FABIAN REVIEW

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LEADING THE CHARGE

Building a better world: Glen O'Hara on leadership, Lisa Nandy MP on Britain's global role and Lynne Segal and Jo Littler on the politics of caring ***p10*** */ Liam Byrne MP brings a message of compassion* ***p16*** */ Kevin Kennedy Ryan traces the power of the Labour poster* ***p19***

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FABIAN SOCIETY

FABIAN REVIEW
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The next step

The first real test for Keir Starmer's Labour will come next May, writes *Andrew Harrop*

The Labour party is back in the ring and Keir Starmer has passed the early tests of his leadership with distinction. In his first three months he has demonstrated judgement, competence and resolve both in holding the government to account and in starting to change the Labour party.

But Starmer knows the job has hardly started. Most people don't think much about politics and their views of parties take many years to change. Impressions of the new leader may be broadly positive, but millions of the voters Labour needs to win still see the party as untrustworthy, divided, extreme or irrelevant.

Labour's challenge is to build connections with people who feel the party is not there for them. This doesn't mean targeting one group over another, or one type of place, because the party has lost votes almost everywhere. Starmer needs to build an extraordinary breadth of support that unites people with very different lives and worldviews.

The task is to translate the passion of committed progressives who agitate for vital causes like Black Lives Matter into a majoritarian form of Labour politics, which builds and channels a quiet, broad-based conviction that deep change must come. Starmer must nurture and champion aspirations that feel homegrown everywhere, rather than appearing to impose the values of liberal-minded minorities onto people who find protest culture alien. The party will succeed when it is the conducting rod for almost everyone who wants Britain to turn a new page, wherever they live and whatever their background.

Boris Johnson's hapless handling of this year's terrible pandemic and recession has created the chance for Labour to present itself as a serious government-in-waiting. But nothing should be taken for granted because we know the Labour party usually loses post-recession elections. Labour will need to spend years persuading voters that fundamental change is the only way to bring people security in their lives and competent stewardship of the country.

In this endeavour the party is at a disadvantage on two fronts. First, at a point of national crisis, the Conservatives are seeking to adopt a pale imitation of social democracy, stealing ideas from Keynes, New Labour and continental welfare states. We can expect the government to fight the next four years on the centre ground.

Second, it is becoming clear that the next election will be a contest between three candidates for prime minister not two: Starmer, Johnson and Sunak. Starmer is starting to edge ahead of Johnson on questions of competence and trust, but the Conservative party is ruthless. The moment Johnson is no longer seen as a winner he will be replaced and Rishi Sunak has few of the prime minister's glaring flaws. Labour must work on the basis that Starmer will have to best two Conservative rivals in succession to win the next election.

In a world turned upside down in just four months, the four years until the 2024 election are of course a political eternity and Starmer's party faces its first real test in May next year. In the biggest set of 'mid-term' elections we've known, Labour must make real progress. Above all, the party will need to improve its fortunes in Scotland, both because Labour has little chance of winning a general election without more Scottish seats, and because a Labour recovery is essential to maintain Scotland's place in the UK.

The aim must be to overtake a Scottish Conservative party tainted by Boris Johnson and to prevent an outright SNP majority. If Scottish Labour cannot regain its place as the main opposition party and principal defender of the union, the SNP will use every Conservative misstep in London to further the case for independence until it is seen as a post-Covid inevitability.

Starmer knows all this and we can expect to see him spending more time in Scotland than any Labour leader since Gordon Brown. Early and decisive intervention will be needed if the Scottish campaign is not shaping up. For the Labour party in England and Wales, the 2021 Scottish elections are not someone else's problem. **F**

Shortcuts

A BLACK BRITISH RENAISSANCE

This is the time for real change to tackle the racism embedded in our system—*Jermain Jackman*

If we look back over the past few years, we see just how central racism, and our battle against it, has become to British political debate. The equivocation over Brexit, the rise in anti-immigration rhetoric, the 'hostile environment', illegal deportations, the Windrush scandal, the surge in hate crime, discrimination and racial abuse against black people – not to mention the election of an on-the-record user of racist language as prime minister.

Contrary to the belief that these incidents are all isolated and run counter to British liberal values, they are in fact reflective of deep-rooted institutional and structural racism. This racism plays out in health, where Covid-19 is having a disproportionate and devastating impact on communities of colour, with black people being four times more likely to die from coronavirus. This is a damning indictment of the government's handling of this crisis – a government that is ignorant of the systemic challenges that damage black lives. In housing, black and ethnic minorities are far more likely to live in overcrowded and inadequate housing. In education, only 6 per cent of black school leavers attended a Russell Group university. Black boys are three times more likely to be permanently excluded from school and black workers with degrees earn 23.1 per cent less on average than white workers.

