyn's rule. But four years after the disaster of the 2015 election, Labour continues to have the tribal psychology of a party that feels entitled to rule alone.

The party has been unable to adjust strategically or emotionally to see that cooperation with other political forces is not just necessary but normal. But nor has it been able to imagine a path back to its majoritarian past. In a divided Britain, Labour shows no prospect of assembling a coalition of voters sufficient to command a parliamentary majority. A major advance in Scotland is inconceivable for now, while making significant inroads in non-metropolitan England seems unlikely while Brexit dominates debate.

The root causes of the party's troubles are not really of its own making. Of course Labour has made mistakes. But its position reflects the deeper reshaping and splintering of identities in every corner of Britain. In Scotland, nationalism is now the dominant political identity, while in England the toxic politics of Brexit has widened cultural and class divides.

The identities of both the main parties are changing profoundly too. The leadership and centre of gravity within Labour are further to the left than at any time in recent history, but the party has just about sustained its broad-church roots. For the Conservatives under Boris Johnson it is a different story, now that the leading voices

of the One Nation tradition have been ejected without ceremony. The Tories, not Labour, are the party of splits and extremism.

Unlike the Conservatives or the most diehard remain campaigners, Labour politicians genuinely want to reach out to people with a broad range of social backgrounds, cultural values and views on Brexit. But emotionally they find it hard to be the reasonable compromisers sat in the middle. Their personal politics are usually socially liberal and internationalist and most of them would prefer to be fighting from the left on economic questions rather than acting as sensible centrists in the culture war.

Labour has been helped enormously by Johnson's decision to frame Brexit as a 'yes or no choice on 'no deal''. This has created the context in which moderate leave and remain voters can be united. Promising a referendum that gives a genuine choice between remain or a deal can be presented as the least bad option to all those who fear the cliff edge.

When the election comes Labour must not be just a party of remain. Its vital role in the 'rebel alliance' will be to reach out to all those Brexit backers who are measured, indifferent or bored. The party must convince these soft Brexit voters that Johnson's cliff edge is not an acceptable choice for anyone who cares about prosperity and peace.

Stopping Johnson winning his Brexit election will mean building all sorts of informal alliances and understandings so that anyone opposed to the Tory extremists feels they have permission to vote for the local candidate best placed to stop them. But this strategy will only work if some of the people who voted Brexit are on board winning their backing is the task that only Labour can play.

In the election to come, Labour will appeal to remainers in their millions. But the party must win the support of people who chose Brexit too. That way Labour can stop no deal, rebuild as a nationwide force and start to reunite the country. **F**

Shortcuts



MIND THE GAPS

Too many children begin their education on an unequal footing—*Tulip Siddiq MP*

The all-consuming nature of Brexit means that crucial policy areas continue to be neglected at the worst possible time. Early education is one such area. Pivotal to building a fairer society, countless studies and lived experiences testify to the importance of well-funded childcare settings. And yet the sector is at breaking point.

From the underfunding of the 30-hours childcare entitlement, to the perennial issue of low pay for early years teachers, it is hard to know where we begin to rectify a system that has been overlooked for so long. But given the sector's importance to bridging the gap between rich and poor, it is vital that we do so.

Fixing our childcare system is not solely about ensuring that nurseries are well funded. Spending on early education is recognised as crucial to an individual's success in later life. No longer an orthodoxy confined to progressive think tanks, even this Conservative government and those hired to analyse the merits of its policies acknowledge that a strong childcare system is critical to the wellbeing of working families.

Despite this consensus, and despite a supposedly dedicated early years inter-ministerial group under the last government, the sector remains grossly underfunded and its workforce under immense pressure. Narrowing the educational attainment gap between affluent and deprived children should be a national imperative, but it is hard to find the progress that reflects this.

The impact of Sure Start closures since 2010 is well documented, but the damaging impact of government policy on private and voluntary childcare settings less so.

As chair of the all-party parliamentary group on early education and childcare, I speak to practitioners from around the

UK. Most point to the introduction of the government's 30-hours of funded childcare policy as a cause of instability, with the newly doubled entitlement adding to a toxic concoction of costs that providers are struggling to keep under control. The National Day Nurseries Association records that the rate at which settings are closing has rocketed by 66 per cent since the introduction of the 30-hours childcare policy.

And so, in early 2018, the APPG on early education and childcare launched an inquiry into the sustainability of the private, voluntary and independent childcare sector. Our aim was to bring together the evidence and experience of leaders and practitioners, before making a series of positive recommendations to support settings across the country. Though the government's attention may be elsewhere, we argued that the pursuit of educational equality in this country must not be put on hold.

Our report was published in late July. It identified three key areas that require immediate attention if we are serious about keeping this engine of social mobility running smoothly.

The impact of underfunding has long been in the headlines, but it now feels like we are on the brink. It will come as no surprise, then, that our primary recommendation was to increase funding. With the early years funding gap standing at £660m per year, how could we start anywhere else?

In addition to increasing the rates offered in the national early years funding formula, we are also asking that the Treasury delivers full business rate relief to providers, with many saying that they are a major cause for uncertainty over the future.

We are also calling for new measures to support childcare professionals. Childcare is a low-wage, highly-skilled profession and many providers are struggling to pay competitive salaries. The low pay is compounded by a challenging workload. We have therefore supported the Early Years Alliance and others in demanding greater efficiencies in reporting requirements to ease the workload burden on the sector, without compromising standards.

Unfortunately, deprived areas face the impact of nursery closures more profoundly as parents struggle to keep up with payments. That is why universal credit should allow payments to be paid direct from the government to childcare providers. This would lessen the burden on hardworking parents and ultimately enable those families to reap the full benefits of childcare, not least their child's personal development.

A sustainable early education system has the capacity to improve the life chances of millions in the UK. We have a tireless sector led by those who are passionate about delivering the highest quality education in those crucial first few years of a child's life. They are all speaking with one voice in saying that the time to act is now. Despite the spending review and with a catastrophic no-deal Brexit on the horizon, there are major decisions to be taken by the government. This issue cannot be allowed to slip away in the turbulent months that lie ahead. Ministers must urgently provide the support needed to ensure that no child in this country is consigned to begin their education on an unequal footing. **F**

Tulip Siddiq is the Labour MP for Hampstead and Kilburn and chair of the all-party parliamentary group on early education and childcare



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A COUNCIL HOUSE RENAISSANCE

Redistribution is at the heart of building the new generation of council housing—*Danny Beales*

This year marks the 100-year anniversary of the first council housing in Britain. Under successive governments in the post-war period, large-scale house building was a priority, providing hope, decent housing and opportunity for millions of citizens. This consensus ended in the 1980s, when home ownership became the overriding policy objective and new council homes dried up almost completely.

Today, local authority housing is as crucial as ever to people's life chances. When we complete a new council development, we are producing not just units, but family homes. Each one we build offers hope of a better future for a family. One of the greatest tasks as a councillor is handing over a new set of keys and opening the door of opportunity to a new home. Having myself grown up in temporary accommodation and been homeless, this is a particular personal honour. In my own borough, hundreds of families have had their lives transformed: overcrowding ended, disabled residents with homes that are fully accessible, children with bedrooms of their own and places to study.

In the 20th century, Camden was at the forefront of the municipal socialist movement: from building some of the first-ever council estates; to the Camden architects' department designing world-famous buildings which reimagined modern living; to radical leaders of the council buying up private homes in the 1970s to expand people's chances of renting affordably.

With this history, it is fitting that Camden is now once again leading the municipal housebuilding revival. We are now building the next generation of council homes, after decades of local authorities having to retreat from this task.

But government spending cuts make this an uphill task. England's housing investment programme was slashed by 60 per cent in 2010 – a cut which saw the number of new social homes fall from around 39,000 in 2010 to just 6,500 in 2017. Councils have

had to innovate to deliver on our ambitions without national funding. In Camden, our answer was our community investment programme – a self-financed investment programme of more than £1bn. We committed to deliver 1,100 new council homes, 300 living rent homes and 1,650 homes for sale and rent which would fund them.

This cross-subsidy model ensures that every pound raised gets reinvested into new social rent homes, improving our streets and creating new public spaces, building new schools, and refurbishing estates, community centres and other facilities. Our approach redistributes money from those who can afford to buy their own homes to be invested in genuinely affordable council homes for those who cannot.

Councils are finding new ways to deliver – and we are ready to go even further

Since the launch of the programme, we have delivered over 350 new council homes, with another 400 in the pipeline in the next four years. In July, the council also agreed in principle three new large-scale projects which would provide over 800 new council and living rent homes.

Last year Camden built more than half of the 680 homes completed by councils in London. But building council houses is not just about providing new homes, vital as that is. It can also be a way of ensuring residents

have access to a decent job and training. Through our investment programme, we have secured 193 apprenticeship opportunities and 141 work experience placements. And, by the end of the programme, we will have created 4,500 construction jobs.

The average cost of buying a new family home in Camden is £1m, and private sector rents are over £450 per week. With more than 5,500 families on our waiting list, often in inadequate housing situations, there is still much more we need to do. It is clear that, like all councils, we need to go further, in both scale and pace of delivery.

To do this we need a government that backs councils to build. Government must recognise council housing as key national infrastructure. The Greater London Authority recently revealed that around £5bn of annual investment over a 10-year period is needed to build the council homes London needs. We need greater grant funding, and a long-term funding settlement to provide certainty for programmes like ours.

Other smaller changes would also make it easier for boroughs to build. This includes enabling councils to combine different forms of grant funding for homes, allowing us to keep all of the receipts of the right to buy, rather than a mere fraction of them, and ideally having a moratorium on the right to buy completely.

Councils are already finding new ways to deliver – and we are ready to go even further. Municipal socialism is alive and well, as we draw on our radical legacy of building council housing, stepping in to correct



© Jack Hobhouse

market failure, and tackling the housing crisis head-on. When the early pioneers delivered the first council homes 100 years ago, the need was clear. Now, the need for action, and funding, is just as pressing – if not more so. **F**

Danny Beales is a Labour councillor in the London Borough of Camden and cabinet member for investing in communities and an inclusive economy



TAKING ON THE PM

Diverse voices are mobilising to disrupt the political order

—*Ali Milani*

If you had told me just five or six years ago that I would be standing for election to unseat a sitting prime minister I probably would have laughed you out of the room.

Growing up on a council estate with a single parent who barely spoke a word of English, I – and my friends on the estate – never believed that politics was for us. We had come to accept the idea that the corridors of power were reserved for the rich, private school educated Etonians that we had watched on our television screens all our lives.

One of my earliest memories is of my mum not being able to afford to top up the gas meter in our flat. For my family, a ‘normal’ week meant wondering whether our benefits would make it to Sunday. Mine was not a unique story. But although my family, friends and community were on the frontline of the impact government policy was having, we rarely believed we had the power to change anything.

My generation saw our education maintenance allowance cut, our benefits slashed, our tuition fees trebled, our youth centres closed and we lost friends to knife violence.

I felt an angst that I could not quite articulate, an anger that I just couldn’t put my finger on. I knew something was wrong, I just didn’t know how I could make a difference.

Then came the financial crash and the coalition government. I watched as bankers

in my city got bailed out while my mum was made homeless. I watched as politicians turned working-class communities against migrants and minorities. I watched as teachers were made to cry in frustration, doctors were forced to strike in exasperation and I saw my community overworked and overwhelmed.

I remember vividly being stood on London Bridge, in the blistering cold, protesting the trebling of our tuition fees and promising to do all I could to make sure our voices were finally heard.

Seven years on from that cold day on London Bridge, I was selected as Labour’s prospective parliamentary candidate to face Boris Johnson in my home seat of Uxbridge and South Ruislip. With Johnson’s majority halved at the last election, Uxbridge and South Ruislip is now a marginal seat – needing only a 5 per cent swing to make history.

With my selection at 24 years old, I became one of the youngest parliamentary candidates in the country. For me, this has become not only an opportunity to beat one of the most dangerous figures in British politics today, but also a chance to play a small part in changing politics in the UK. Ensuring that our decision-makers know what it is like to live like us.

I knew that in standing against Boris Johnson, our campaign could be about more than the battle for a marginal seat in a general election – it could pose the question of which direction our country would take. Would we continue with the arrogant elite who would never understand the day-to-day struggle of most people in this country? Or could a young working-class voice disrupt their political order?

Despite how hard the press try to paint Boris Johnson as a harmless character, in his short time as prime minister he has already begun to inflict serious damage on this country.

The flag-bearer of Trumpism in the UK, Johnson believes in keeping society divided by inequality and intolerance, while he and his friends build a corporate country that serves only an elite few.

His is a future where we hurtle towards climate catastrophe, where our NHS and public services are up for sale to his sweetheart, Donald Trump, and where the United Kingdom becomes a tax haven for the millionaires and billionaires.

Our campaign and the energy of the other ‘Unseat’ campaigns to defeat senior Tory MPs are sending a strong message: there is another choice for the people of our country.

I have a genuine belief in a better future. I joined the Labour party because it is a movement rooted in the principle that nobody – and no community – should be left behind.

Since we launched our campaign, we have felt that urgency across the country. Our events and campaigns have seen hundreds come all over the UK, from Glasgow to Brighton, all with the belief that by taking Uxbridge and South Ruislip, we can signal a change in politics across the UK.

Never before has the phrase ‘politicians are all the same’ been less true than it is right now.

There is an alternative. One where young, passionate voices can break through and shake up parliament. We can beat Boris Johnson as prime minister, and unseat him and his politics for good.

We can change things and ensure the next generation don’t feel like politics is reserved for the rich, private school educated, Etonians but that it is for them. **F**

Ali Milani is Labour’s prospective parliamentary candidate in Uxbridge and South Ruislip and a councillor in the London borough of Hillingdon



THE ART OF BRIDGE-BUILDING

We can heal factional divides during conference and beyond

—*Hannah O’Rourke and Shabana Mahmood MP*

Labour party conference should be a time when our movement comes together; when delegates and activists from across the country descend on one city to share ideas, stories and views on the conference floor, fringes – and even the pub. It is the patchwork of our party brought to life, with every part of our movement – from trade unions to socialist societies, lifelong members to new supporters – together for a few precious days. But if conference is Labour’s annual family reunion, it feels like a family ever more estranged and distant. And nowhere is this generational and societal fissure more obvious than the division between *The World Transformed* and the official Labour

party fringe events. Like warring siblings, both seem to go out of their way to snub one another, while secretly seeking validation.

Meanwhile, the hyper-factional, staged fights that take place on the conference floor are more prevalent than ever, with delegates whipped by conference apps and given lines to take through closed WhatsApp groups. Then there are the rushed-through agendas that mean that more often than not delegates are unaware of what they are actually voting on. And all this is played out against a backdrop of online abuse, set against a menacing drumbeat of factional antagonism. Real ideological differences and the tougher questions surrounding Labour's future are repeatedly sidelined in favour of shallow, factional battles.

So how can we overcome this? That's what we've been puzzling over for the past year at Labour Together, our network made up of activists from all parts of the party. How can you get the chair of Progress and the national coordinator of Momentum to sit down in a room together and talk about party reform? How might activists with Blue Labour leanings and those from Extinction Rebellion discuss their love of nature and place? How can you keep a group of MPs who have seemingly irreconcilable views on Brexit working collegiately? In an age of endless political realignments and seismic shifts, just how can you keep the Labour party together?

The answer, Labour Together believe, is to curate political spaces that foster relationship-building from the bottom up. We're in favour of tables not podiums, and group discussion rather than speeches. Hence, we have been putting members with opposing viewpoints together around tables in different parts of the country, asking them to think about the longer term challenges our party is facing. We use the startling fact that a child born today will live to see the year 2100 and invite people to think about what kind of world that child will grow up in.

These conversations deliberately take place in a kitchen or a living room. Here you give people a chance to encounter each other in a new space. It's not a meeting and their interactions aren't constricted by motions or votes. In fact, more often than not, these discussions are centred around a shared meal – arguably one of the oldest political practices in the world. It's amazing to see how people react in a different context, when they are given space to face each other in all their complexity. Suddenly the person in front becomes more than just a political label or a faction. They speak for

themselves and together the participants construct a vision of a world for that child which is greater than the sum of their own perspectives. In these rooms, around tables, Labour members are practicing and learning the very essence of politics – the art of bridge-building which respects difference and reconciles opposing interests.

In this climate, reconciliation becomes an inherently political act and could form the basis of a new politics. It is not simply a method to win power or construct a majority but becomes transformative for those who take part. Reconciliation does not mean avoiding the real political conflicts that exist.

If we are going to successfully resolve the culture war that has been unleashed by Brexit, then we have to find a way to bring different communities together, to break down walls and build bridges in their place. With this in mind, our decision to hold a BBQ on the beach during conference suddenly doesn't seem so surprising at all. Being by the sea, free from the rigid structures of conference, it's a literal liminal space, where boundaries can be crossed and new relationships forged. It's a space where a meal can be shared and where understanding across the factional divides can begin to take place. For if we are to build a movement of bridge-builders capable of transforming our country, we must first master the ability to interact with each other. **F**

Hannah O'Rourke is the senior programme manager at Labour Together. Shabana Mahmood is the Labour MP for Birmingham, Ladywood



A SPACE TO HEAL

Young people deserve better than Boris Johnson's law and order plans —*Dean Mukeza*

Just four days after delivering a letter to the prime minister explaining that we want young people to be part of the solution to youth violence, Boris Johnson announced he would not only hire an extra 20,000 police officers but also lift restrictions on stop and search, review community sentencing and fund an extra 10,000 prison places by 2020.

This is not what we asked for.

Johnson's plan peddles the subliminal message that things will not and cannot get better, therefore more young people will continue to go to prison, requiring more space in an already overcrowded system. These are the wrong priorities: the focus should not be imprisonment but rehabilitation.

Instead of putting young people in an institution that further perpetuates inequality, we should put in place systems that will truly help young people heal and move towards a more positive life. Locking young people up with no intervention just makes prison the next step down a negative path of crime and violence. Instead, we should turn our attention towards understanding the complex lives and minds of young people to help them turn their lives around. One way to do this is to stop mass school exclusions which abandon young people and increase the likelihood of them pursuing negative life choices.

On the topic of the intended increase in police officers, there is already great mistrust between young people and the police because of racism and abuses of power. We see this with the gangs matrix: a racially discriminatory system used by the police that stigmatises young black men for the company they keep, the music they listen to or their behaviour on social media. Young people already feel like the police have hostile intentions towards them, or that they only care about incriminating and imprisoning them, and so increasing the number of officers will only make youth feel more targeted, fuelling the anger they already feel about being trapped in a system that doesn't understand them. If a young person does not feel like the system is made for them, how can they be expected to adhere to it? The police represent the face of the government, as the most prominent organisation youth are likely to encounter.

Boris Johnson also plans to increase stop and search, with restrictions lifted on section 60. This will allow police to carry out searches in designated areas without authorisation from a senior officer. Once again, this will target young black men – who are four times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts. Even if we put that major problem to one side, stop and search is an ineffective solution to youth violence with the College of Policing stating stop and search procedures (under section 60) only find a weapon 3 per cent of the time. That is a 97 per cent failure rate.

Take Back The Power – our youth-led project on youth violence – recently published



a Call To Action, detailing 10 practical solutions – four calls for community support and six demands for systemic change. At the systemic level, we need to stop the mass exclusion of young people from mainstream education, change the narrative about people who are involved in youth violence, end poverty for young people and their families, challenge structural violence, and stop the criminalisation of young people.

The focus should be on addressing the roots of the problem if we truly want to see an end to it. That is why Boris Johnson's plans will not solve youth violence. Politicians will not create effective solutions to youth violence without understanding the mindsets of young people – and this is why young people need to be involved in the process.

Instead of over-policing and under-protecting young people, the government should provide communities with the resources they need to support young people to develop a critical understanding of their own lives and the society we live in; make spaces for emotional amnesty; and support young people to change their mindset and get out of negative lifestyles.

But the ideas coming from the Labour party don't address the root of the problem either. Even the public health approach – which everyone is advocating as being the best solution to youth violence – will be close to useless without wider system change or if it is implemented by the same bodies and services which currently exclude and shame young people. Instead, we need to support youth organisations to effectively help young people by offering the longstanding support they deserve to change their lives. Give young people a space to heal. **F**

Dean Mukeza is a youth violence researcher from Take Back The Power



DANGEROUS DELAYS

We urgently need action on the social care crisis —*Rosena Allin-Khan MP*

The social care green paper – that much needed, long-awaited policy document that MPs, clinicians and members of the public keep asking for – has been delayed for the sixth time. First promised by the end of 2017, it turns out we need to continue waiting.

The Brexit gridlock continues to mean that such important issues are put on the back burner and it is the most vulnerable people in this country that suffer the consequences: since the green paper was announced, hundreds of thousands of older people are unable to access care, millions of older people have become carers and unforgivable numbers of older people have died waiting for the help and support they desperately need. If this were happening to the UK's children, the country would be in an uproar – and, quite rightly so. These are our world war two veterans, the founders of our NHS and our parents – they deserve humanity and respect.

**Nothing prepares you
to find your loved one
with a black eye in
a facility where they
are meant to be safe**

Following Boris Johnson announcing, in his first speech as prime minister, that he plans to find a solution to the social care crisis, I want to make clear that we will be watching his action, or rather inaction, on this important topic. Theresa May promised to prioritise mental health at the start of her tenure – that was soon lost in the Brexit quagmire. We cannot let the same thing happen to social care. I always say that humanity has no borders. It also has no age limit.

Nothing prepares you to find your loved one with a black eye, cuts in their mouth and scratches all over their face in a care facility where they are meant to be looked after and safe.

It is even harder to comprehend how these injuries occurred and you were not told, no one had called an ambulance despite a head injury, and not a single person had any explanation as to how these injuries came about.

When this happened to my father, I was able to raise the issue in parliament; a luxury not afforded to most people.

I found my father with a catalogue of injuries and, like many families in similar positions, have been seeking an explanation as to what happened. The journey has been like banging my head against a brick wall. No one has been forthcoming with answers. Measures must be put in place to ensure all families feel their cases are fairly investigated.

If there was greater safety monitoring in my father's extra care facility, our family might have received more answers. I raised this directly with Matt Hancock when I met with him earlier this year to discuss how we can better protect our most vulnerable residents.

While the green paper is due to explore how social care is funded, what people from across the UK overwhelmingly tell me is that the system needs overhauling to ensure that our most vulnerable, and their families, know how to complain when the worst happens.

There are issues in social care that urgently need addressing: how care contracts are managed; how we encourage staff to speak out about concerns without fear of reprisal; how the needs of our most vulnerable are taken into account by inspectors when they are unable to communicate; and where there are protocols in place, the consequences of them not being followed by care providers.

We cannot fail our most vulnerable.

As a society, we are only as good as the care that we provide to those who need us the most. And so, the government must ensure that care staff are properly trained and retained – there are more than 100,000 vacancies in the workforce, making the situation ever more desperate.

With an ageing population and an increase in degenerative illnesses, the crisis in social care is only going to get worse. As parliamentarians, we need to act now, to ensure that even more families do not experience the horror of finding their loved one bruised, bleeding and terrified. Fundamentally, we need greater accountability when atrocities take place against our elderly. Their quality of life should not be deprived. We must give our vulnerable a fair voice – they need to be heard. **F**

Dr Rosena Allin-Khan is the Labour MP for Tooting

Labour's big challenge

Britain is facing an identity crisis. The decision to leave the European Union has revealed deeply divided views over British values and our place in the world. But it is not only our nation that is fractured: our two main political parties are too, with both Labour and the Conservatives internally conflicted. For *Paul Mason*, Labour must forge a clear and sharp offer if it is to remain relevant and electable



Paul Mason is a journalist, author and film-maker

THERE COULD NOT be a clearer brand identity than 'Jeremy Corbyn's Labour' – whatever you think of its pros and cons. It signifies a party back in touch with its socialist roots, a mass membership where the democratic procedures (usually) matter, and a politics based primarily on values, not spin or electoral tactics.

The problem is, in a world transformed by technological change, with the global system facing breakup and democracy under strain, the core offer of Corbynism – which struck such a chord in 2017 – might not be the right thing today or tomorrow.

That – overlaid with the old rivalries between left, right and centre in the party that developed during the neoliberal era – is the source of Labour's current identity crisis.

To solve it, I propose we begin with the facts.

First – the old tribal alliance that formed the Labour party is breaking up. Labour can only form a government when it can take Scotland and Wales, represent the working class of English towns and suburbs and the mixed, metropolitan communities of the big cities – and then, on top of that, reach into the swing-voting middle classes in places like Swindon, Calder Valley and Pembrokeshire.

The problem is, after 2014, we lost a part of the progressive working class in Scotland to the independence project, and a part of the older, ex-manual, socially conservative working class in England and Wales. Worse, we lost them for reasons of mutual antipathy.

English nationalist workers don't like Scottish independence, or any idea of a Labour government that allies with the Scottish National Party (SNP); while Scotland sees this move to the right among some former Labour-voting communities as a nail in the coffin for a progressive government in Britain. That, as Ed Miliband found out, is a problem that precedes Jeremy Corbyn.

It's a no brainer that, to form a government, we probably have to rely on a big, strategic split on the right, between the Tories and whichever party Farage leads – or on a quasi-coalition with the SNP and Plaid Cymru.

It's frustrating that, since the Brexit situation began to polarise Britain over the past 12 months, both Labour's frontbench and large parts of the membership were slow to accept the implications.

But it is not our only problem. At its worst, Labour is currently a battle of two nostalgias – Blairism vs Bennism. I saw Tony Benn deliver his epoch-making speech at the Blackpool Labour conference in 1980 – I know how easy it is to believe that his essential programme of nationalisation, state-directed investment, fiscal stimulus can solve everything.

But it can't. And that's because of three developments that neither Benn, nor indeed Nye Bevan, had to deal with.

First, technological change has empowered the individual and capitalism has learned to exploit the individual – way beyond the confines of work. Even though the working class exists, the dynamics of working people's lives, thoughts and behaviours have changed fundamentally. We live and work in what the Italian Marxist Mario Tronti called the 'social factory' – and that's the terrain of struggle.

Second, the long-term sources of growth are drying up: Britain, Germany and America are being kept alive with money printed by central banks. Stagnating economies, with the wealth kept offshore, are very poor sources of tax receipts for the traditional social democratic programme. At the same time, the need to eradicate net carbon emissions within two decades demands even more radical action on the spending front than the 'normal problems' of inequality, poverty and austerity.

Third, in response, factional battles have opened up within the elites of major countries. There's a globalist wing – in Britain now represented by the Lib Dems and Change UK – and there's a faction that wants to break up globalisation, erode democracy and the rule of law. Unfortunately, since July, that includes not just Farage's Brexit party but the leadership of the Conservatives.

To meet the first challenge – of an atomised electorate, whose traditions of political action and even knowledge are being eroded – we need something big and simple: a message of hope told in plain language, around a few clear policies, and above all in terms relevant to people's lives.

To meet the second challenge – finding the money come from to save the planet and rebuild Britain – we have to think beyond fiscal policy. I'm no supporter of modern monetary theory but I do agree with its practical demands: a combination of aggressive fiscal redistribution and stimulus with an even bigger monetary stimulus and if needed capital controls.

To meet the third challenge – the outbreak of xenophobia and protectionism among the elite – we need to be prepared to make new alliances: by the time you’re reading this, the biggest test in decades will be under way. Can Labour activists, who’ve finely honed their critical language against politicians like Jo Swinson, Nicola Sturgeon and Heidi Allen, face making a limited, temporary common cause with them to defend democracy and stop a no-deal Brexit?

In the 20th century Labour had an identity because we had a long-term goal – however distant it was from the thinking of the right of the party. I wrote Postcapitalism because I think that’s what our goal should be: a controlled, democratic transition beyond the market, in order to eradicate carbon emissions and save the planet. There are probably Bennite and Blairite versions of that – too – but it’s a different thing.

The postcapitalism challenge reorders the way you do things like nationalisation or planning, and demands the creation of a granular, self-sustaining non-market sector of the economy – of which nationalised water and railway companies are not even the most interesting or dynamic parts. It pushes to the fore the B Corp, the mutual, the co-op and self-managed space.

Our party is always going to be a tribal alliance between the different groupings in Labour and the very different

demographics of places like Camden and Wigan, two hours away from each other by train. Yes, there is poverty in both – but saying that can never hide the differences. Ride from Euston to Wigan Northwestern and you can see those different realities: in the latter the money has drained away and our movement, together with some struggling NGOs, is all that keeps the hope alive.

Only one force in British society can reunite these two ends of the social scale – and that is Labour. But telling people facing very different challenges that they have the same problems is not the way to do it: we need to recognise the intense local sources of anger and discontent and represent people without fear.

To mould something effective out of the diverse and fragmenting communities of Britain you have to have one big idea. For me, that idea is nothing to do with who is Labour’s leader – though I am a staunch supporter of Jeremy Corbyn – but what we’re trying to achieve long term. We don’t need a 20,000-word manifesto to spell it out. It is: zero net carbon, saving the biosphere, a decent job or a guaranteed income, a house you can afford and inalienable human rights before an efficient legal system – plus a foreign policy that ends support for wars and torture.

Around this clear, sharp offer, Labour can build not only a coherent new identity, but a story of hope – and a wider alliance that can make it happen at the grassroots. ■

We need to recognise the intense local sources of anger and discontent and represent people without fear

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Totalitarian Toryism

The Thatcherites have won the battle for the soul of the Conservative party and that has led to an identity crisis far more profound than the one facing Labour, argues *Pete Dorey*



Pete Dorey is a professor of British politics at Cardiff University

THE CONSERVATIVES HAVE struggled electorally since the landslide victories of the 1980s. Since 1987, they have only won two general elections, in 1992 and 2015, both by small majorities, while in 2010 and 2017, the party was only able to govern with the support of the Liberal Democrats, and the Democratic Unionist Party respectively, due to its failure to win an outright majority. Some of these electoral difficulties reflect broader, long-term changes among British voters, which have affected Labour too, but the Conservatives also have a more fundamental ideological problem. Some will doubtless say ‘so does Labour under Corbyn’, but the Conservatives’ difficulties have much longer antecedents and are therefore more deep-rooted.

Put simply, the Conservative party has been unable and unwilling to ‘move on’ from Thatcherism, and in this respect, its mindset is marooned in the 1980s. This is deeply problematic for three reasons. First, one of the strengths of the pre-Thatcher Conservative party was precisely its avowed rejection of ideology, by which it meant principles and policies derived from abstract ideas and theoretical blueprints for political change or radical social reconstruction. Conservatives boasted that they had no need of a right-wing equivalent of a Marx or a Lenin to guide them, because they were arch-pragmatists who governed according to circumstances. They were concerned to tackle problems as and when they arose, rather than create society anew on the basis of some intellectual utopian blueprint.

True, the party was always wedded to capitalism, private ownership, the profit motive and a market economy, but crucially it was willing to acknowledge that these had to be tempered by a sense of corporate and social responsibility, either by employers or by the state itself. This stance was strongly reinforced by the pre-Thatcher dominance of One Nation Tories in the higher echelons of the Conservative party. They were inculcated with a sense of noblesse oblige; a recognition that those born into positions of wealth and

privilege had a duty of care towards the ‘lower orders’. Not only was this morally virtuous (and even the Christian thing to do), it was politically expedient, because it would legitimise capitalism and parliamentary democracy in the eyes of the working class, and thus prevent socialist revolution. This approach reflected Disraeli’s 19th century warning that: “The palace cannot rest if the cottage is not happy”, a clear harking back to feudal notions of reciprocal roles and responsibilities between the classes.

Since the late 1970s, however, the Conservative party has succumbed to a process of ‘Thatcherisation’, whereby ideology and the teleological pursuit of a supposedly brave new world have shaped its outlook and policies. Having hitherto rejected text-book theories as the basis of political programmes, a growing number of post-1970s Conservatives became infatuated with the ideas of Adam Smith, Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, and Milton Friedman (and in the US, the writings of the arch-libertarian and individualist Ayn Rand have galvanised a growing number of right-wing Republicans). Initially, this shift proved electorally successful, as millions of British people in the 1980s welcomed tax cuts, curbs on strikes by trade unions, the right-to-buy council houses, restrictions on allegedly profligate local authorities, privatisation and the creation of a ‘share-owning democracy’, clamp-downs on welfare dependency, and an apparent ‘rolling back’ of the state in favour of individual liberty and ‘the market’. However, gradually and cumulatively, this programme created three longer term problems for the Conservative party.

First, the Conservatives became victims of their own apparent success; they had slain their perceived enemies. With nationalised industries sold off, council house stock depleted, local authorities eviscerated, trade unions emasculated, direct taxes repeatedly cut, individuals ‘liberated’ from state control, and the free-market economy firmly entrenched, Conservatives found it increasingly difficult

One of the strengths of the pre-Thatcher Conservative party was its avowed rejection of ideology



to identify ‘enemies’ against which to mobilise voters. This problem was compounded with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, for this meant that a major external enemy had disappeared. Conservatives could no longer frighten voters with warnings of a Soviet invasion if defence spending was not increased, or allegations that a Labour government would be stooges of Moscow and the Kremlin. This is partly why the European Union assumed such importance for the Conservative right; it became the new external enemy against which to mobilise nationalist sentiments and divide British citizens into ‘patriots’ and ‘traitors’.