The UK government has announced it will be setting up a race inequalities commission to look in to racial inequalities in the UK following the recent Black Lives Matter protests and the disproportionate impact of coronavirus on minority communities. But it risks becoming lost in a multitude of reviews, reports and inquiries on racial disparities that have been followed up with little to no action, if not buried entirely. Reports like the Macpherson report in 1999, the Equality and Human Rights Commission race report in 2016, the Lammy review in 2017 and race disparities audit in 2018, as well as, more recently, the Windrush Lessons Learned review which had no bearing on the government's latest immigration bill.

Following the 1918 Spanish Flu, which caused economic downturn and exposed similar inequalities to Covid-19, the world saw the emergence of political black self-organisation. The New Negro Movement, founded in 1920, was a cornerstone to the Harlem Renaissance and, created a culture of a more outspoken advocacy for dignity and a refusal to submit quietly to discriminatory, racist and oppressive practices. It empowered thousands of black activists and saw a surge in black radical socialism which sought to unify the working classes.

Black self-organisation in the 1920s inspired subsequent movements here in the UK and around the world which favoured a socialist approach to tackle deep-seated inequalities. the late Bernie Grant MP explored black self-organisation by establishing the Parliamentary Black Caucus in 1989 which focused on the political, economic and social advancement of black people in Britain and acted as a point of contact between the black communities in Britain and the rest of the world.

In more recent times, the Black Lives Matter Movement was established to fight against racial injustice, police brutality and state violence. The movement has become a force to be reckoned with, as we have seen in the mass protests around the world this summer following the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor.

The Black Lives Matter protests have placed significant social pressure on government and businesses to do more to tackle racism, from police reforms to the removal of slave trader statues. And although this type of self-organisation and mass mobilisation is needed more today, these incremental changes are not enough.

Just as the Harlem Renaissance created a new spirit of social consciousness and commitment to political activism, it is time now for the emergence of a black British renaissance that builds on the momentum the BLM movement has generated. This needs to be an era where we celebrate Black culture, creativity, activism and innovation, while at the same time challenging the very system that perpetuates the racism and inequality that black communities face in this country and around the world: capitalism.

Malcolm X said it best: "You can't have capitalism without racism". To be an anti-racist is to be an anti-capitalist.

The racial inequalities that we see embedded in our society today are directly linked to socio-economic and legal systems that benefit an elite few and exclude the working classes from ownership and wealth generation. It is only by challenging and changing the foundations of capitalism that we can begin to shape a more equal and just world. **F**

Jermain Jackman is founder of the 1987 caucus, a collective of young black men in the Labour party, and co-chair of Hackney Young Futures

KEEPING OUR COUNTRY FED

A renewed focus on food security is vital—*Daniel Zeichner MP*

In the current pandemic, our food system has been brought under public scrutiny in a way that has not been seen for many years. Supermarkets rationing products, food parcels being sent to people's doorsteps and national campaigns launched to get our crops picked are the sorts of large-scale interventions to keep Britain fed that we have not seen since the second world war. While our key workers in food production, processing, manufacturing and retail have done a valiant job keeping things moving, this crisis has highlighted a number of key issues in our food system.

The most important and most shameful of these is our continuing and worsening crisis of food poverty. In one of the world's richest countries, no one should be going hungry. And yet in April, a report by the Food Foundation estimated that 1.5 million people had gone a whole day without eating since the start of the lockdown.

The government's punitive welfare policies over the past decade have already meant increasing numbers of people have been forced to turn to foodbanks: this demand has soared, with the Trussell Trust reporting an 89 per cent increase in food parcels being supplied in April compared to the same time last year.

Issues of food insecurity amongst families have been compounded by the failures of the government's national voucher scheme to replace free school meals for eligible children during lockdown. It has been beset by accessibility problems and delays. Recent research from the Food Foundation estimates that 31 per cent of children have been left without a substitute for these meals, and that food insecurity amongst households with children has doubled compared to 2018.

This is not a crisis of food supply: it is a crisis of poverty. There is more than enough food in our supply chains to make sure that everyone has enough to eat. The government's recent £16m injection into food poverty and distribution charities is welcome, but charities are clear that what is truly needed isn't support for them to catch those who are falling through the social security net: it is for the security net itself to be fixed. Immediate responses to the current elevated levels of food insecurity are needed, through additional support in social security to prevent families from slipping into further hardship. There must be an end to a policy that has been pushing people into food poverty for far too long: the five week wait for universal credit should go.

The current crisis has further highlighted some fundamental challenges in our food supply chains. Although these food chains have proved robust, recent events have provided a prescient reminder that with almost half of our food imported from other nations, and 30 per cent entirely from the EU, our food security is greatly exposed to external disruption. With the ongoing climate crisis and Brexit negotiations risking future upheaval, we are reminded how important it will be to secure the right deal with our European neighbours and of the pressing need to re-shape our farming system into one that is far less environmentally damaging.