The second problem for the Conservative party born out of the Thatcherite policies pursued with increasing hubris from the 1980s onwards was that relentless individualism, marketisation and ‘modernisation’ were destructive of all that traditional Conservatives revered. As the political theorist John Gray noted in the mid-1990s, the Thatcherite revolution grievously undermined authority, continuity, established communities, order, stability, and wisdom based on experience accrued over generations. The deification of ‘the market’ reduced human relations to the cash nexus (just as Marx had predicted), such that interactions became transactional, citizens were transformed into consumers, economic rights superseded social responsibilities, and monetary gain transcended morality. Meanwhile, the relentless promotion of labour market flexibility, management’s right to manage, the paramount needs of business, and Sunday trading, paid no heed to workers wanting to spend time with their families, or engage in virtuous community or charitable activities in the evenings or at weekends. Everything and everyone had to be subordinated to the needs of ‘the market’ and relentless profit maximisation.

In the 1990s, John Major (echoing Stanley Baldwin) mooted his romanticised vision of an idyllic England in which old maids (sic) cycled along country lanes to church, while men played cricket on the village green or sipped warm ale. He was oblivious to the extent to which Olde England had already been destroyed by the rapacious commercialism and relentless competition venerated by

his predecessor and her growing number of acolytes. The country lane was now a motorway bypass, the church was three-quarters empty – shopping became the new religion, and out-of-town malls the new places of worship – the village green was now covered by a new housing estate or superstore, and the local pub was now part of a McPub chain selling expensive ‘designer’ lagers – or had been closed down to be turned into residential apartments.

This brings us to the third problem afflicting the Conservative party today; the extent to which Thatcherism has become the dominant default ideology in the party. Academic studies have shown that in general elections since 1987, the intake of Conservative MPs has increasingly been Thatcherite, particularly on economic issues. Far from returning to the centre ground after Thatcher’s downfall, the Conservative party has continued to move to the right, dragging the ideological centre with it – it is a sign of how much British politics has shifted to the right that Corbyn is widely viewed as a hard left Marxist revolutionary, whereas in mainland Europe, he would be considered as a moderate socialist or social democrat. Nor is it just Conservative MPs who are more right-wing on many issues than 20 or 40 years ago; the constituency parties which select them as candidates are also on the right of the party, with well over half of party members currently defining themselves as Thatcherites. During the 2019 leadership contest, a majority of the Conservative party’s ageing members declared that they would be willing to see the British economy damaged, Scotland become independent, conflict re-emerge in Northern Ireland, and the Conservative party itself destroyed, if these were the price to pay to achieve Brexit. This is a party which has moved so far rightwards that is beyond reason – or rehabilitation.

This Thatcherisation of the Conservative party and the virtual evisceration of the One Nation Tories mean that its instinctive response to the problems facing Britain today is to offer more of the same – more tax cuts for big business and the rich, more deregulation, more privatisation, more curbs on welfare (even the disabled and terminally-ill are no longer deemed to be ‘deserving poor’), more attacks on employment protection and workers’ rights, more scapegoating of immigrants and ethnic minorities, and more smearing of the party’s critics and opponents as extremists, traitors, enemies within, or purveyors of the politics of envy. Meanwhile, the Brexit-related attacks on the integrity of the BBC, civil servants, the judiciary, universities, and parliament itself, are the antithesis of pre-Thatcherite Conservatism, which venerated such institutions.

The Conservative party has morphed into a right-wing version of Marxism, and embraced the very errors it once accused the former Soviet rulers of. Having succumbed to an ideology, the party cannot conceive that this itself might be flawed and based on false premises. To its adherents, the free market looks perfect on the printed page, so must be capable of being implemented in practice. If any problems arise in the process, there can only be two reasons: either the ideology is not being imposed with sufficient enthusiasm, purity and vigour, or it is being undermined by individuals or institutions failing to act as the ideology requires them to act – they must therefore be identified, and forced to comply, for the good of the regime. Welcome to the brave new world of totalitarian Toryism. ■

Real belonging

What does being British mean? The answer to that question is very different depending on the colour of your skin, argues *Zubaida Haque*



Dr Zubaida Haque is deputy director of the Runnymede Trust

OVER THE AUGUST bank holiday weekend, I received a text message from Jade [not her real name]. “I’m finally applying for citizenship again,” it said. “I’ve finally saved all the money and gathered all the paperwork”. I couldn’t be more pleased for her. Jade was born in the UK and had never been abroad, but because no one had registered her as a British citizen before the age of 10, she had – due to a number of petty crimes as a teenager while in care – lost her eligibility to apply for British citizenship for an indefinite period. Jade’s biggest concern was that even though she had no experience of any other country, she could be deported at any moment.

Her fears were not unfounded. Given the Conservative government’s Windrush scandal, in 2018, Theresa May’s post-2012 ‘hostile environment’ policies (now renamed as ‘compliant environment’) and controversial deportation charter flights of people from mostly black and minority ethnic (BME) backgrounds, Jade had every reason to believe she would be deported at any time. Not only were her parents ‘foreign’ but she had also failed one of the many controversial citizenship tests which disproportionately affect black and ethnic minority and foreign people living in the UK compared to people with white British heritage.

Jade is in her early 20s and a woman of colour. Until recently she had always assumed she was British but when she went to apply for a British passport (so she could take a work trip abroad) she was told she was not eligible for British citizenship because she had failed the ‘good character test’ – an assessment carried out on all citizenship applicants, including children, in which potential citizens must be deemed ‘of good character on the balance of probabilities’.

It is difficult to have a strong sense of British identity when your citizenship is conditional.

Jade’s case is not anomalous; in fact, her experience is one shared by many BME and foreign-heritage citizens who have lost their rights to citizenship (temporarily or permanently) because they are not native-born.

Birthright citizenship was removed in the UK in 1983 through the Nationality Act in 1981. The motivations of Margaret Thatcher, then Conservative prime minister, had undoubted xenophobic undertones, echoing of Enoch Powell’s infamous Rivers of Blood speech in 1968. In a TV interview for Granada’s *World in Action* in 1978, Thatcher

said: “Well now, look...there was a committee which looked at it and said that if we went on as we are then by the end of the century there would be four million people of the new Commonwealth or Pakistan here. Now, that is an awful lot and I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture and, you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for law and done so much throughout the world that if there is any fear that it might be swamped people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in.”

Despite Thatcher’s concern about being ‘swamped’, parliament at the time sought to protect ‘non-native’ children born or growing up in the UK from being denied British citizenship through provisions emphasising ‘close connection to the UK’ and the importance of maintaining ‘good race relations’. It was actually the Labour government which subsequently undermined parliament’s original intentions to protect the citizenship of children with foreign parents by introducing the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act in 2006. It not only blurred the distinction between registration for people entitled to citizenship with ‘naturalisation’ for people migrating to the UK, but more significantly inappropriately extended the ‘good character’ requirement to children as well as adults. This ill-conceived Labour policy has meant that since 2006, hundreds of children over the age of 10, from pre-

dominantly BME backgrounds, as well as those growing up in care and with learning difficulties have been deprived of citizenship protection because of some form of (often minor) contact with the criminal justice system. It has also exposed these children, once they have become adults, to risks of detention and deportation.

The vulnerability of citizens in limbo – ‘undocumented’ citizens – has been painfully evident in the frequent use of mass deportation charter flights since 2010. The Home Office has argued that these flights contain only ‘foreign national offenders’ but appeal cases on a Jamaican charter flight this year revealed that 13 people on the flight had come to the UK as children, nine of whom were under the age of 10 when they arrived, 11 had indefinite leave to remain and one person even had a British passport. Not only is there evidence to suggest that people (predominantly of colour) on these mass charter flights are ‘more British

It is difficult to have a strong sense of British identity when your citizenship is conditional



© Stu Smith

than foreign' but there's also strong evidence to suggest that these so-called 'foreign national offenders' were being punished twice (three times if you include detention) for crimes they had already served sentences for.

What these citizenship cases illustrate is that if you have 'foreign' or non-white British parents in the UK you have every reason to believe that you will be treated as a second-class (or non) citizen if your behaviour is deemed to not meet 'good character' requirements, to be 'unacceptable' or against the 'public good'. Most of these criteria are vague in their definitions (for instance, there is no statutory definition of good character) and range from acts of terrorism to instances of 'notoriety' and 'other non-conducive activities'. What is for certain is that these criteria are applied disproportionately against people of colour by politicians seeking popular votes and because of well-documented racial biases within the British criminal justice system.

Shamima Begum's citizenship is a case in point. While the British teenager's case is emotive because she ran away at the age of 15 to join ISIS in Syria, it is a stark example of how British citizens with BME parents or foreign heritage are vulnerable to losing their citizenship because of citizenship criteria which only applies to them and not their 'native' white British counterparts. British nationals can only be stripped of citizenship if they have dual citizenship and are not made stateless.

What is clear is that the test of Britishness for people of colour, or indeed for anyone with foreign heritage, is no longer about birthright, length of stay, 'close connection' or even having a British family or children; it is about 'whiteness' and whether you're able to pass good character citizenship tests which are highly racialised in their application.

The time is ripe for a wholesale reform of nationality and citizenship laws. Questions about identity and belonging for BME, European and indeed any citizens with 'foreign' heritage in Britain are not only important because of the Conservative government's hostile environment policies; they have also been thrown into sharp focus by the Brexit

vote. There is substantial evidence to show that hate abuse and hate crimes against BME, European, Muslim and Jewish people have gone up since 2016. Fundamentally, such hate crimes show us that racists believe that it's possible to tell whether someone is 'truly British' based on the colour of their skin, their religion, ethnic dress or even accent. Arguably, these attitudes are reflected in our citizenship laws.

A general election is increasingly likely to take place soon. When the country goes to the polls, then we will have the chance to elect a new government which could seek to rectify this unequal and unfair citizenship status for people of colour and those with foreign heritage. A good place to start would be to reintroduce birthright citizenship since, as we have seen, acquiring or registering British citizenship for people whose parents are not British, have indefinite leave to remain or settled status at the time of their birth is hugely problematic. In addition, a new government could remove provisions/nationality clauses (eg good character tests) which disproportionately affect black and ethnic minority citizens because of well-evidenced racial biases within the British public sector and the criminal justice system. And as controversial as it will be, a new government could amend legislation which makes it easier for home secretaries to strip UK dual nationals of British citizenship when the government of the day deems their behaviour to be not conducive to the public good.

It is true that these acts alone would not remove the second-class status of black and ethnic minority citizens in this country. That has been a significant challenge since post-war migration from former colonies in the late 1940s. But legislation around both nationality and race relations – would send a strong signal to both the public at large and to BME citizens or citizens with foreign heritage in particular: your rights as a British citizen should not be conditional based on your heritage. This would not only facilitate belonging, it would also contribute to a strong sense of British identity. **F**

Sweet moderation

Tony Blair and Bill Clinton walked the third way in politics together. Their records should be defended, argues *Richard Carr*



*Richard Carr is senior lecturer in history and politics at Anglia Ruskin University. His new book, *March of the Moderates: Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, and the Rebirth of Progressive Politics*, is published by IB Tauris*

IN THE AGE of Donald Trump and Boris Johnson, it has become fashionable to proclaim the death of the centre-left. Obviously this verdict owes much to the political events of the last five years. But it is also the product of something deeper. In short, to win in the 2010s, populists of left and right have constructed a new and beguiling history of the 1990s and 2000s – one reliant on ignoring, or downplaying, the achievements of the New Democrat-New Labour era. In some ways this was entirely predictable. As Tony Blair told Bill Clinton in their first telephone conversation after New Labour’s astonishing 1997 election result: “Always the right attack you and the left don’t defend you.” This has substantially proven to be the case.

I think it is time to challenge several of the myths that have become embedded in our modern discourse. The first is that the so-called third way – that renewal of social democracy set out by Anthony Giddens – was led by figures whose only goal was electoral pragmatism, and their own self-promotion. In reality, what I dub the ‘march of the moderates’ was a brave project, born of conviction rather than expediency. If Tony Blair had wanted an easy political ride, there were easier paths he could have chosen than standing for the Labour party in the early 1980s. If Bill Clinton was scared of a challenge, he would not have bid for the presidency against George HW Bush, who was sitting on an 89 per cent approval rating when Arkansas’ governor geared up to run. It remains perfectly legitimate to criticise aspects of the two leaders’ careers – and you do not seek political leadership without something of an ego – but the idea that Blair and Clinton were vacuous careerists just does not stand up.

The second major myth was embodied in one of the most famous political slogans of the 1990s – New Labour’s claim that ‘things can only get better.’ Of course, in numerous ways they did. The Owen Jones view that Blair and Brown’s electoral appeal was owed to ‘frankly, despair’ is

belied by the new hospitals, smaller class sizes, and Sure Start centres that millions benefited from and that a Labour government made possible. This stuff, not to mention Britain’s first national minimum wage (a policy for which Harriet Harman deserves more credit than she gets) or indeed the record expansion of the US earned income tax credit, was hardly a negligible achievement.

But the truth was that things could also get *worse* – and having moderate leaders in office also stopped bad things from happening. Bill Clinton twice vetoed bills passed by a rabid Republican Congress to restrict a woman’s right to an abortion and had Bob Dole won in 1996 he would have not only signed such legislation, but taken the US back to Reagan-style levels of economic laissez-faire. Likewise, John Major may have become a sensible voice more recently, but back in the 1990s he and Douglas Hurd were too slow to stop Milosevic’s barbarous regime in the former Yugoslavia. It took NATO bombing – the case for which was masterfully driven by Blair, with key interventions from Madeleine Albright – to save thousands of lives.

The bar, therefore, should not be set at some perfect level, but somewhere closer to political reality – taking into account what their opponents would do, or had done, in similar circumstances. A key example could be seen when the new President Clinton signed into law America’s Family and Medical Leave Act in February 1993. Watching on, the influential Democrat, Michigan Congressman Bill Ford, muttered to colleagues that “it took us seven years to get this fucking bill enacted. Goddamn Republicans”. That was the political alternative – a failure to protect working Americans who needed time to care for a new child or a sick family member or to recover from a serious illness – not some Valhalla.

This leads us to the third major myth: the idea that Blair and Clinton were just a watered-down version of Thatcher or Reagan. Certainly both centre-left leaders saw that

The idea that Blair and Clinton were vacuous careerists just does not stand up



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the New Right's offer of low taxes and attacks on trade union militancy had been largely attractive to voters, and had helped fuel growth in both countries. But both Blair and Clinton also believed there had to be lines in the sand, and that economic growth had to be for a purpose. For her part, Thatcher had privatised significant chunks of British industry and used the revenues from North Sea oil to fund the growing benefits bill which rising unemployment brought. Conversely, Blair and Brown used a windfall levy on the privatised utilities to help the long-term unemployed back into work and converted the tax revenues from a booming financial services sector into record investment for Britain's National Health Service. These were clearly different priorities. We can question the circumstances that led up to the crash, for sure, but the idea that New Labour and the New Democrats presided over some missed opportunity – that the global economic moderation from the early 1990s to the mid-2000s was somehow wasted – deserves severe contestation. Indeed, midway through the George W Bush presidency, the economist JK Galbraith was reflecting back to friends that "the Clinton Years, as they must be called, were clearly the best since those of FDR". On many measures, he was right.

The fourth major myth we should challenge is that New Labour was a valueless project that merely took advantage of a collapsing government. This, again, is bunk. There can be few blessings from being out of power for so long, but one is that it gives the intellectually nimble time to cast their eyes around for new ideas. As such, the march of the moderates was a truly transnational project spanning

several years. Back in the mid-1980s, Neil Kinnock regularly visited America, and his famous anti-Militant speech in 1985 led one future Clinton staffer, Jack Loiello, to joke that the Welshman was 'now ready to join the Democrats'. Had this been possible, he would have had many pre-existing connections. Pat Hewitt and Hillary Coffman, Kinnock's aides, kept a close eye on the American scene, and saw that their boss remained in touch with figures such as Ron Brown, Walter Mondale and Pat Moynihan. Joe Biden became a firm friend of Kinnock, particularly after the 1987 controversy when the Delaware Senator was accused of plagiarising a Kinnock speech during his first run for president. If nothing else, that episode at least showed that would-be Democratic leaders were listening to what Labour's leader was saying.

Importantly, Kinnock's interest helped kickstart a subsequent British invasion to the US, including then students Douglas Alexander (who volunteered for Michael Dukakis) and David Miliband, studying at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Brown and Blair had first visited in 1984 and 1986 respectively, and, by late 1988, Ed Balls could regularly be found chomping on a burger in Charlie's Kitchen in Boston, reflecting on his latest chat with Robert Reich or Larry Summers at Harvard.

Such new horizons brought fresh perspectives. Balls' view of the then ongoing American presidential election was that otherwise able Democratic candidates like Dick Gephardt and, to some extent, Michael Dukakis had shown "a level of economic nationalism around trade – certainly at a level coming from a British perspective – that was surprising". Not

only did Balls find this uncomfortable, it had also proven electorally unpopular, and new thinking was needed. In 1983, Michael Foot had lost on a pacifist and siege economy strategy in the UK, whilst the more moderate Kinnock went down to defeat in 1987. In 1988, Dukakis had further improved the progressive offer somewhat, but still hadn't embraced change to a degree that would get the Democrats into the White House. For Balls, it was now clear that the centre-left had therefore "to really accept globalisation, not uncritically, but with a mindset that broadly said it was a good thing that we needed to mitigate the risks of, rather than seek to avoid". The transnational dialogue between centre-left figures was beginning to produce some common solutions.

In November 1992, Bill Clinton, backed by New Labour's Yvette Cooper (who survived on a diet of baked potatoes, sweetcorn and bananas when researching health and crime policies for the Democrats) and Philip Gould, advising on media strategy, finally proved that progressives could win again. Within weeks, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown were in New York and Washington, probing New Democrats like Al From and Sidney Blumenthal on the latest DLC and PPI think tank pamphlets. Though impressed by Brown's detailed grasp of American politics, Blair appeared to Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg "like a Bill Clinton without all the complexity". Their leader John Smith was less impressed, telling Peter Mandelson that "we don't need any of this fucking Clinton stuff over here". But he was too late: Blair and Brown had fully bought in.

After Blair became leader, he went full steam ahead on modernisation – fully aware that, if he could win power, then he could perhaps even eclipse Clinton. After all, following his midterm election disaster in November 1994, Clinton was a Democratic president hemmed in by a Republican congress. This not only limited what he could do, but the legacy he could bequeath. As such, whilst tax credits and 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime' were significantly Clintonian, it would be New Labour which would manage to define the third way most effectively. As Al Gore's former advisor David Osborne now notes: "We were envious of the success Tony Blair had as a third-way leader [and] he appeared from afar to be accomplishing what we hoped Bill Clinton would: creating a modern Labour party that could rule for some time to come and address the social and economic inequities that conservatives generally don't address." Bruce Reed, Clinton's domestic policy advisor, would go on to tell David Miliband ahead of an expected May 2001 election (delayed a few weeks into June by the foot and mouth outbreak) that he was 'counting on you to keep the third way alive.'

And so they did. New Labour's 13 years in power, and its huge majority for the first eight of those, meant that in areas like education, welfare reform, and health it could go far further, far faster than Clinton. We can debate the downsides, but, ultimately, their governance improved millions of lives from Pristina to Penzance. All progressives should continue to defend that record. **F**

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Jane Ashcroft CBE Chief Executive, Anchor Hanover

Andrew Harrop General Secretary, Fabian Society

Lunch and refreshments provided. All welcome.

Anchor Hanover is England's largest provider of specialist housing and care for people in later life.



The next big idea

The seeds of a democratic economy are growing invisibly around us, writes *Marjorie Kelly*



Marjorie Kelly is senior fellow and executive vice president of The Democracy Collaborative, and cofounder of Fifty by Fifty, an initiative working to help create 50 million employee owners by 2050. She is the author, with Ted Howard, of The Making of a Democratic Economy

EMPLOYEE-OWNED COMPANIES LIKE the UK-based John Lewis Partnership are a growing sector of the economy, but for the most part are still treated like oddities – a tie-dye-and-sandals crowd separated from the suited adults doing the serious business of enterprise. But as global capitalism faces an existential crisis, it is becoming clearer that it is employee-owned company structures that hold some of the key to a more sustainable and equitable economy.

Consider the story of EA Engineering in the United States. The environmental consulting firm founded by ecological science professor Loren Jensen grew rapidly in the 1980s, and, in search of more capital, Jensen was encouraged to take the firm public on the NASDAQ exchange. As executives intent on pleasing Wall Street took over, quality work and integrity took a back seat to share price. Staff morale plummeted and accounting misstatements got the firm in trouble with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Jensen stepped in and bought the company back, transitioning it to 100 per cent employee ownership and reincorporating it as a benefit corporation. As Jensen put it: “We returned immediately to the task of understanding environmental problems and what to do about them.” In this new mission-oriented, employee-owned structure, the company returned to profitability and has been healthy ever since.

Most of us might not think about ownership structures as being a route to positive change. The focus of progressive change for decades has been regulations and social safety nets. Yet asset ownership forms the foundation of every economy. In ancient agrarian societies, the king and aristocracy owned the land. During the industrial revolution, a new breed of aristocracy – the robber barons – owned the assets. In communism, the state owns the property. A democratic economy – designed to benefit us all – will

rest on the foundation of broad-based asset ownership, designed around the purpose of serving the public good.

In today’s extractive economy, companies are seen as objects owned by shareholders, manufacturing wealth for a tiny financial elite, with earnings like so many ball bearings rolling off an assembly line. What draws increasing numbers of people to the new idea of a democratic economy – with alternative ownership structures like employee stock ownership plans, cooperatives, publicly owned companies, state-owned banks, and the like – is a hunger for an economy that mirrors our ideals of democracy. Political democracy is in peril today in large part because it has been captured by monied interests that are enriched by the extractive economy. Even so, political democracy’s fundamental design is about the fact that we’re all in this together: having a say over the forces that shape our lives so that we all prosper is our birthright. The problem is that society long ago democratised government, but never democratised the economy. We’ve instead built fences of regulations and social safety nets around economic structures built to serve the few. But that’s like putting a fence in front of a bulldozer. Propelled by the relentless drive of corporations and the wealthy for more profit, that bulldozer is crashing the fences and wrecking the structures of our society.

Democracy, inclusion, equity and sustainability need to be woven into the economy’s DNA. One effect would be more businesses that look like the John Lewis Partnership. Last year the company’s two key retail arms, John Lewis and Waitrose, added the phrase ‘& Partners’ to their brands to emphasize the primacy of their employee-owners. As retail competitors like Amazon suppress wages and benefits (often by outsourcing to contractors), impose crushing workloads and fight worker organising efforts tooth and nail, John Lewis’s 2019 annual report says it is doubling

down on what it calls “industrial democracy” through such steps as increasing average hourly pay to above £9 an hour, improving employee governance structures, and launching a Wellbeing Champions Network to support its partners’ health.

The White Rose Centre for Employee Ownership counts 370 employee-owned businesses in the UK (compared to roughly 6,600 in the US), but that is still a 60 per cent increase since 2014. These democratic workplace structures don’t guarantee market success. But there is ample research to suggest that at employee-owned companies, workers get on average better pay, have better retirement benefits, and suffer fewer layoffs. More fundamentally, these businesses tend to be more deeply rooted in their communities, circulating wealth within them rather than extracting wealth from them. Their workers are empowered stakeholders not only making a difference where they work but where they live.

In an age of climate crisis and extreme wealth inequality, we need a new vision of economic growth that does not break the boundaries of sustainability and which ensures that wealth is equitably shared. The good news is that we don’t have to search far. The seedlings of a new democratic economy that finds its profit in broad prosperity and the common good are growing around us. **F**

Political democracy is in peril because it has been captured by monied interests

Monday 23 September
5.30 - 6.30pm

Electoral
 Reform
 Society

Democracy Broken Can Labour save politics for itself?

Labour is committed to extending democracy locally, regionally and nationally – how should this be achieved? With Lisa Nandy and Jim McMahon

Lancing Room, Holiday Inn Brighton,
137 Kings Rd, Brighton BN1 2JF

23rd September
1-2pm

**POLITICS
FOR THE MANY**

TRANSFORMING POWER FOR A REAL DEMOCRACY

Join us at Labour Conference for a panel discussion on creating a political system that works for workers.

Speakers include Jon Trickett MP and former MEP David Martin.

The event will include a buffet lunch.

Tennyson Room, Jurys Inn Brighton
Waterfront, Kings Rd, Brighton, BN1 2GS

22nd September
11am-1pm

**POLITICS
FOR THE MANY**

CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

Join us at The World Transformed to experience how citizens' assemblies can be used to give power back to the people.

Speakers include Irish Citizens' Assembly member Louise Caldwell.

Check theworldtransformed.org for location

politicsforthemany.co.uk

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The age of alliances

For the sake of the country, Labour must team up with other parties, argues *Rosie Duffield*



Rosie Duffield is the Labour MP for Canterbury

IT MAY BE a 135-year-old veteran of the political scene, but the Fabian Society has lessons aplenty for today's politicians.

The society has bequeathed much to us over that time, not least the London School of Economics and the New Statesman, which was the brainchild of two Fabian superstars, Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

Sidney Webb said the magazine would have a distinctive point of view 'absolutely untrammelled by party, or sect, or creed'.

That approach holds a valuable lesson for all of us battling against Brexit in the weeks and months ahead – that there is merit in putting aside party differences in pursuit of a greater good.

Partnerships, alliances and pacts are not signs of weakness but of strength, pragmatism and preparedness.

Indeed, those of us in Labour can look back to our own party's history and see how many times it has proudly put aside partisanship at extraordinary turning points in our country's history.

In 1906, an electoral pact with the Liberals consolidated Labour's influence in the passage of landmark Liberal welfare reforms during the Asquith administration, including the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 and the National Insurance Act of 1911.

In the 1930s, a group on the Labour left led by Nye Bevan called for a popular front with Communists, Liberals and even anti-fascist Tories to halt fascism, paving the way for Labour's participation in Churchill's wartime government.

And there are even more recent examples of Labour MPs putting the country's shared democratic values ahead of political posturing. In the aftermath of the 2016 Brexit vote and the rise of Trump in America, I was one of the many Labour MPs who joined More United, a group with 150,000 members and 50 MPs across seven parties, that has now spent three years campaigning to protect our shared values, from the NHS and disability rights to free movement.

Joining forces with pro-European parties should be Labour's duty, not an option

As Boris Johnson prepares to crash us off a cliff on 31 October and wreck the most vulnerable communities Labour represents, how can our party sit on the sidelines this time? We must fight tooth and nail to defeat the Tory right's Brexit vanity project, but we simply can't do it alone.

With no single party consistently ahead in the polls and the very real and disturbing prospect of Johnson striking an election deal with Nigel Farage, it is clear we are in the age of alliances.

Analysis by the anti-Brexit group Best for Britain shows that, to tip the balance of power away from a regressive, pro-Leave alliance at the next election, Labour's participation in a pact is required in more than 150 seats across the country.

As long as we don't compromise our party's mission and principles, Labour should not be scared of electoral pacts with parties which want to stop Brexit.

Building a progressive alliance does not just have to be top-down. In my own constituency of Canterbury, a pro-EU grassroots tactical voting effort in the 2017 general election played a decisive role in helping me overturn a 10,000-strong Tory majority and secure a shock victory for Labour.

While Canterbury had endured 30 years of unabated Tory rule, it was never the Conservative stronghold some professed it to be. Conservative MP Julian Brazier had won the seat in successive elections because the progressive, anti-Conservative vote was split across three parties – Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Greens.

The Liberal Democrats had polled strongly in the constituency throughout the early 2000s and it was only after 2015, when the Conservatives nearly annihilated their Liberal Democrat coalition partners, that Labour was given a real opportunity to contest the seat.

All too often, it is claimed that the student vote won it for me in Canterbury, but I know that a strategic mobilisation of the pro-EU, progressive vote, coupled with my unwavering anti-Brexit stance, was crucial in enabling me to win the support of thousands of Liberal Democrat and Green party activists in 2017, to whom I still owe my gratitude. Canterbury is a test case that shows alliances work, and that Labour can benefit if it joins in.

If Boris Johnson wins the next election with a leg-up from Farage, that doesn't just mean the Brexit zealots getting the hard-right exit from the EU they have been daydreaming about.

That means five years of a majority government tearing down our NHS, rolling back on the decarbonisation of our economy and cutting spending even further to remodel the UK in their image of self-interest and greed.

The stakes have never been higher and that's why I believe joining forces with pro-European parties to stop a no-deal Brexit at the hands of Nigel Farage and the Conservative party should be considered Labour's duty, not an option.

The Fabian Society is named, of course, after the Roman general Quintus Fabius, whose defining strategy was to wait for the right moment to strike – and then strike hard.

Our moment has come. For the sake of all our futures, we must strike hard – and we must strike together. **F**

Fabian Fringe at Labour party conference 2019

	Event	Speakers include	Time/Venue	Partner
SUNDAY 22 SEPTEMBER	Does Labour have a progressive plan for the NHS?	Jon Skewes Royal College of Midwives; Rob Yeldham Chartered Society of Physiotherapy; Becky Wright Executive director, Unions 21	12.30–14.00 Lancing	 UNIONS21 building tomorrow's unions
	Britain's security How would Labour defend the UK and use our influence abroad?	Nia Griffith MP Shadow Secretary of State for Defence; Wayne David MP Shadow minister defence, armed forces and defence procurement; Paul Mason journalist and author; Cllr Peymana Assad Harrow Council	13.00–14.30 Glyndebourne	 FABIAN INTERNATIONAL POLICY GROUP
	Firm friends? Building a strong EU/UK partnership	Anneliese Dodds MP Shadow Treasury Minister; Metin Hakverdi member German parliament, SPD; Eloise Todd Activist & political strategist; Ivana Bartoletti Chair, Fabian Society	17.00–18.00 Lancing	 FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG
	Poverty and social security How to defeat poverty across the generations	Margaret Greenwood MP Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions; Angela Kitching AgeUK; Alison Garnham CPAG; Andrew Harrop General secretary, Fabian Society	17.00–18.30 Glyndebourne	 ageUK Love later life  CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP
MONDAY 23	Leadership in local government Where are the women?	Cllr Anntoinette Bramble Deputy mayor Hackney; Andrew Gwynne MP Shadow Secretary of State, Communities and Local Government; Sara Hyde Chair, Fabian Women's Network; Jo Platt MP Shadow minister for the Cabinet Office; Cllr Nicola Taylor Bexley Council; Cllr Abena Oppong Asare Bexley Council	08.30–09.30 Lancing	 FABIAN WOMEN
	Do your duty for equality! Campaign launch	Harriet Harman QC MP; Dr Ruth Patrick University of York; Carla Clarke CPAG; Ayesha Hazarika Political commentator	09.00–10.00 Glyndebourne	 Poverty 2 Solutions JOSEPH ROBERTSON FOUNDATION JRF
	Fabian Society and Rachel Reeves Everyday Socialism Pamphlet Launch	Rachel Reeves MP; Lisa Nandy MP; Tim Roache General secretary, GMB	12.00–13.00 Glyndebourne	 FABIAN SOCIETY
	Innovating for the future Challenges and opportunities for the financial and related professional services industry	Yvette Cooper MP; Miles Celic TheCityUK; Alison McGovern MP; Torsten Bell Chief executive, Resolution Foundation; Ivana Bartoletti Chair, Fabian Society	13.00–14.30 Lancing	 TheCityUK
	Skilled jobs everywhere	Chi Onwurah MP Shadow minister: Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy; Andrew Harrop General secretary, Fabian Society; Mike Thompson Chief executive, ABPI	17.00–18.00 Glyndebourne	 abpi Bringing medicines to life
	Democracy broken Can Labour save politics from itself?	Lisa Nandy MP	17.30–18.30 Lancing	<input type="checkbox"/> Electoral <input type="checkbox"/> Reform <input type="checkbox"/> Society

FABIAN STALL

Come and see us at stall 79 at the conference exhibition

	Event	Speakers include	Time/Venue	Partner
TUESDAY 24	Roadmap to zero carbon emissions 2030 Doing our bit: nationally, locally, personally	Danielle Rowley MP Shadow minister climate justice and green jobs; Ann Pettifor Economist and author; Cllr Roulin Khondoker Islington Council; Cllr Denise Scott-Macdonald Greenwich Council	08.30–09.30 Lancing	
	Suffering in silence How will Labour save older people's social care?	Barbara Keeley MP Shadow minister mental health and social care; Jane Ashcroft Chief executive, Anchor Hanover; Andrew Harrop General secretary, Fabian Society	12.30–14.00 Lancing	
	Open and ethical? Immigration systems after the hostile environment	Afzal Khan MP Shadow immigration minister; Kate Green MP ; Satbir Singh JCWI; Jill Rutter British Future; Heather Staff RAMP	13.00–14.30 Glydebourne	
	The Mental Health Rally	Hosted by Ayesha Hazarika political commentator. Speeches by special guests, including Barbara Keeley MP , shadow minister for mental health and social care. Invite only.	17:00–19:00 Arundel	
	The next Labour government Can radical economics and communitarian values reunite and rebuild Britain?	Stephen Kinnock MP	18.30–20.00 Lancing	

ROUNDTABLES

By invitation only (events@fabians.org.uk)

Fit for the future

Interventions to support a healthy workforce and their retirement

Jon Ashworth MP



Work and tax in 2030

Responding to automation, decarbonisation and demographic change

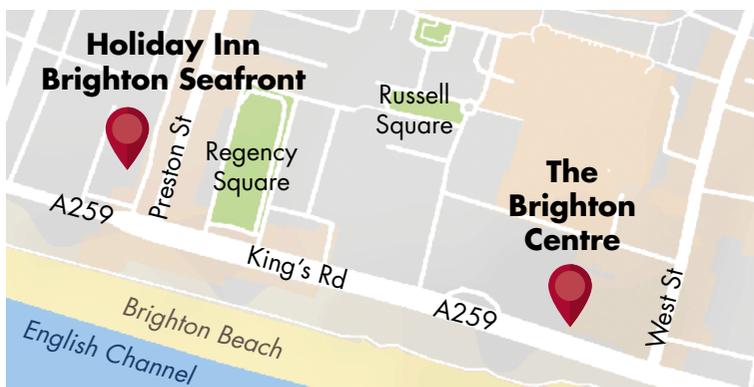
Bill Esterson MP



Strength in diversity

How to rebuild our electoral coalition

Lisa Nandy MP



LOCATION

All events will be held at the Holiday Inn on the Brighton Seafront, 137 Kings Rd, BN1 2JF

For more details about our fringe events visit fabians.org.uk/events

FABIAN SOCIETY

CHANGE



If we work together, the public and politicians can transform lives for the better, Stella Creasy tells *Kate Murray*

MAKERS

A MINORITY GOVERNMENT. THE Conservatives tearing themselves apart over Europe. And Labour planning what it might do in its first 100 days after forming a government. We're not talking Brexit Britain of 2019, but the mid-1990s, when Stella Creasy spent her gap year working as a volunteer at the Fabian Society.