Recent events have also highlighted our strong dependence on agricultural labour from abroad. Despite the much-hyped launch this spring of the Pick For Britain campaign to recruit domestic workers, with around 70,000 workers needed a year, a 10,000 cap on labourers from abroad, and domestic furloughed workers set to return to work in the near future, concerns continue over whether we will have enough workers to pick our crops in this and future years.

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What is more, there are areas in our food supply chains that clearly need reform. In particular, the plight of many dairy and beef farmers facing price cuts for their produce has exposed the need for a rebalancing to ensure that farmers are getting a fair deal.

What we need now is a renewed focus on food security and a comprehensive national food strategy to tackle these challenges. The national food strategy being developed by businessman Henry Dimbleby for the government is the first major review of our food system in 75 years and will hopefully provide some guidance. But as Labour has repeatedly pointed out, the trilogy of environment, agriculture and fisheries bills put forward by the government in recent months are being taken in the wrong order: with few linkages, and without a food strategy released first to tie them together.

The government's new agriculture bill takes some welcome and essential steps to remodel our farming sector into one driven by positive environmental outcomes, but it misses the mark on food – newly planned reports on food security are required only once every five years and there are no guarantees that future trade deals will not undercut the high animal welfare, food safety and environmental standards that we currently enjoy in our domestically-produced food.

We need a comprehensive, overarching plan of how we intend to keep Britain fed – one that ends the scourge of food poverty, protects our standards and the environment and ensures the security and resilience of our food supply. **F**

Daniel Zeichner is the Labour MP for Cambridge and shadow minister for food, farming and rural affairs

HELPING HANDS

We must work together to fight loneliness—*Rachael Maskell MP*

It is our greatest human instinct to want to be in the company of others. We come alive when others invest in us and we are able to give of ourselves to others. But for many the twists and turns of life have challenged those opportunities and created a lonelier path.

Loneliness is a very real experience and it is often linked to increasing vulnerability, whether due to age, poor health or the

barriers created by disability, poverty or life circumstances. It traps people in a downward spiral as their social networks reduce and the opportunities to engage with others shrink.

Covid-19 has introduced many more to isolation, especially those living on their own, and with this can come the loneliness that not being able to socialise creates. Older people are less likely to have access to technology and to use the new social networks that others have rapidly become familiar with. Poverty might well mean that you cannot afford the vital broadband connection and IT to give you this lifeline.

There is an inequality which accompanies loneliness and Covid-19 combined. This must be understood and addressed.

But loneliness can have a huge impact on people of all ages and circumstances. You could be in the midst of a vibrant social environment yet still find that you do not have the friendship of others to share. The lockdown has meant that many of the opportunities to build new bridges to others have been removed.

For some, Covid-19 has brought bereavement, leaving the grieving without their life companion. Others have lost their job, their coffee mornings or other social activities. Even engagement with statutory services, whether it be the jobcentre, GP or local authority, has diminished. For those in education, the closure of schools and the switch in colleges and universities to remote learning have taken away the social elements of learning.

Throughout these last few months, however, there has been a beacon of hope. A renewed understanding of what loneliness means and how society must address the challenges it presents. This has moved up the agenda of priorities. Never more have people wanted to be together; never more have people wanted to reach out in their communities and meet the needs of others.

In looking at new ways of delivering services, the government has committed £5m to help organisations find ways of addressing loneliness in our communities. Many organisations like Age UK are adept in making contact with those they help and organisations like the Jo Cox Foundation play a vital role too in highlighting how people in all walks of life can experience loneliness. There are many very local organisations which regularly reach out in their towns and cities to those who are on their own, and Covid-19 has created a new keenness for neighbours to make contact with those who they reside alongside.

Coming out of this crisis, as we recreate the society we long to live in, we need to ensure that loneliness is seen a public health issue that local authorities have a responsibility to address. Loneliness can have a devastating impact on health and wellbeing and therefore we need to make sure that the right safety nets are put in place, combined with reinvigorated community outreach so that every locality has a strategy in place to reach those who are lonely.

At a time when local authorities are facing significant deficits due to Covid-19, we must not see cuts to charities, local community groups and services that mitigate loneliness like social prescribing. They all offer a lifeline to so many in our communities and demand on their services are likely to be greater than ever, not least as fewer people will be in work.

Active citizenship will need to be encouraged in this next chapter of our national story. The postal workers' union, the CWU, has highlighted the important role that their members play as they pass the doors of every resident each day. Charities too have a deep understanding of need in their communities and, as citizens, we all know our neighbourhoods better than anyone.