Creasy, now the Labour MP for Walthamstow, had just finished school in Colchester when she badgered then Fabian general secretary Simon Crine to take her on. "Poor Simon kept trying to tell me that they didn't need anybody and I wouldn't take no for an answer, because I didn't live in London, I didn't know anybody in politics. I'd been involved in setting up a young Fabian group in Colchester but I had this year of my life and I wanted to know whether politics actually was all that," she says. It was a special time, she recalls. "I was overwhelmed making cups of tea for people like Chris Smith and Neil Kinnock and listening to them arguing out policies with people like Tony Blair. To be around that, and to hear the work that goes into being both a radical and credible government was extraordinary. And for me, having come from small town Essex thinking the only other socialist around was Billy Bragg, it was life-changing."

For Creasy, the parallels with that time are striking, with Britain's relationship with Europe defining both then and now what happens to governments which haven't got a majority. But she sees a big difference too and it's one which poses a real threat to our democracy. "There was an absolute sense then of the potential of government to change people's lives for the better," she says. "Now, I worry that whether people get a Labour government or a Tory government, they think we should fear governments. That's a very different mindset. So you're constantly having to reassure people that not only is change possible, it's beneficial."

Brexit is the clearest, but not the only, example of this newer sentiment at work.

"The British public are not saying 'Tory bad, Labour good'. They're saying 'a plague on all your houses' because they don't feel there's any potential for governments to do good. And that's really worrying," she says. "Throughout our history, Labour governments have dramatically transformed the lives of millions of people in this country. That's why we do this. I remember sitting in those meetings as

an 18-year-old and they were talking about ending child poverty – just mindblowing – and bringing in a minimum wage. So the potential for governments to do good things is the thing we've got to fight for."

The possibility of change is the thread that runs through Creasy's nine years as an MP. On her office wall, she has a 'hope list' and a 'hit list', setting out the issues where she is keen to make a difference.

Since 2010, she has made a name for herself for her campaigns, including a high-profile fight for better regulation of payday lenders and, this summer, progress over

If we can't get it right here in parliament, where we're supposed to be setting the laws and leading the way... what hope have we got?

abortion rights in Northern Ireland. And recently she hit the headlines for, as a pregnant MP, raising the issue of maternity cover for parliamentarians. Although she's now been promised funding for someone to cover her work, she says the wider issue has not been fixed.

"I pushed for maternity cover, not for myself, but because the idea that my constituents should be shortchanged for six months, because I wouldn't be around if I want to spend time with my child, was completely the wrong message," she explains. "If we can't get it right here in parliament, where we're supposed to be setting the laws and leading the way on making our workplaces more family-friendly and therefore our country more economically productive, what hope have we got?"

Of course, no MP can take on every issue. And here Creasy points to Nye Bevan's famous view that the language of priorities is the religion of socialism.

"Every single issue that I've picked up has come from recognising the inequalities in my community – what you might argue is that the definition of inequality has to go beyond economic inequality and it has to be about social and indeed psychological inequality."

“So we fight just as hard to take on the payday lenders, the guarantor loans, the credit card companies who are fleecing people, as we do to tackle the fact that still 51 per cent of my local community are frightened walking around the streets, because they’re women, because they get street harassment, because misogyny isn’t a hate crime in this country.”

In the last few months, one of Creasy’s top concerns has been arguing the case for citizens’ assemblies to break the deadlock on Brexit. It’s a cause which she says goes beyond Britain leaving the EU: while giving members of the public a say on Brexit could be a vital tool to help address the current crisis, citizens’ assemblies could also be part of a wider reappraisal of how we do politics in this country.

“What citizens’ assemblies do is they allow the public, and their politicians, to have a different type of conversation that is focused not on division, but on finding common ground, and finding out what people think is their priority. They are not a curative for every problem in democracy. But I think they certainly change people thinking that when there is a difficult subject on which people feel strongly and they’re very divided on, that it’s not possible to bring people together to find resolution.”

Our current system, she adds, shuts too many out. “We’ve got to get better at finding ways of bringing the public into our discussions and into our decision-making and into the delivery of services. Because they’re smart, they know what works for their communities, they know what works for their country. But our traditional forms of democracy treat them like they’re children. There is a very strong socialist case for saying the way we do politics in and of itself breeds inequality, because it requires only a certain type of voice to be heard.”

MPs, Creasy believes, don’t have all of the answers – and, in any case, collaboration works better than individual action in getting things done. All of us, not just our politicians, should see ourselves as ‘change makers’. “Sometimes being an MP can feel like people expect you to be a sort of a Mafia don: ‘You come to me, I sort your problem.’ Crazy,” she says. “I will sometimes say to people in Walthamstow ‘I’m your worst nightmare as your MP, because I’m going to get you involved’. But that’s how I know change happens – we work out a plan together about what we’re going to do.”

“The lesson I’ve learned since I was at the Fabians is that change is possible. It’s just bloody hard work. Why do we think it’s easy? This is a country that’s full of complexity. It requires all of us to be involved. The thing I hate is those people who want socialism to be a spectator sport.

Because that means we pull our punches about the changes we can achieve.”

But is Labour today ready for the challenge? Creasy believes it is foolish to pretend Labour is in a good place right now. The party, she claims, has a real problem because it is not living up to its values on issues like antisemitism and sexual harassment. Speaking out in this way has led to criticism, not least on social media, where she is a prolific Twitter user, but she is unrepentant.

“If you’re having to label other people to win an argument, if you’re having to call them ‘a red Tory’, you haven’t got any politics of your own, because everyone in the Labour movement is left. The question is, what are you trying to get done? If you are sitting still, you’re not a socialist.”

“Everyone in the Labour movement right now has a choice to make: do we put party or country first?” she adds. “Putting party first means spending time ‘obsessing about how to deselect MPs and who is more loyal and shutting down debate and feeling smug’. But putting country first would mean Labour could win an election as a real alternative.”

“We could show people that change is both possible and desirable and that governments can actually transform their lives for the better not working for them, but working with them,” she says.

“People look to us for leadership in difficult times – and these are difficult times.

A political movement that turns in on itself and thinks that the party is more important than the country doesn’t deserve to lead. Because at our best, we have always shown that we are fighting for the best of Britain. The National Health Service, everyone rightly cherishes it. It was the best of Labour and the best of Britain.”

As the country faces one of the biggest political crises we have seen for decades, Creasy says Labour people – and Fabians – must step up.

“When you look at what Boris Johnson is prepared to do and when you look at the rise of the far right, we’ve never needed more to be focused on what we can do for this country. I will brook no one from any wing of the Labour movement who wants to indulge anything else. Because there is too much at stake,” she says. “And where the Fabians can offer a really powerful contribution is in ideas. It’s what it’s always done. And yes, some of those ideas will get shot down. But they’ll help us on the road. When we start being obsessive, when we start pulling our punches and start trying to triangulate around people, we start justifying half-heartedness. That’s when the British people will find us wanting and rightly so. That’s what being really radical is about.” **F**

Everyone in the Labour movement right now has a choice to make: do we put party or country first?

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#HelpingBritainThrive

Hosted by The Fabian Society, with RAMP and the Barrow Cadbury Fund.

Open and ethical? Immigration beyond the hostile environment – Towards a world class immigration system which is ethical and just

Speakers:

Afzal Khan MP
(Shadow immigration minister)

Kate Green MP
(APPG Migration and the Home Affairs Select Committee)

Satbir Singh
(Chief Executive, Joint Council on the Welfare of Immigrants)

Heather Staff
(Immigration policy advisor, RAMP)

Jill Rutter
(Director of Strategy and Relationships, British Future)

Date

24 September

Time

1.00pm-2.30pm,

Location

Holiday Inn, Brighton
(outside the secure zone)



Unfinished business

The next Labour government must be ready to devolve real power to the English regions. *Roy Kennedy* sets out a plan



Lord Kennedy of Southwark is a Labour and Co-op peer and vice-chair of the Fabian Society

SCOTTISH DEVOLUTION WAS often referred to as John Smith's unfinished business. It was delivered a few years after his death with the passing of the Scotland Act in 1998 followed by the first election to the new Scottish parliament on 6 May 1999. Much has happened since then. Our political fortunes are presently extremely challenging in Scotland for a variety of reasons: since 2014 we have been the third party in the Scottish parliament. But the institution itself has been successfully established and has grown in importance. With the passing of the Government of Wales Act 1998 and the Belfast Agreement devolved institutions were also created in Wales and Northern Ireland.

The 1997 Labour government of Tony Blair has many credits to its name. Delivering lasting constitutional change is one of them. Looking at how the United Kingdom is governed today, significant progress to devolve power has been made everywhere with the exception of England outside London. Progress here, for me, is Labour's unfinished business.

Opposition parties often talk of radical change, devolving power and putting power in the hands of others. The challenge is to make those messages a reality when they are in office. Labour's mission today must be to come up with a plan, set out the powers which will be devolved and the mechanism to do it. Then, when we return to power, we will need to deliver the change that completes Labour's unfinished business.

Devolution has shown us that different political parties can run different institutions in different parts of the UK either in coalitions or on their own and the system adapts. There have in fact been very few disputes about the governance of the United Kingdom between the institutions notwithstanding the present difficulties in

Northern Ireland following the collapse of the executive in January 2017.

In working up a policy for devolution in England we first need to ask ourselves what we want to see in terms of the redrawing of the lines of power and accountability. Who should be responsible for what and how should any new structure deliver? Who will have their hands on the levers of power in this new settlement? How do we ensure

accountability for those entrusted with delivering new devolved government which is more in touch with the people?

The Conservatives' devolution agenda for England in recent years has been based on the metro mayor and combined authority model which for all its hype is a rather timid creation with limited additional powers and small sums of money promised over

quite lengthy periods of time. It is delivering a confused patchwork of governance which is born more out of lack of vision for local government rather than any real devolutionary zeal.

In contrast to this disappointing approach, Labour needs to be very clear that it wants to see a real shift in power and accountability, with decisions taken in a variety of policy areas in the regions of England by people elected in those regions. The question is then: what should those policy areas be?

As a starter I think the regions of England should have powers devolved in the following policy areas: agriculture and rural development, economic development, education and training, the environment, health services, housing, local government, planning, sport and recreation and tourism. In each of these areas, better decision-making is possible when politicians will be held more accountable locally for the choices they make. The prime minister's recent announcement of his support for a high-speed rail

Opposition parties often talk of radical change. The challenge is to make those messages a reality when they are in office

link between Manchester and Leeds shows exactly why politicians who understand their areas are best placed to make decisions about their region. Johnson's announcement had been made before but no actual progress has been made. But representatives from the respective regions understand better than anyone else what is really needed – a high-speed rail link from Liverpool to Hull to begin to turbocharge the local economy. Equally, any decision on whether to proceed or not with a tram system linking Leeds and Bradford similar to the one operating in Greater Manchester should be decided by elected representatives in Yorkshire.

Tax-raising powers and budget responsibility should remain with the chancellor of the exchequer and the Treasury. Then, within a framework approved by the UK government more resources and spending powers should be devolved.

To assist with this change in governance, we should create a department of the English regions, with a secretary of state sitting in the cabinet providing an important link between the English regions and the UK government and playing a coordinating role. The department would provide proper ministerial support to the ministerial team in each region and be the vehicle for delivering ministerial decisions.

Objections to further devolution often centre on opposition to electing even more politicians, with all of the salary and election costs that would involve. Indeed plans for a north east assembly back in 2004 were defeated after

opponents used an inflatable white elephant to promote their claims that the institution would be an expensive waste of money. But my proposal involves no additional elections and no additional politicians, as the assembly for each region would be comprised of the elected members of parliament of that region alone.

Each regional assembly would be formally constituted after each general election. The first minister for each region would be appointed by the prime minister – but only after they had been elected by the regional assembly. The first minister would have sole responsibility for appointing up to three deputy first ministers and for allocating portfolio responsibilities of their ministers. The first minister would remain in office until the next general election or until they had resigned or lost the confidence of the assembly. In exceptional circumstances such as a breach of the ministerial code or other serious misdemeanour they could be dismissed by the prime minister but not as part of a reshuffle. The replacement would have to be elected by the assembly and no other MP could be appointed to fill the vacancy. Deputy first ministers would remain in office at the discretion of the first minister for the region. The assemblies would provide robust scrutiny of the work undertaken and decisions made by the first minister and their team.

A set-up such as I am proposing would mean that at any one time, ministers with actual power and responsibilities in different parts of England could – and most likely



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Labour Party Conference fringe event

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We are delighted to be partnering with the Fabian Society this year at Labour Party Conference to discuss high-skilled jobs, upskilling the nation, the future of work and R&D.

Our first-class panel will be made up of leading industry experts and key Parliamentarians including Chi Onwurah MP, Shadow Minister for Industrial Strategy, Science and Innovation.

When? 17:00-18:00,
Monday 23 September

Where? Glyndebourne
Room, Holiday Inn
Brighton, 137 Kings
Road, BN1 2JF

would – be from different political parties but they would all be members of the House of Commons. Opposition MPs would effectively be in government in certain parts of England exercising real devolved power in an assembly that their party was in control of individually or as part of a coalition.

The business of the House of Commons would be arranged so that the regional assemblies would meet either in Westminster or in their respective regions using local town hall facilities as decided by the assembly.

There would of course be some additional expenditure to cover the functioning of the assembly and the ministerial offices. The first minister for each region should have a salary on the level of a minister of state and the deputy first ministers equating to a parliamentary under secretary of state. But there would be no need to set up an assembly headquarters and the ministerial teams would

be supported by the civil service. All these costs would be borne by the office of the secretary of state for the English regions and the assembly would have no tax varying or levying powers – or indeed powers to legislate – although as part of the devolution settlement there might be some fees and other charges that would most appropriately be set by the assembly.

English devolution is Labour's unfinished business and the next Labour government has to deliver it. Here I have laid out some of the proposals which could be looked at in detail as part of the debate the party needs to have in the coming months and years. As well as options for the make-up of regional assemblies, we will need a proper mechanism to decide the actual powers to be devolved in the policy areas I outlined. This is a crucial area and when we return to office, we must have a clear programme for the devolved government England needs. **F**

Mayoral matters

Devolution in Scotland needs to go further, if the potential of its cities is to be realised.

Daniel Johnson explains



Daniel Johnson is the Labour MSP for Edinburgh Southern

DROP SCOTLAND INTO a political conversation and the immediate thought is of constitutional questions of powers and the relationship between devolved government and the centralised power of Westminster. But the irony is that, while devolved government in Scotland has seen it gain powers from the UK centre, that devolution has stopped at Holyrood and the Scottish government. Increasingly, local government in Scotland has been undermined and marginalised as its power, both regulatory and financial, has been stymied or removed. The reality is that devolution has seen power accumulate at a new centre rather than being pushed down to its most effective level.

The irony is not just political, it is also economic. As our economy moves towards becoming a data-driven, technology-based, knowledge one – the importance of cities and places is being increasingly recognised. The convergence of people and enterprise, facilitated by infrastructure and supported by high-quality public services, is self-evidently important for an economy that relies on bringing together people's knowledge and skills in the same place.

City deals are a sort of panicked response to this insight. But their finite lifespans, relatively small amounts of money (compared to total government investment) but most importantly severe lack of democratic oversight render

them an inadequate solution to a much greater challenge. We need to overhaul local government in Scotland giving it the power, focus and democracy to deliver for the future. For these reasons I have been raising the idea that now may be the time to bring the model of city mayors north of the border.

The current lack of leadership and investment in Scottish cities is taking its toll on our local communities. Take Edinburgh for example. Edinburgh's needs are being ignored and issues overlooked. We are seeing inequality rise, with people priced out of our city, sprawling suburbs and new student housing rather than long-term homes. Decision-making at the local level is muddled. The lack of a clear direction and strategy for the city means that the issues it faces are being left unchecked and unaddressed. We are at risk of challenges turning into problems and problems into crises.

We need a vision backed by investment in infrastructure and development that the city can sustain. But our current institutions do not facilitate the type of leadership and investment required, something which is common throughout Scotland.

The introduction of a mayor would go some way in addressing this deficiency. Just like Andy Burnham in Manchester and Sadiq Khan in London, mayors in Scotland would need to provide vision and leadership for their cities. They would be the visible face of that vision, either standing or falling depending on their record of delivery. Arguably, democratic accountability in local government would be improved and local leaders would be empowered to address the pressing issues Scottish cities face. This would ultimately result in better decision-making and outcomes for our communities.

But beyond the debate about the introduction of city mayors in Scotland, it is important that this is the beginning and not the end of the conversation about the role and function of local government. The Labour party must lead this discussion because the success of our cities is dependent on the success of devolution. Only by meaningfully devolving power down to its most effective level will we be able to unlock the full potential of our cities, both north and south of the border. **F**

Data for the many

Democratically managing our personal data can help us meet society's needs, writes *Theo Bass*



Theo Bass is senior researcher for government innovation at Nesta

THE RECENT NETFLIX documentary *The Great Hack* is a visceral reminder of how easy it is for unaccountable actors to capture personal data, and abuse that power in ways that can have profound influence on the outcomes of democratic processes.

Yet in the aftermath of the Cambridge Analytica scandal, most commentary has shied away from more radical alternatives that ask us to rethink how data can be put to good use. From predicting health outcomes to improving urban planning, our digital footprints can do far more to serve our collective needs than building profiles to send us targeted ads. Citizens and communities can reclaim the value of data for themselves if they are given more say over what is shared and how.

But to put people in control, and encourage more responsible innovation with personal data, we need to ask deeper questions about the nature of data itself.

One of the alternatives put forward in the new Netflix documentary was the proposal to give people ownership over personal data. #OwnYourData – a campaign started by the Cambridge Analytica employee turned whistleblower Brittany Kaiser – has been a rallying cry for privacy activists for years.

Yet 'owning' data quickly brings problems in practice. Data often refers to multiple people, which makes it hard for one person to claim sole ownership. A related and more troubling issue with treating data as individual property, is that it overlooks the relational value of our data, that is, the value acquired from comparing or aggregating information at scale.

We need strong individual protections, yes, but the value of personal data to the individual increases when it's combined and blended with other sources, at which point its uses can range from the benevolent to the malign. If we're going to build meaningful alternatives then we will need to explore ways in which groups, communities and society more broadly can realise the communal value of data, and put that value to good use.

Indeed one of the reasons that internet giants have gained so much power is because individuals – by themselves – have very little bargaining power over how their data is used (which is why most people just click "I agree" when faced with draconian terms and conditions). As a result, consumers are left very few options to define collective rights over data.

This is why, instead of thinking about data as property, it's more helpful to think about data as a common good. Commons traditionally refer to environmental resources that we think of as belonging to a whole community – woodlands, fisheries and rivers – but they can also apply to knowledge or intangible assets (successful existing examples include free and open software, Creative Commons or Wikipedia). If we had similar ways of sharing and governing data, and adding to a common pool-resource which is democratically managed, we could unlock new uses for our data that better meet the needs of society.

Until very recently there has been a striking lack of exploration into what a 'commons' conception of data might look like in practice. But new models are emerging, from legal tools like data trusts that make it possible for groups to share data on agreed upon terms, to platform co-ops with membership models that

provide incentives for people to join. Health data co-ops like Midata.coop and Salus.coop embed transparency and participation over how decisions with sensitive information are made. Patients gain collective influence by pooling data, creating a valuable resource which pharmaceutical companies can access, but only on specific conditions (such as openness about results of medical trials), which creates benefits for both parties while keeping control with the individual.

Tech can also help to underpin some of these new models. Privacy-enhancing technologies are making it possible to share more of the valuable insights from data without revealing the raw data itself. Nesta is currently a partner on a project called DECODE, which aims to use similar techniques to build new foundations for data-sharing on the internet. The aim is to allow individuals or groups to define the terms of use for how others access personal data, effectively flipping the current terms and conditions model on its head.

DECODE is currently testing and building the software in partnership with communities in Barcelona and Amsterdam, giving people simple tools that let them decide whether to keep their data private, or share anonymous insights with neighbours, policymakers or for broader communal use.

But if we are going to build a digital economy that works better for our society and our democracy, then we will need more experimentation and willingness to explore how new commons for personal data can best be run, governed and held to account. **F**

Individuals have very little bargaining power over how their data is used

Litmus test for the left

There is a fairer, more humane way to manage the inevitable movement of people into the UK. *Satbir Singh* lays out a border policy fit for a progressive Labour party



Satbir Singh is chief executive of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants

PEOPLE MOVE. We move houses, across town or down the road. To the countryside or the city, to a different postcode or a different life. And yes, sometimes we move across borders. We move in pursuit of new opportunities or to be closer to the people and places we love. Sometimes we move because we have no other choice.

Wherever we move, and for whatever reason, it takes hard work to make a home, get to grips with a new community or a new neighbourhood, make friends and build a life. To leave the familiar for somewhere new and somehow make it work. Just ask any of the six million British citizens trying to make their life work abroad.

Yet instead of making sure that people can make it work here, we've built a system that often makes it impossible for people to build or maintain a life and frequently punishes them for even trying. Every day we see stories about peoples' lives, families and communities being torn apart by a tangled mess of complex rules, an overstretched Home Office and a hostile environment.

It does not, by any stretch of the imagination, have to be this way. A fair, humane and progressive approach to the movement of people is both urgently necessary and eminently achievable. And the urgency with which we fight for progressive reform of our borders offers a litmus test of the left's commitment to fairness, pragmatism and genuine solidarity.

So where do we begin?

We begin with a rejection of the tired binary which labels both policy and politics as either 'anti-immigration' or 'pro-immigration'. Holding a strong opinion about something as inevitable as the movement of people is like taking a position on whether water should flow up or downhill. You can try to stop it, but you will only make a mess. The difference, of course, is that when you blindly pathologise and legislate against the movement of people, you inevitably demonise and harm the people who move. And for years the language of 'legitimate concerns' has been strategically amplified to mask all sorts of regressive

social and economic agendas, from the use of migrants as scapegoats for austerity to the pursuit of shock-therapy deregulation soon to be delivered via a no-deal Brexit.

Conversely, the left must also reject the policies and narratives which today pass as being 'pro-migration' while masking a deep divergence from progressive values. Frames which rely exclusively on 'contributions' – to public services, to the private economy, to the Treasury – as the sole metric for demonstrating (and therefore assessing) whether human beings have value. Disguised as pragmatism, such approaches are rooted in the assumption that the human is a commodity, whose worth rises and falls with its P45, exploitable, disposable and easy to discard when it no longer pleases us or generates a return. For the left, such ideas have always been anathema. This should not change simply because a person was born somewhere else. We must not fall into the trap of being 'pro-migration' without ever being pro-migrant.

We must not fall into the trap of being 'pro-migration' without ever being pro-migrant

Recognising that movement is inevitable, a 'left-wing border system' is therefore neither pro nor anti-immigration. It is blandly agnostic about numbers but steadfastly committed to

the individual. Policies and institutions are designed to answer the question: how do we make it work? How do we ensure that the movement of people is orderly and safe and works for everybody? Once we are asking the right questions, we needn't look far for the answers.

If the left are the flag-bearers for the struggle against exploitation and for the belief in the dignity of work, the architects of 'left-wing borders' must argue that all work is skilled and no worker should ever be subject to exploitation. A left-wing border regime would reject the current system of workers being bound to their employers, unable to bargain for better conditions and pay for all and unable to report or leave an exploitative workplace. It would shun the current proposal for short-term visas, which have been found in every other place on earth to prevent integration and to leave workers vulnerable to trafficking at the end of their 12 months. Instead it would allow those who move

here for work to enjoy the same mobility as their British colleagues, taking away the power of employers to exploit. And it would offer workers a pathway to settlement, promoting long-term integration and providing the certainty and security that we all need to make a home and invest in our communities.

As egalitarians, we must recognise that this security can not only be the preserve of those who can afford it. We must make it easier for people who have made their lives here to maintain regular status and become citizens. A left-wing border regime would do away with the profiteering and wickedly complex bureaucracy which sees people priced out of citizenship or unable to navigate a twisted maze of ever-changing rules in order to stay in their homes. It would afford legal aid to people challenging life-altering mistakes made by the Home Office so that nobody has to face a team of highly paid government-appointed lawyers alone. It would reinstate birth-right citizenship (revoked only in the 1980s) so that a child who has only ever known the UK as home is never at risk of being forced to leave. And it would celebrate love, allowing those who build families across borders to live and grow old together, regardless of their income.

And left-wing border system would be sensitive to the fact that when people fall out of regular status, they don't stop being our neighbours, our friends or our patients. Sensitive too to the fact that nobody should ever be afraid of a trip to the doctor, of reporting a crime to the police or sending their child to school. Nobody should be worried that the colour of their skin or the sound of their name will mean they have to show their papers in order to rent a home or see a GP and no doctor should have to choose between saving a life and avoiding a fine. Left-wing borders would

therefore dismantle the hostile environment – which, the High Court has confirmed, is racist – and create accessible and robust pathways back to documentation so that people can get on with their lives, work without fear, raise their families and be part of their communities. And with years of underinvestment reversed, the mandate of a reformed Home Office would be to ensure people stay on these pathways, rather than willfully pushing them off the ladder and into vulnerability while waiting down below with an enforcement van and a letter that says 'Go Home'.

Finally, as beneficiaries of a world order in which Britain has often played the role of architect and enforcer, we cannot turn our backs on those whose right to asylum is protected by international law. A left-wing border system would therefore affirm the principle that welcoming those who seek asylum and safety from conflict, persecution or a changing climate is an act of solidarity, not an act of charity. On this basis our first priority would be to ensure that decisions on asylum applications are made quickly and are correct the first time. That those who wait are afforded the dignity that comes with a clean and safe place to live and with the right to work. And we would invest in making sure that all who come are able to learn English, put down roots and get on with their lives.

These ideas are ambitious, but they are not by any means radical. Despite the permanence assumed by our borders and, despite the presumption that borders are necessarily hostile places, both borders and hostility are far less inevitable than the movement of people. It has endured for millennia and, however high we build our walls, it will continue. The only question left-wing borders – indeed any border – must answer is: how will we make it work? **F**



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Goodbye to borders

A world without borders might seem like an impossible feat, but it is the only way to truly protect the rights and liberties of working people, argues *Nandita Sharma*



Nandita Sharma is a professor of sociology at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Her research focuses on the intersection of immigration policies, migrant labour, nationalism and racism

HAVE YOU NOTICED that the only time governments acknowledge the needs of working people is when they are bashing immigrants for all our worries and woes? Around the world, politicians seem to only talk about how important it is to protect people's access to jobs and social benefits when they are putting in place ever-stricter immigration controls. It is more than just a little bit galling that the same governments *dismantling* people's economic and social security then go on to assure us that it is their concern over their citizens' welfare that leads them to promote anti-immigrant policies.

Although we are encouraged to view immigration controls as something which protects workers, it is far more realistic to see immigration controls as protecting capital and upholding governments that put profit above all else.

The separations created between citizens and migrants gives capital an enormous tool to cheapen the cost of hiring labour and weaken the working class. Immigration controls are also of enormous political benefit to nation states looking for easy scapegoats to explain away policies – like austerity – that fail working people but enrich capital. The tragedy of our times is that citizens are more likely to rise up against working immigrants than they are to rise up against capital or the state.

It is time that working people reject the divisions created by distinctions of nationality and fight for a world without borders. For our own survival, we must address the dangerous escalation of anti-immigrant policies head on. Our collective failure to do so will only strengthen capital against workers and further embolden far right demagogues who use our hopes and dreams for a better future against us. I offer my top three reasons why a 'no borders' political position is the one that best serves working people, citizens and migrants alike.

1. Because immigration controls don't actually stop people from immigrating

Nation-states portray their immigration controls as something that will actually stop people from moving. Nothing could be further from the truth – and not because we haven't yet built high enough walls or x-rayed enough lorries. The

most fundamental reason immigration controls don't work is that human beings have always moved when they need to. They've done so for a whole host of reasons: fleeing harm or scarcity, searching for peace and prosperity, being with those they care about, or for just sheer adventure.

This is in stark contrast to states and the ruling classes that have historically moved their militaries to loot, conquer, and rule over those they encounter. Indeed, the very category of 'immigrant' is a state invention rooted in colonial activities. The category of 'immigrant' was only invented once the category of 'slave' was abolished. In 1835, the year the British Empire ended slavery, planters and the imperial state were each worried that ending slavery would also end the enormous profits flowing from the colonies, so sought alternative ways to commandeer and control a new workforce. The 'solution' they offered was immigration

controls. First imposed upon a newly recruited workforce of so-called coolie labour, initial controls required 'coolie workers' to show contracts of indenture to newly minted emigration agents in British India and to new immigration agents in the colonies they were headed to work. Without these contracts, they would be denied permission to move. These contracts thus represent the first set of "papers" states required people to

have to enter their territories. From the start, immigration controls have been a way for states to suppress the power of workers to the benefit of capital.

Immigration controls were then – and are now – far less interested in stopping people from moving than in restricting their rights once they are within the state's territories. Immigration controls certainly do have lethal outcomes – tens of thousands of people have died trying to cross national borders in the past decade alone and millions more waste away in refugee camps which are temporary in name only. Yet, what immigration controls primarily allow states to do is to subordinate migrating people within national societies. Today, fewer people are given a status that comes with some rights – such as 'permanent resident' or 'refugee' – while more and more people have unlawful or temporary status which leaves them with little choice but to take jobs that offer significantly less pay and far more dangerous conditions.

What immigration controls primarily allow states to do is to subordinate migrating people within national societies



This leads me to the second reason to abolish national borders: namely, that immigration controls are bad for workers, citizens and migrants alike.

2. Because borders don't work for workers but work brilliantly for capital

While we are told that immigration controls curtail competition for jobs, in actuality they create *more* competition in the labour market. Immigration controls, because they legislate differential wage rates and levels of power for citizens than for migrants, are a major tool in the arsenal of capital and states. State revenues increase as migrants pay taxes of all sorts but are ineligible for many state services. Capital enjoys both the bounty of paying immigrant workers less in wages and facing less pressure to improve wages or working conditions.

There are very few studies on the immigration wage gap between citizens and migrants with varying statuses. However, one United States-based study found that in 2000 there was an 18.4 per cent wage gap between men with US citizenship and men with US permanent residency status and that this gap was double what it had been in 1980. Another study, comparing the wages of Mexican-Americans (who already receive far lower wages than average white Americans) and Mexican nationals working without legal papers found a whopping 78 per cent wage gap in 2007. Undocumented immigration status – the fastest rising status given to migrants – is a significant factor in dramatically lowering one's wages. This outcome is wholly a result of ever more severe immigration restrictions.

Now, some will say that a wholesale end to immigration will remove this power from employers and the state. There are two main limitations to such an approach however. First, despite the nationalist story that "the nation is a community of equals", we know very well that subordinating immigrants is not the only way employers create a precarious workforce: Long before the existence of immigration controls, capitalists used sexist, racist, ageist, and ableist divisions to cheapen and weaken the labour of subordinated groups, and they still do. Secondly, it is immigration *controls* which weaken the working class, not immigrant workers. And it is the nationalism of workers that ensures

that an anti-immigrant politics works against their own needs and works so brilliantly for capital and states.

This leads me to my third reason for supporting a no borders political position: the call for ever more restrictive immigration controls is leading us towards a police state.