As we emerge gradually from Covid-19, we must strengthen our relationships with one another, secure local organisations and rebuild a society with the structures where no one need experience loneliness. It is possible, but we have got to work together to make sure it happens. **F**

Rachael Maskell is the Labour MP for York Central and shadow minister for the voluntary and community sector

STRENGTH IN NUMBERS

Credit unions are a force for good, especially in these troubled times—*Roy Kennedy*

The credit union movement, both here in the United Kingdom and throughout the world, has played an essential role supporting communities during the Covid-19 pandemic. With the world economy taking a severe hit, credit unions – financial coops owned by their members – have sought to respond to the challenge and help people navigate the financial fallout from the crisis.

Credit unions are a vital component of the UK financial services market, providing services like current accounts, savings accounts and loans to members who would in some cases struggle to access them from a high street bank.

Over the last few months London Mutual Credit Union, of which I am a director, has had to work hard to underpin our financial stability as members' finances have tightened while at the same time responding to the often pressing needs of our members.

Like many credit unions across the UK, we have kept branches open to help people who cannot use online services and who require cash over the counter. We have also increased preapproval overdraft limits for current account holders and offering interest-free overdrafts of up to £2000 for three months to all the NHS staff who have current accounts with us.

We have seen acts of great courage, kindness and real community spirit. Credit unions are all about community and as the lockdown is eased it is time for the credit union movement to move centre stage. We know that more people will struggle financially in the wake of the crisis and the credit union model needs to be supported to offer a whole suite of financial services to people who would otherwise be excluded from the financial options the rest of us take for granted.

But for credit unions to play to their full potential the sector must grow to meet the challenges of the future. For although credit unions do great work, their reach is still relatively small with just over 2 million members in the UK. Too often the important work that they do goes under the radar. To change that, we will need not only to grow the membership, but also to encourage mergers of credit unions so they are all sizeable enough to be able to offer a full suite of savings and loan products, to embrace digital advances and to support their members in making that important transition to accessing services online.

In the past there have been suggestions that credit unions could link up with the Post Office network to provide a high street presence and this could be a positive collaboration. Making it easier for people to pay money directly from their salary to their local credit union account is also essential to encourage growth. Large companies, the public sector and civil society in general could take a lead in setting such arrangements up.

We also need a whole new approach to advertising the benefits of credit unions to a mass audience. Many individual credit unions run targeted advertising campaigns on Facebook and other social media sites, but there is also a place for advertising on television, radio and newspapers to complement the small-scale approach we have largely seen to date.

Advertising on television and elsewhere just as the banks do is expensive but a campaign could be developed and funding sought. One idea might be to use some of the fines levied on financial institutions to fund ads to raise public awareness in general and to direct people to their own local credit union.

Our country needs to become a place where people are truly valued. Enabling everyone to access reasonably priced financial services, no matter what their income or asset level, is an important step in the right direction. **F**

Lord Kennedy of Southwark is treasurer of the Fabian Society and chair of the Credit Union Foundation. He is a shadow minister for local government in the House of Lords

HISTORY LESSONS

Labour's past can help shape its future—*Rohan McWilliam*

Labour is a party that offers to face the future but is nevertheless shaped by its past. Historians have an important contribution to make in political discussion today: history is good to think with, if only because it reveals what is distinctive about the present moment. But historians should always be bad party members, ready to puncture the myths that Labour lives by. Members speak wistfully of the 'Spirit of 1945' whilst sometimes complaining about the betrayal of principle by Labour leaders from Ramsay MacDonald onwards. The historical record challenges us to think more deeply about these stories that Labour tells about itself.

The party in 2020 is in crisis: bruised and divided. From a historical perspective, there is nothing new in this. The current conflicts

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are a reworking of the fissures that have been evident since the struggle between the Gaitskellites and the Bevanites in the 1950s (and even before). Labour divisions have an almost cosmic dimension as both sides believe they represent the soul of the party. This makes Labour hatreds so much greater than the Conservative equivalent: there seems to be much more at stake.

The fact that the party has been able to renew itself periodically despite bitter conflict is the reason why the Labour History Research Unit has launched the Labour Renewal Project, a report that offers short reflections on the way that the party has brought itself back from the wilderness in the past. It did this in the early 1960s when Harold Wilson linked Labour to the 'white heat of technology' and it revived itself again in the mid-1990s under Tony Blair who produced a new modernising political synthesis. Failed moments of renewal can be instructive. Labour in the 1950s lost elections partly because it tried to insist that the Tories in power were effectively pursuing the same approach as they had in the 1930s: in the age of Rab Butler and Harold Macmillan, this did not wash. Labour in 2019 failed to recognise that Boris Johnson had spiked its guns by promising more spending. Faced now with Rishi Sunak's proto-Keynesianism, a more complex approach will be necessary.