3. Because immigration controls lead to a police state

A worldwide system of national immigration controls has been in place for about 75 or so years, since the end of the second world war when both the former colonies and former metropolises of Empires became separate nation states. Since that time, nationalist demagogues trot out anti-immigrant politics as they vie for working people's votes. They tell us that curtailing or ending immigration is a simple legislative exercise: decree it and it will happen. This is a political lie.

The reality of the human need – and desire – to move cannot be curtailed without a police state. Tragically, we are living in the midst of such a reality being put into place. European Union member nation states have broken what was considered a fundamental law of the sea by refusing to rescue migrants. The United States has engaged in a premeditated policy of family separation and erected what many Jewish organisations and survivors of Japanese internment camps call concentration camps. Children as young as a few months old are imprisoned there without adequate food, water, clothing, beds, medical care or even soap. Everywhere, nation-states demand greater deportation powers to raid workplaces, schools, and homes in search of those without immigration papers. Armed vigilantes roam the borders and streets of nation-states ready to take immigration law into their own hands and execute migrants. This – and more – is the result of the growing demand to enforce a fantasy of national control over human movement. Without a concerted effort to renounce anti-immigrant politics, we are doomed to more of the same, particularly as the destructive forces of the impending capitalist climate catastrophe reveals its full force and more people move for their lives.

To imagine that a police state stops at the harassment, expulsion or even extermination of those considered as 'foreign contagions' to the national body politic is to ignore the violent history of fascism. Those categorized as 'foreigners' are not the last to face fascist attacks. Or to put it another way, many people long accustomed to being members of the nation can be declared to be 'foreigners' and have their citizenship stripped away. Already, retainment of citizenship has already been significantly weakened in the UK, as we have seen predominantly with the Windrush scandal.

A fundamental principle of organising to win is to have a clear-headed view of reality. A world without national border controls better suits the lived reality of our times. Human mobility is not going to end because some nationalists want it to. But the rights and liberties we take for granted just might. We can harness immigration to working people's advantage by refusing to allow capital and states to use nationality or immigration statuses to divide us from one another. Were we to do so, we would undermine the age old strategy of creating false enemies while letting the real ones rule. **F**

Books

Home truths

A comprehensive analysis of the housing crisis shows just what a mess we are in, finds *Mhairi Tordoff*



Mhairi Tordoff works in policy and public affairs for a housing association and chairs the Young Fabians Environment Network

We are in a housing crisis. Over the last 10 years, the average first-time buyer deposit has doubled, rough sleeping has increased by around 165 per cent and genuinely affordable house building still fails to keep up with demand.

In *Housing in the United Kingdom: Whose Crisis?* David Lund offers a much-needed antidote to political soundbites. The book provides a comprehensive analysis for anyone who wants to look behind the headlines and understand the mess we are in.

Lund evidences the increasing recognition that the housing crisis is not just about the frustration of 20-somethings unable to buy a flat in the south east of England. Flipping the neoliberal notion of the 'housing market' on its head, Lund frames the housing crisis as an issue of social justice rather than just a threat to our 'home-owning democracy'.

Far too many people in our country do not have their basic need of decent, affordable shelter met. In reframing the issue, Lund questions our blinkered obsession with the decline in homeownership. The lack of social housing is as much to blame for the rise in private renting and increase in homelessness.

The quality of our existing house stock also deserves much more attention. An estimated 1.3 million private rented homes are not up to the government's decent homes standard. Labour's zero carbon homes policy would have provided improvements but was scrapped in 2015, denying respite to the 2.55 million households currently living in fuel poverty. Space standards are also being undermined. Permitted development rights are allowing office blocks to be converted into 'rabbit hutch' homes and overcrowding continues to blight many cities.

That is not to say homeownership is not important. The vast majority of Brits continue to aspire to get on, stay on and move up the increasingly slippery housing ladder. But Lund argues that 'generation rent' is fast becoming an unhelpful term as it obscures the deep variables in access to decent homes.



Housing in the United Kingdom: Whose Crisis?
Brian Lund,
Palgrave Macmillan
£22.99

Gender, class, ethnic background and, of course, age all factor into the likelihood of having a secure place to live. This is due to disparities in earnings and historical patterns of land and wealth ownership. For example, between 1991 and 2011 homeownership rates fell by 18 per cent for people who identify as Pakistani compared to only 3 per cent for those who identify as white.

So how do we fix this mess? Building more homes is essential but it is not just about the numbers. According to Lund, a focus on the affordability and location of new homes has been too often overlooked. His best analysis is the unpicking of variations between areas such as Solihull and Walsall, highlighting the need for hyper-local housing solutions to build the homes we need.

To meet local housing needs a fundamental rethink of the role of local and national government is essential. Housebuilding is currently hampered by a mismatch in funding, powers, interests and responsibilities between local, national and devolved powers. Local authorities have the power to allow new developments but not the duties or resources to ensure they are adequately housing their local populations. This urgently needs to be rebalanced.

Despite this, I question Lund's view that removing local people from development decision-making is the way forward. The current system is stacked in favour of those who already have homes, and often those least in need of housing. But opposition over new development should not always be dismissed. It can be driven by a fear of being priced out of an area or losing access to vital green spaces. When done right – such as Sadiq Khan's resident ballots on social housing regeneration projects – public involvement can rebalance power back to the people whilst still allowing more homes to be built.

There is no doubt that housing needs urgent political attention and investment. However Lund's analysis of who is most affected by the crisis, and where, calls into question many of the status quo solutions. Simply urging the housebuilding numbers to tick up is not enough. **F**

Filling the gaps

Two hundred years on from the Peterloo massacre, a new history offers a definitive account of this pivotal moment in working-class history, writes *Janette Martin*



Dr Janette Martin is a student engagement manager and modern history archivist at The John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester. She curated the exhibition Peterloo: Manchester's Fight for Freedom at The John Rylands Library which runs until 29 September

On 16 August 1819, the military violently dispersed a peaceful parliamentary reform meeting addressed by the radical politician, Henry Hunt. Around 40,000 to 50,000 men, women and children had poured into St Peter's Field in central Manchester. The marchers, carrying flags and banners and accompanied by musicians, came from a wide radius – with contingents from Oldham, Rochdale, Middleton and Stockport and even as far away as Saddleworth on the Yorkshire border. That afternoon at least 15 people lost their lives, three died later from their injuries. Around 600 more were injured by mounted yeomanry wielding sabres or were trampled underfoot by the panicking crowd. The shocking event was quickly dubbed 'Peterloo' in mocking reference to the Battle of Waterloo only four years earlier. Robert Poole's, *Peterloo: The English Uprising* begins with justifiable anger, reminding the reader in the prologue that "Two hundred years on, it is still possible to be angry about Peterloo". This painstakingly researched and referenced, highly readable study has been many years in the making (and is all the better for it). It draws upon more than 400 eye-witness accounts from what Poole describes as surely "the best-documented crowd event of the nineteenth century". His firm belief, that Peterloo was not "a clumsy exercise in crowd control" but "an atrocity which requires explanation" is carefully and eloquently explored over the next 450 pages.

While often evoked, Peterloo is 'rarely examined'. Poole attributes this lack of critical evaluation to E P Thompson's classic book, *The Making of the English Working Class* published in 1963 which devoted a whole chapter to the massacre. Thompson's stature is such that few have dared to revisit or challenge his depiction. Yet for all its polemical vigour, Thompson was writing predominantly about the West Riding Revolt – an uprising that took place just as the Peterloo trials were beginning – and his interpretation of Peterloo was limited as he failed to understand or explore the Manchester context. Why did Peterloo happen there and not elsewhere in the rapidly industrialising textile towns and cities of northern England? Poole's book, supported by a wealth of new material, answers this question. Chapters one to three carefully document the specific reasons it happened in Manchester where the local authorities operated as 'a close-knit oligarchy' hostile to even



**Peterloo:
The English
Uprising**
Robert Poole
Oxford University
Press, £25

the faintest whiff of reform. These Manchester-specific circumstances played out against a national backdrop of war, high taxation and a pitiful lack of food. Poole also engages with 'Britons', Linda Colley's important work on patriotism and identity, reminding us that serving in the army was a common and unifying experience with more men enlisting during the Napoleonic Wars than joining radical societies or labouring in factories. (It is significant that one of those killed at Peterloo, John Lees, had fought at Waterloo). Poole cleverly reconciles patriotism with radicalism and convincingly shows how both forces shaped the context of the massacre.

The book is generously illustrated with 46 illustrations, many of which are not well-known. They help locate Peterloo within a broader contemporary culture in which visual depiction was an important mechanism for political expression. The map of Greater Manchester at the start of the book offers readers unfamiliar with the locality a useful orientation. Another boon is the 'list of principal characters' which serves as both a reference tool and to underline how this particular tragedy has an extensive cast of heroes and villains. It is a substantial text, 15 chapters in all, and it is telling that the first 12 set the scene with a detailed discussion of Manchester local politics, reformers, rebels, conspirators and rioters and, of course, the catalyst for the meeting – the arrival of Henry Hunt in Manchester. Poole devotes a whole chapter to the march to Peterloo, which is as central to the story as the day's ghastly conclusion. Chapter 13 recounts the horror of the massacre, the penultimate chapter discusses the aftermath and the final chapter the reckoning.

Poole's prose is vivid and immensely readable peppered with evocative phrases that jump from the page. Take, for example, his description of policing in Regency Manchester, under the watch of the notoriously corrupt Joseph Nadin, as "less a public service and more a trade". Like E P Thompson, Poole has given countless talks at local history societies, museums and community halls. This engagement with popular audiences is evident in how he writes – not ossified and academic but convincingly and for everyone. *Peterloo: The English Uprising* succeeds both as the definitive account of Peterloo and as a moving tribute to the people caught up in the horrors of that day. It is a pleasure to read. ■

A true pioneer

The first conscientious objector to be elected to parliament paved the way for Labour's most important educational reforms, writes *Wayne David*



Wayne David is the Labour MP for Caerphilly and shadow defence minister. His book Morgan Jones – Man of Conscience can be purchased from www.ashleydrake.cymru

MORGAN JONES WAS a remarkable man whose name ought to be well known in the Labour movement. He was the first conscientious objector to be elected to parliament; he was a Christian pacifist (who later supported military force to fight fascism) and was an early stalwart of the Independent Labour Party (ILP). He was a Welsh patriot and a strong supporter of Home Rule; he was chairman of the House of Commons public accounts committee and he was a committed internationalist who took a huge interest, as a front bench spokesman, in India, Palestine and the West Indies. But it was in education that Morgan Jones made a huge contribution, and it is here that his work, most of all, needs to be recognised.

Born in the mining community of Gelligaer, in the Rhymney Valley of South Wales in 1885, Jones was educated locally before he attended Reading University. It was here that he became a socialist and when he returned to South Wales he established the first ILP branch in the Rhymney Valley. On his return he also became a school teacher and played an active role within the local teachers' union.

At the outbreak of the first world war, Morgan Jones took a different position from most people in his local community of Bargoed and declared himself a conscientious objector. When conscription was introduced in 1916, he refused to serve in the armed forces or accept alternative employment. As a consequence, he was imprisoned in Wormwood Scrubs. After suffering a nervous breakdown, when he eventually returned to South Wales he was prevented from being a school teacher and instead found work in a local colliery.

It was a surprise to many when Jones won the Labour nomination to fight a by-election in his home division of Caerphilly in 1921. It was even more of a surprise that he went on to



win the seat with a large majority, making him the first conscientious objector to be elected to parliament.

In parliament, Jones, predictably, quickly focused on education. As he told a local newspaper, he believed education should be "a broad highway on which all who so desired could walk without hardship or difficulty". Soon he was on Labour's front bench and when Ramsay MacDonald formed a minority Labour government in January 1924, Jones was made a junior education minister as deputy to the secretary of the Board of Education.

Education was not however a priority for Labour's first government and when the next Labour government was formed in 1929, education was, again, not at the top of the its agenda. For the second time, Jones was appointed a junior education minister and, once more he experienced huge political frustration with even Labour's modest educational reforms failing to secure a parliamentary majority.

Jones was never again to hold ministerial office. But it was during the next few years, with Labour being reduced to a rump of only 52 MPs, that, as shadow secretary to the Board of Education, he made his greatest contribution to the development of the party's education policy.

Through the New Fabian Research Bureau (NFRB), which had been the brainchild of GDH Cole, in 1934 Jones wrote three significant papers. The first argued strongly for the raising of the school-leaving age from 14 to 15. The second paper argued for the introduction of

free secondary education for all and made the case for the creation of nursery schools and for smaller class sizes, new school buildings, the introduction of playing fields and physical exercise for all secondary school children, new technical schools and better teacher training. The importance of teacher training was developed in his third paper.

On the thorny issue of private schools, in a foretaste of what was to come, Jones recognised that this was a subject that could not be tackled 'at this stage'. Significantly, however, he also indicated that he favoured 'a multiple bias 11 plus school' which would cater for both 'academically' and 'practically' orientated children. In other words, Jones was beginning to move towards a view that secondary education ought to be more holistic or 'comprehensive'.

In a debate in the House of Commons, the following year, Jones developed this idea and although he never used the term comprehensive, he stated that what was needed were schools that catered for "both the practically-minded children and the academically-minded children" so that they went through 'the same portals'. Equal treatment and equality of opportunity were needed for all children.

By the late 1930s, the Labour party was rekindling its interest in education and the formation of a new education advisory committee (EAC) in 1938 was of huge significance. A sub-committee of the EAC was made up of of the Christian Socialist, RH Tawney, the young, radical academic Brian Simon, the prominent Fabian, Barbara Drake, and of course, as shadow education minister, Jones himself.

The EAC was a high-powered group and it was to have a significant influence over education policy over the next few years. But Jones played no further role in the development of education policy because he suffered a fatal heart attack in April 1939.

In 1944, the war-time coalition government introduced an important Education Act which changed the face of education in Britain. Many of Jones' proposals which he had outlined in his papers for the NFRB were central to that Act. It was however for a later generation of Labour educational reformers to introduce Morgan Jones' idea of 'comprehensive education'. Jones ought to be given credit for paving the way for some of the most radical educational policies ever introduced in this country. ■

ANNUAL REPORT 2019

Ivana Bartoletti, chair of the Fabian Society



The work of a think tank, at this time in history, is certainly not easy. Academics and data specialists like myself would argue that we live in a post-truth era, dominated by tribalism, polarisation and misinformation, which puts the very essence of democracy at risk. This makes the work of the Fabian Society challenging – and vital. I am proud that the society continues to be a space to discuss policy and share ideas, encouraging us all to move beyond our comfort zone to re-imagine and re-shape what the left can be.

The past year has been dominated by the Brexit debate, with little room for anything else. This is at a time of widening inequality. The fourth industrial transformation is well underway, but with all its hopes and possibilities comes its impact on labour, including the casualisation of work and the erosion of traditional safety nets. Amidst this, the Fabian Society has worked relentlessly to find solutions to today's challenges, bringing together parliamentarians, academics, activists and businesspeople to debate and formulate ideas.

The Commission on Workers and Technology, a joint project with Community trade union chaired by Yvette Cooper, is addressing one of the most crucial issues of our time: namely how automation and technological change in the workplace can support workers and bring innovation for all. This is central in a world where digital benefits have been distributed unequally, the consequences of which can be seen in the UK and globally. It was very important to bring together both the TUC's Frances O'Grady and the CBI's Carolyn Fairbairn earlier this year, to discuss how the fourth industrial revolution requires businesses to be rooted in trust and inclusion – and that means putting workers at the heart of their transformation journeys.

This past year saw the Fabians look into the issues that call for a new radicalism – including how we create and build a fair and ethical immigration system, and how we reform the tax system at a time of rising inequality. Our report, highlighting how the government is providing more financial support for the richest 20 per cent of households than the poorest 20 per cent, garnered wide media attention and interest. We also published agenda-setting reports on the future of childhood, the decline of arts education, industrial strategy and mental health at work. We were proud to publish two essay collections in partnership with senior frontbenchers, on the future of the NHS (with Jonathan Ashworth) and Britain after Brexit (with Keir Starmer). We also brought together 11 newly elected Labour MPs to produce a report on reforming Westminster.

In addition to reports and policy insights, this year's Fabian conference schedule has been successful in mobilising leaders from the Labour party, think tanks and sister organisations for passionate and open discussions. My heartfelt thanks go to FEPS for working with us, and for continuing to foster European cooperation, which remains essential to Fabian values.

My thanks go to Andrew Harrop and the Fabian team, to all our members and our networks including the Fabian Women's Network, Young Fabians, Scottish and Welsh Fabians, to my fellow executive members and to all who work very hard in the local societies for carrying the torch of the Fabian Society which has helped shape the future of the left since 1884. Together we have grown and strengthened our much-needed organisation.