Supporters should not assume that Jeremy Corbyn or Tony Blair represent the only choices for the party. In fact, both were extremely uncharacteristic Labour figures. In the 2020s, the party needs to be politically creative, recognising that, as times have moved on, there are other positions to take. Labour, however, can only win if it unites voters on the left and the centre as it did in 1964 and 1997. We live at a time when the notion of parties as a broad church is in decline. Labour needs to resist this if it wants to be a serious challenger for government. The most effective modern Labour leaders (Wilson, Blair) have been those who are less interested in addressing party members and more interested in speaking to the wider public.

The link between Wilson and Blair is that both seemed comfortable with British society as it was. Labour rightly wants to change society but the less successful leaders (Kinnock, Miliband and Corbyn) tended to be those who, rightly or wrongly, did not appear to appreciate the kinds of lives that most people live. This includes the fact that the average person does not spend a lot of time talking about 'socialism' and still less about 'neo-liberalism'. Even more disturbing for the left, large numbers of people do not spend much time following politics. The more successful Labour figures get this and respect it.

The way Labour figures like Wilson and Blair cut through to voters at large was by addressing their aspirations: their desire for a better life. One of the remarkable features about the Corbyn project was that it had so little to say about personal aspiration and about consumerism as a social force (Rebecca Long Bailey's campaign for the leadership retrospectively recognised this gap and began to talk about 'aspirational socialism'). Labour has only broken through since 1951 when it has found ways of

embodying consumer desire and directing it in progressive ways. The election-winning formula has been to support people's wish to succeed in material terms but to insist that no one does this by themselves: they need a strong state and civil society to guarantee their progress.

History, alas, does not have all the answers. The 2020s are likely to be driven by fundamental debates about a consumer-driven model devoted to economic growth. Climate change requires us to think again. The most enduring legacy of the Corbyn project is likely to be its promotion of the Green New Deal. We are compelled by the times we live in to face the future but, just occasionally, we can do this by looking back. F

Rohan McWilliam is professor of modern British history at Anglia Ruskin University, and co-director of the Labour History Research Unit. He is the author of the Labour Renewal Project

HARSH REALITIES

People in detention have been let down by the state during the pandemic—*Deborah Coles*

As the Covid-19 pandemic spread to the UK, it became clear that the virus could have a particularly devastating impact on people in detention, some of society's most vulnerable and disadvantaged. They are in the care of the state and are entirely reliant on it for their safety. Time and time again we have seen men, women and children being failed by the systems that are there to protect them. We also see how intersections of race, class, gender and disability have an impact on some of the most marginalised.

Working with the charity Women in Prison, we led a group of 600 organisations and individuals calling on the government to take urgent life-saving steps to reduce the number of people in prisons and immigration detention. There is overwhelming international consensus that this is the only way to minimise the risks during a pandemic. Detention already disproportionately impacts on black, Asian and minority ethnic people, as does Covid-19, so this is a humanitarian and racial justice issue.

Despite the government's own announcement that a temporary release programme would release up to 4,000 low risk prisoners, only around 130 prisoners had been released by the end of May. We have lagged far behind other countries which have released thousands in order to address the risks posed by the virus: these risks have not gone away.

Long before the pandemic, we were raising concerns about historically high levels of self-inflicted deaths and self-harm in prison and the high rates of incarceration. We have seen indefensible levels of neglect and despair and the stories of those who died show prisons failing in their duty of care towards people already let down by struggling health, education, welfare and social services and by the overuse of prison.

As lockdown relaxes in wider society, tens of thousands of men, women and children remain in indefinite solitary confinement in already cramped and often insanitary conditions. The harsh reality of spending 23 hours every day behind a locked door cannot be underestimated and risks inhuman and degrading treatment in breach of international standards. A recent spike in self-inflicted deaths in prisons, with five men dying over six days, is of grave concern and points to the impact on mental health of highly restrictive regimes.

Critical, too, is the lack of transparency. As concerns over the spread of the virus became clear, we called on the government to be open about infection rates, conditions and deaths in detention settings. Yet still, the publication of key information relating to people who are detained – who the state is duty-bound to protect – lags far behind that of people in the wider population. This is not just about deaths directly from Covid-19 but those deaths linked to the impact of more restrictive regimes.

It took pressure from INQUEST, campaigners and the parliamentary joint committee on human rights to get any data about deaths in mental health, learning disability and autism inpatient settings. This information has been very slow to produce, is not disaggregated, and there is a paucity of information available about self-inflicted deaths in inpatient units. We were dismayed that despite the requirements of the Mental Health Units (Use of Force) Bill, known as "Seni's Law" to publish data on how and when physical force is used, neither the Care Quality Commission nor NHS England have been able to give any indication of whether instances of forcible restraint and solitary confinement increased or decreased during this period. Ultimately, the greater the level of transparency the greater the opportunity to implement changes to safeguard lives. This information should not have to be fought for.

Even before coronavirus, there were major obstacles put in the way of families whose loved ones had died in detention. Delay, denial and defensiveness too often characterise the response of the state. This has been exacerbated by Covid-19 and the resulting disruption to legal processes. There is an inequality of arms between families with no non-means tested legal aid and public authorities with teams paid for from the public purse. Post-death investigations and inquests into state-related deaths show time and time again that many are preventable and as the result of neglect and systemic failings in care. Officials and ministers repeat the empty words that 'lessons will be learned'. Yet the recommendations of coroners, independent reviews, investigations and inspections are being systematically ignored.

The brutal killing of George Floyd in the US has rightly brought the issue of racial injustice to the fore. Here as well as in America, we must address excessive state force and neglect whether it be by police, in prisons, immigration centres or mental health settings. There has been a pattern of cases often linked to institutional and structural racism. We will stand alongside the families of those who have died in the search for truth, justice and accountability. F

Deborah Coles is director of INQUEST, a charity providing expertise on state-related deaths and their investigation

The adults in the room

Can the UK's leadership vacuum be filled? *Glen O'Hara* takes a look

Glen O'Hara is professor of modern and contemporary history at Oxford Brookes University. He is the author of The Paradoxes of Progress: Governing Post-War Britain, 1951–1973 and The Politics of Water in Post-War Britain. He is currently working on a history of the Blair government

Britain seems adrift. Prime minister Boris Johnson is a diminished figure, seemingly uncertain which route to take. As the coronavirus crisis continues to unfold, all the bounce which some voters have always liked about him has slowly leaked out of the Boris balloon.

The prime minister has to some extent been unlucky. His leadership style – sloganise, delegate, disappear – is not suited to the present moment. For one thing, voters want to hear from their leader. Appearances in or broadcasts from Downing Street, no less than televised addresses from the monarch, fulfil a deep psychological need to see that someone, anyone, is in charge.

Voters sympathised when Johnson got ill: it could have happened to anyone, although his foolish talk of shaking hospital patients' hands did him few favours. But there is no doubt that he has looked a shrunken character since his return to frontline politics. Many Covid-19 patients are reporting long-lasting effects from the disease, and perhaps he is too.

Britain's leadership crisis is a much wider and deeper phenomenon than one man's difficulties, and indeed leading itself has become progressively more difficult. On one level, the problem seems rhetorical. We used to think that 'leadership' looked like heroism. A set-piece speech, a big policy unveiling, a forceful attack on rivals: these are the mechanics of heroic biography and political fantasies such as The West Wing.

That aesthetic has waned in recent years. Gordon Brown at his tub-thumping best, or even David Cameron with his everyman act at the lectern, were probably the last two politicians who could get anywhere like that.

Now, New Zealand prime minister Jacinda Ardern's talk of dancing at the news of Covid-19's retreat, her empathy, her quieter approach, seem like the hallmarks of a more conversational era. All of a sudden, far fewer voters seem to welcome the verbal assaults launched by Donald Trump – or the rather self-conscious parody of a speech from Johnson.

In reality, these trends have always waxed and waned. Franklin Roosevelt deployed fireside chats as well as the pulpit of the presidency; Clement Attlee often seemed as if he was making a virtue of saying very little indeed. The image of mid-to-late 20th century grandiloquence can be questioned. Not everyone was a John F Kennedy or a Tony Blair, evoking a 'new generation' or a 'young country'.

It is too simple to say that one era of leadership has been replaced by another. Ardern might be garnering rave reviews for her intimate style, but Australia's prime minister, Scott Morrison, has also seen his approval ratings rise. The combative and conservative Morrison is nothing like Ardern. What do the two leaders really have in common? Their governments have crushed the virus – unlike Britain.

Britain's leadership crisis is a much wider and deeper phenomenon than one man's difficulties

Winston Churchill, so central to public discourse over the last few weeks, is remembered as a grand and forbidding speaker. But he spoke in light and shade, even in the first vital weeks of his premiership. Consider Churchill's great 'fight on the beaches' speech to the House of Commons, delivered on 4 June 1940. The prime minister spoke in grave tones, and admitted that there was at least the possibility of defeat. As professor Richard Toye of the University of Exeter has recently put it: "He did not attempt to win easy popularity by providing false hope."

Now that most of the world is in a real crisis once again, faced with a deadly virus and yet to be equipped with cure or vaccine, these same abilities are needed again: to speak frankly but not without hope, credibly but encouragingly, memorably but without too much obvious artifice.

There is also the need to get hands dirty and brains engaged, and it is here where the problems of the British state and with this government become even more obvious

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and serious. It is all too clear that Johnson is not a details man. In normal times, that might not matter: it might even endear him to many voters bored of technocrats and managers. But at the moment, it is a huge handicap, and it leaves him open to attack by an able, hard-working and intelligent opponent. This is exactly what he faces in Labour's new leader, Keir Starmer.