David Chaplin, treasurer of the Fabian Society

I am pleased to report that the Fabian Society has ended this financial year with the majority of our operational and financial targets

on track. As in previous years, our planning for a number of potential outcomes has enabled the executive and staff teams to ensure the society remains financially viable despite the highly challenging external political environment.

Of course, our small deficit this year does not achieve the executive's objective of securing sufficient revenue to build our reserves. Nor does the external political environment hold much hope of stabilising in the short to medium term. However, the society has benefited from some outstanding staff contributions and work in recent months and following high staff turnover in the previous financial year we are now seeing the new team delivering at full-stride.

The areas for future vigilance in our financial performance remain the same as previous years: growing our membership to maintain our income; keeping our subscription costs to members fair but competitive to allow us to weather future financial pressures; and maintaining our outstanding outputs whilst keeping our own costs under strict control.

I know the executive committee feels strongly that the society must also continue to invest where possible in new infrastructure and operational capacity to ensure staff are supported and rewarded for the work that they do. To properly achieve this the society must therefore look to build its income and reserves to allow us to commit to maintaining IT infrastructure and ensuring Petty France is a modern and functional office for our staff to enjoy.

Finally, following 10 years on the Fabian Society executive committee and seven years as treasurer, I have decided not to stand again for election. I'd like to thank the staff team, particularly Andrew Harrop and Olivia Bailey, for their hard work and support during much of that time, as well as thank my hardworking and generous colleagues on the executive committee for their professionalism and friendship over the years.

Income And expenditure account

for the year ended 30th June 2019

	2019	2018
	£	£
INCOME		
Individual Members	276,432	261,766
Institutional Affiliations and Subscriptions	7,978	6,220
Donations and Legacies	61,063	40,451
Publications Sales	3,239	1,965
Conference and Events	193,185	109,037
Publication Sponsorship and Advertisements	89,062	47,610
Research Projects	206,500	267,000
Rents	15,563	21,303
Bank Interest, Royalties and Miscellaneous	727	633
Total Income	£853,749	£755,985
EXPENDITURE		
Research Projects	70,408	44,596
Staff Costs	464,128	421,487
Printing and Distribution	100,589	81,675
Conference and Events	32,902	62,672
Promotion	738	7,255
Affiliation Fees	6,162	6,158
Postage, Phone and Fax	6,059	8,752
Depreciation	23,345	21,540
Travel	-	332
Other	26,952	6,145
Stationery and Copying	7,546	7,614
Legal and Professional	9,875	9,263
Irrecoverable VAT	2,036	-
Premises Costs	57,475	59,058
Bad debts	1,622	3,804
Information Systems	44,562	13,909
Total Expenditure	£854,399	£754,260
Surplus/(Deficit) Before Tax and Transfers	(650)	1,725
Transfers from Reserves	-	-
Surplus/(Deficit) before Taxation	(650)	1,725
Corporation Tax	-	-
Surplus/(Deficit) for the year	£(650)	£1,725

Balance sheet as at 30th June 2019

	2019		2018	
	£	£	£	£
FIXED ASSETS		1,246,956		1,265,020
CURRENT ASSETS				
Stock	6,383		5,798	
Debtors and Prepayments	253,834		175,824	
Bank and Cash	1,121		-	
	261,338		181,622	
CREDITORS – AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR				
Creditors and Accruals	(228,431)		(166,129)	
Net Current Assets		32,907		15,493
Net assets		1,279,863		1,280,513
General Fund		1,262,460		1,274,238
Restricted Fund		17,403		6,275
TOTAL FUNDS		1,279,863		1,280,513

I wish the society all the best for the future, whatever that may hold, and hope that the hard work of recent years to stabilise and improve the society's finances continues apace.

Financial statements

The accounts presented here are an extract from the financial statements and may not contain sufficient information to allow a full understanding of the financial affairs of the society. For further information, the full financial statements and auditors' report should be consulted. Copies of these can be obtained from the Fabian Society, 61 Petty France, London SW1H 9EU.

Auditors' statement

We have audited the financial statements of The Fabian Society (the 'society') for the year ended 30 June 2019 which comprise the income and expenditure account and balance sheet and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies. The financial reporting framework that has been applied in their preparation is applicable law and United Kingdom Accounting Standards, including Financial Reporting Standard 102. The Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice).

In our opinion, the financial statements:

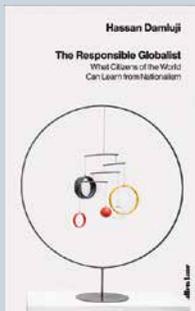
- give a true and fair view of the state of the society's affairs as at 30 June 2019 and of its surplus for the year then ended;
- have been properly prepared in accordance with United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice;

Knox Cropper LLP Chartered Accountants
Statutory Auditors
8/9 Well Court
London EC4M 9DN
5th September 2019

These financial standards have been prepared in accordance with the provisions of Section 1A "Small Entities" of Financial Reporting Standard 102 "The Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland."

THE RESPONSIBLE GLOBALIST

Hassan Damluji



Today, globalism has a bad reputation. ‘Citizens of the world’ are depicted as recklessly uninterested in how international economic networks can affect local communities. Meanwhile, nationalists are often derided as racists and bigots. But what if the two were not so far apart? What could globalists learn from the powerful sense of belonging that nationalism has created? Faced with the injustices of the world’s economic and political system, what should a responsible globalist do?

British-Iraqi development expert Hassan Damluji proposes six principles – from changing how we think about mobility to shutting down tax havens – which can help build consensus for a stronger globalist identity. He demonstrates that globalism is not limited to ‘Davos man’ but is a truly mass phenomenon that is growing fastest in emerging countries. Rather than a ‘nowhere’ identity, it is a new group solidarity that sits alongside other allegiances.

With a wealth of examples from the United States to India, China and the Middle East, *The Responsible Globalist* offers a boldly optimistic and pragmatic blueprint for building an inclusive, global nation. This will be a century-long project, where success is not guaranteed. But unless we can reimagine humanity as a single national community, Damluji warns, the gravest threats we face will not be defeated.

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

The 2019 Corporate Tax Haven Index ranked the world’s most important tax havens for multinational corporations. If Britain and its overseas territories and dependencies were assessed together, it would be the world’s greatest enabler of corporate tax avoidance. True or false?

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
FRIDAY 11 OCTOBER 2019**



Noticeboard

Fabian Society AGM 2019

Saturday, 16th November 2019 2pm–5.30pm
Venue: Mary Sumner House, 24 Tufton St, Westminster, London SW1P 3RB

1.45pm Doors open
2pm Debate, followed by annual general meeting

- AGM agenda
- 1. Apologies
- 2. Minutes of the 2018 AGM
- 3. Matters arising
- 4. In memoriam
- 5. Chair’s report
- 6. Treasurer’s report
- 7. General secretary’s report
- 8. Approval of annual report 2018/19
- 9. Appointment of auditors
- 10. Motions
- 11. Jenny Jeger prize for writing
- 12. Date of next AGM
- 13. Any Other business

5.30pm Close of meeting, following by an informal social

To register your attendance at the AGM, please visit fabians.org.uk

**MOTION TO AGM –
RULE CHANGES**

Proposer: the treasurer and executive committee

Rule 15

Delete 1st two sentences and replace with:

“In 2019/20 the full rate of subscriptions for members and associates shall be £4.90 per month or £58.80 per annum. The concession rate for under-23s, students, low-income pensioners and people receiving out of work benefits shall be £30 per annum or £2.50 per month.”
In the 6th sentence change the subscription value for constituency Labour parties from £48 to £30.

Add at the end of the rule:

“In each subsequent year prices for all categories will increase by a percentage amount that shall be the higher of earnings or price inflation. In setting these annual increases the executive may round prices up or down as it sees fit (the following year’s increase will be calculated with reference to the actual amount).”

Rule 16

Delete the 2nd to 5th sentences and replace with: “Each local society shall pay an annual affiliation fee to the national society. This fee shall be the same as the annual concessionary rate of subscription for members and associates.”
Subsequent AGM motions may be filed by members.

**NOTIFICATION OF
BYE-LAW CHANGES**

The executive committee has agreed revisions to four existing bye-laws of the society. The new text is published in full on the Fabian Society website. Bye-laws are made by the executive committee under Rule 13 of the society’s rules. They may be amended or annulled by a resolution at an annual or special general meeting of the Society.

The bye-laws subject to revision are:

- 3. Local Societies
- 8. Local affiliation to the Labour Party
- 9. Labour party elections, selections and nominations – the national society
- 10. Labour party elections, selections and nominations – local societies

FABIAN SOCIETY ELECTIONS

Elections are now underway for the executive committees of the Fabian Society, Young Fabians and Fabian Women’s Network.

Full members of the Fabian Society will find a ballot paper and candidates’ statements enclosed in this mailing.

For Young Fabian elections, please visit www.youngfabians.org.uk and for Fabian Women’s Network elections, please visit www.fabianwomen.co.uk.

Listings

BIRMINGHAM & WEST MIDLANDS

Details and information from Luke John Davies at bhamfabians@gmail.com

BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT

Friday 2 October: Guest Speaker, Councillor Lisa Mitchell (Southampton City Council) on "How does Labour reconnect with its traditional voters?"
Friday xx November: Speaker to be announced.

Friday 31 January 2020. Speaker: Neil Duncan-Jordan, Secretary of Poole CLP. Meetings are at 7.30pm in the Friends Meeting House, Bournemouth BH5 1AH.

Contact Ian Taylor on 01202 396634 or taylorbournemouth@gmail.com for details

BRIGHTON & HOVE

21 September, 5.15pm: Stephen Kinnock MP at Community Base, 113 Queens Rd, Brighton BN1 3XG.

25 October: Lord Steve Bassam on the future of seaside towns.

22 November: Herim Balci on Turkey today.

Most meetings at 8pm at Friends Meeting House, Ship St, BN1 1AF
Contact secretary Ralph Bayley at ralphbayley@gmail.com

CENTRAL LONDON

'Everything Left' – regular discussion group by Harry Farmer, meets on fourth Tuesday of the month, central London venue, 6.30pm–8pm. RSVP londonfabians@gmail.com
For other meetings, contact MichaelWeatherburn, michael.weatherburn@gmail.com

CHISWICK & WEST LONDON

26 September: AGM and speaker Nicky Flynn, chief executive, The Upper Room homelessness charity. 8pm in Chiswick Town Hall.
Details of meetings from Alison Baker at a.m.baker@blueyonder.co.uk

COLCHESTER

Meetings in the Hexagonal Room, Quaker Meeting House, 6 Church St, Colchester. 7 for 7.30pm.
Details from Maurice Austin at maurice.austin@phonecoop.coop

COUNTY DURHAM

Saturday 21 September, 12.30–2pm: Councillor Kevin Shaw on problems of rented housing – new solutions for County Durham
All meetings at Ushaw College (new venue) DH7 9RH. £4 including lunch. Details from Prof Alan Townsend 01388 746479

CROYDON & SUTTON

50 Waverley Avenue, Sutton SM1 3JY
Future speaker: Seb Dance MEP.
Information from Emily Brothers – info@emilybrothers.com

DARTFORD & GRAVESHAM

Meetings at 8pm in the Rose and Crown, West Hill
For details of all meetings, contact Deborah Stoate at deborah.stoate@fabians.org.uk

EAST LOTHIAN

Details of meetings from Mark Davidson at m.d.davidson@me.com

FINCHLEY

Society re-forming – contact David Beere djbeere@btinternet.com for details

GRIMSBY

Regular meetings. Contact Pat Holland at hollandpat@hotmail.com

HARTLEPOOL

New society. Contact Helen Howson at secretary@hartlepoolfabians@gmail.com

HAVERING

Monday 16 September, 7.30pm in Gallery Studio Fairkytes Arts Centre. Hornchurch. Speaker: Charlotte Norton, chair, Young Fabians.
Friday 4 October, 7.30pm: Illustrated talk on climate change. Meeting Room, Hornchurch Public Library.
Contact David Marshall for details at haveringfabians@outlook.com

HORNSEY & WOOD GREEN

Meeting on 11 November.
Details from Mark Cooke at hwgfabians@gmail.com

ISLINGTON

Regular meetings. Contact Adeline Au at siewyin.au@gmail.com

NORTH EAST LONDON

For details of speakers and venues, contact Nathan Ashley at NELondonFabians@outlook.com

NEWHAM

For details of regular meetings, please contact Rohit Dasgupta at rhit_svu@hotmail.com

NORTHUMBRIA AREA

For details of meetings, please contact Pat Hobson at pathobson@hotmail.com

OXFORD

Monthly discussion meetings on 2nd Tuesday at different venues around Oxford, plus monthly reading group
Regular meetings and events.
Contact David Addison at admin@oxfordfabians.org.uk

PETERBOROUGH

All meetings at the Dragonfly Hotel, Thorpe Meadows PE3 6GA at 8pm.
Details from Brian Keegan at brian@briankeegan.demon.co.uk

PORTSMOUTH

Details of meetings from Nita Cary at dewicary@yahoo.com

READING & DISTRICT

Details from Tony Skuse at tony@skuse.net

RUGBY

Next meeting on Wednesday 23 October. Usual Venue: Friends Meeting House, 28 Regent Place, Rugby, CV21 2PN
Details from John Goodman at rugbyfabians@myphone.coop

SOUTHAMPTON AREA

Regular meetings. Details from Eliot Horn at eliot.horn@btinternet.com

SOUTH TYNESIDE

Regular meetings at Lookout Community Pub, Fort St, South Shields.
Details of meetings from Paul Freeman at southtynesidefabians@gmail.com

SUFFOLK

Would you like to get involved in relaunching the Suffolk Fabian Society? If so, please get in touch with John Cook at contact@ipswich-labour.org.uk

TONBRIDGE & TUNBRIDGE WELLS

Regular meetings. Contact Martin Clay at martin.clay@btinternet.com

WALSALL

If you're interested in getting involved in relaunching the Walsall Fabian Society, please contact Ian Robertson at robertsonic@hotmail.co.uk

YORK & DISTRICT

Details from Jack Mason at jm2161@york.ac.uk

DATE FOR YOUR DIARY

Fabian New Year conference
Saturday 18 January 2020
Friends House, London NW1
Keynote speeches from
Keir Starmer MP and London
mayor Sadiq Khan



DO YOUR DUTY FOR EQUALITY! CAMPAIGN LAUNCH

Date/ Time: 09.00-10.00, Monday 23rd September

Venue: Holiday Inn, 137 King's Road, Brighton, BN1 2JF

Speakers:

- Rt Hon Harriet Harman QC MP
- Ayesha Hazarika, comedian and political commentator (Chair)
- Dylan Eastwood, Thrive Teeside
- Other speakers TBC

The Socio-Economic Duty is the missing piece in equality legislation. Whilst a wide range of inequalities ranging from age, gender and race are included, socio-economic status remains a glaring omission. This means government has no duty to try and lessen the inequalities caused by poverty. Come and join this lively discussion on how we can right this wrong, including through the meaningful engagement of people with lived experience in order to produce truly better services, policies, and ultimately a fairer society.

Design your own personal badges, to highlight the value of enacting the socio-economic duty, at our pop up stall. Drop in anytime 7-9pm Monday (at the Holiday Inn)



Do your Duty for Equality and help enact the Socio-Economic Duty. Go to poverty2solutions.org



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In partnership with

FABIAN SOCIETY

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE FRINGE EVENT: 'INNOVATING FOR THE FUTURE'

Date: Monday 23 September 2019

Venue: Holiday Inn, Brighton Seafront, BN1 2JF

Time: 13:00 - 14:30

Please join us for this important panel discussion about the challenges and opportunities facing the financial and related professional services industry.

Panellists include:

Rt Hon Yvette Cooper MP, Chair, Home Affairs Committee

Alison McGovern MP, Treasury Select Committee

Miles Celic, Chief Executive Officer, TheCityUK

Torsten Bell, Chief Executive, Resolution Foundation

www.thecityuk.com @TheCityUK



URGENT ACTION IS NEEDED TO SAVE OUR SHOPS



Usdaw is calling for:

- Economic measures to create a more level playing field between the high street and online retailing.
- Fair pay and job security for retail workers - a minimum wage of £10 per hour, tackle zero-hours and short-hours contracts, investment in skills and training.
- Government action to protect jobs in the retail sector. Retail jobs are real jobs - retail is a key part of the economy providing jobs and income for millions of families.



**TO DOWNLOAD OUR RETAIL INDUSTRIAL
STRATEGY DOCUMENT OR FIND OUT MORE
ABOUT OUR CAMPAIGN PLEASE VISIT:
WWW.USDAW.ORG.UK/SOS**

To join Usdaw visit: WWW.USDAW.ORG.UK/JOIN
or call **0800 030 80 30**

Usdaw
*Union of Shop, Distributive
and Allied Workers*