The political historian Steven Fielding has recently termed politics successfully redefined in this way as the 'populism of competence'. Harold Wilson turned such an approach to his advantage when he, as a trained statistician and economist, ran up against the assumed ease and superiority of Alec Douglas-Home and a Conservative government the public increasingly saw as old-fashioned, aristocratic and out-of-touch.

Labour's recent rise in the polls is partly a reaction to the government's apparent lack of grip, but it is also about the air of focus and competence projected by Starmer. He might sometimes seem a little bit boring – though when his mind is made up it stays made up, as Rebecca Long Bailey has found to her cost. But in the policy sphere, he proceeds meticulously. He chooses his words. He focuses on what the government is doing wrong, and he maintains at least the plausible fiction of standing ready to help the government when it does things right.

It is this sense of a real adult in the room that is endearing him to voters: 45 per cent of voters recently told YouGov that they thought Starmer was 'competent' (41 per cent thought the same of Johnson). It is one key element pushing up his overall favourability numbers.

There is still more to the contrast than Starmer's own style. Populism is in fact in some trouble everywhere across the developed world. It has always been an exaggeration to see so-called 'populist' leaders entrenched at the head of a blue-collar revolt against social liberalism. Such trends ebb and flow.

We have seen this before, in different guises: in the early 1980s, 'Reagan Democrats' and Margaret Thatcher's famous C2 voters saw off the Democrats and Labour with ease. It took both parties a long time to come back – but come back they did.

Many of Trump's 2016 voters were rich Americans and white suburbanites. He could not have won without them, just as Johnson could never have won without affluent remainers in the south of England. If they flee from dither, incompetence and incoherence, then the new conservatism that seemed so forbidding just a few months ago might come to seem like a passing fad.

Trump's polling numbers have not risen since he began to play the law and order card and mobilise what he sees as the 'silent majority' against 'anarchists and looters' – quite the opposite, in fact. At the end of March, Trump's average approval on the polling website FiveThirtyEight stood at -4.9. At the time of writing, it has slumped to -14.5.

He will find it much more difficult to blame everything on leftist agitators and misguided college students than Richard Nixon did in 1968. Nixon was running against a party whose outgoing president was seen to have already failed. Trump is the president on whose watch everything appears to be on fire. He can still win in November, but his administration emits little sense of plan or promise.

The Conservatives appear to think similarly; that they can divert attention to matters of commemoration and national identity. In a crisis as acute as this one – and remember, it will be added to in the autumn by the rush to seal (or walk away from) a Brexit deal – this likely will not wash.

Questions of identity and belonging – race, nation, sexuality – are in fact running strongly in liberals' favour at the moment across the UK, in England as well as in the country's other constituent nations: there will in the medium term be little shelter in attempting to deflect questions of life and death, competence and incompetence, grip or fumble, onto those issues.

That said, it does not look quite like we are at a political turning point yet. It is important to remember that Labour has not just been poisoning its own reputation for the last five years. It has been in structural retreat since Michael Howard took the Conservatives into (brief) polling leads in 2004, and certainly since the 2005 general election.

The Iraq War; the expenses scandal; the battle between the two Milibands; the muddle between the two Eds; the civil war under Jeremy Corbyn: all have inflicted terrible damage on the public's perception of the Labour party. YouGov may well tell us that 45 per cent think Starmer is competent, but only 23 per cent say the same of Labour as a whole.

The politics of acute crisis is unwinding a little and returning to normal, but that 'normal' has still left Labour out in the cold for a decade now. It has a long way still to go. **F**

A moment of reckoning

In the darkest of times, the UK must once again act as a progressive force in the world, writes *Lisa Nandy MP*

Lisa Nandy is the Labour MP for Wigan and shadow foreign secretary

Covid-19 is an undeniable reminder that we are only as strong as the most vulnerable. When the virus hit, our underfunded public services and overworked frontline workers were called forward, while so many families without savings or rights at work faced heartbreaking choices. The decisions of the last decade have left us without resilience at the moment we most needed it. The outpouring of thanks for our frontline workers has lit a spark of hope that maybe we will come out of this a changed country and build back better.

This sentiment matters as much globally as it does locally. There is no solution to Covid-19 at home without a solution abroad. But our global relationships are fractured and at the moment when the world needs to come together, we are breaking apart. It is time for the UK to step forward, recover our lost ambition and become a country again that acts as a progressive force in the world once more.

Change will not come from elsewhere. After three-quarters of a century, the United States has abandoned its global leadership role – withdrawing support for the World Health Organization, repeatedly delaying the G7 and turning its back on the global battle against climate change. Into the void has stepped China, whose reach and influence has increased steadily in the last decade, most notably through the 'belt and road' initiative which invests heavily in projects across the world. In many developed countries the Chinese government, or state-backed firms, now own key infrastructure and have used this influence to block global cooperation on issues as important as the use of chemical weapons in Syria, the Covid-19 pandemic and the defence of democracy in Hong Kong.

Britain has at times gone out into the world and provided light not might

Growing tensions between the two superpowers have led to comparisons with the Cold War but the challenges of 2020 are fundamentally different and inherently more complex. China is accused of covering up the Covid-19 outbreak and has shown increasing disregard for international law. But the 'America first' approach pursued by the current US administration has morphed during the pandemic into an 'America only' scramble for exclusive access to a vaccine. This is a choice that leaves Britain between a rock and a hard place, evidenced best by the decision, since reversed, to award a 5G contract to Huawei, a move designated as high risk by our own security services. This is the dilemma in a nutshell: we must build greater strategic independence but closely protect constructive engagement with the US and China. From the global pandemic to climate change, our fates are intrinsically bound together. That is why a binary choice between China and the US is no choice at all. There must be a third pole on the landscape.

With Britain out of the EU and clear tensions emerging between EU partners during Covid-19, there is no ready-made solution. Other countries have seen this dilemma and stepped forward to show global leadership in these troubled times. Australia led efforts to co-ordinate the search for a vaccine, while France led the charge for a global ceasefire. But Britain, for all its lofty rhetoric about 'Global Britain', has been largely absent. This cannot continue. The world needs a D20 alliance – European countries partnering with democratic allies like New Zealand, Australia, Japan and South Korea – to work together on tackling conflict, in defence of the democracy and human rights that form the basis of our alliances around the world and to ensure that when the world most needs it, we are able to step forward together. Whether it is the challenges posed by Iran or Russia, climate change, global poverty or Covid-19, the world needs cooperation if it is to be safer, more secure and far more stable.

This is a leadership role Britain has played before but it is different from the Tory vision of a small island nation that punches above its weight. From William Hague's global initiative on preventing violence against women and girls to international action on climate change spearheaded by Gordon Brown and Tony Blair and from the extraordinary role Paddy Ashdown played in the Balkans to the multilateral disarmament programme led by Margaret Beckett, Britain has at times gone out into the world and

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provided light, not might – building alliances, to bring about change together.

To do this again the UK must change course. We have earned a reputation as an alliance breaker in recent years. Now is the time to become an alliance maker. Only this month the UK worked with Canada and Australia to stand up to Chinese aggression in Hong Kong. Now we must go further.

We must act quickly to defend the rule of law, democracy, free speech and human rights around the world. These values are the basis of our alliances around the world and in many countries under cover of Covid-19, from Hong Kong to Turkey, they are being steadily eroded.

We must use the alliance of democracies to prevent crucial decisions about fair tax laws, employment rights, climate change, foreign investment, energy or 5G from becoming pawns in a power game between global superpowers, throwing our values aside for commercial gain.

We need to take action now to protect the institutions that give us reach and influence across the world. The BBC World Service awaits a decision about long term funding and is itself part of an institution that comes under frequent attack from politicians on all sides of the political divide. From Imperial College to Manchester University, our red brick universities are global leaders in research and collaboration, but they are struggling to close the funding gap left by falling numbers of overseas students. The British Council has seen its income fall dramatically as students across the world stop taking exams. It needs help now.

We need a strategic cross-Whitehall group to develop and implement a strategy in relation to the rise of China. National security and our commitment to human rights, for the Uighur Muslims, the people of Hong Kong and the people of Taiwan, cannot be compromised in the search for growth and trade, especially as Britain seeks to rebuild after the pandemic.

We must restate our commitment to the principle of transparent and effective aid, distinct from our trade objectives, and to accessible finance for the world – all the more important in light of the government's decision to merge the Department for International Development into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. We cannot allow poorer countries, or failing companies, to see Chinese investment as the only option open to them.

We must not give up on Syria, Libya, Yemen and other parts of the world experiencing conflict. If our existing institutions cannot unite countries behind a lead negotiator, let's build coalitions of the willing and redouble our efforts to solve these longstanding and brutal conflicts.

And we should not give up on those multilateral institutions – the G7, G20, UN, Commonwealth, WHO and NATO – however challenged. For all the tensions that have surfaced across the European Union in recent months, ultimately a financial package was agreed that protected the southern states without fracturing this important coalition. Through the World Health Organization and vaccine alliance the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI), medical and scientific researchers from countries across the world have continued to cooperate for the good of humanity even as politicians failed. And while reform of these institutions is badly needed, no global institution can survive without political support and we must give it.

This agenda will take a level of ambition that has been curiously lacking in Britain for a decade. For all the talk of Global Britain, the populist right often suggest that Britain can only prosper under the protection of the USA. But the left is not immune to this sentiment either, suggesting that outside of the formal structures of the EU the UK has no chance. Neither of these narratives offer any hope or a route to something better.

This is the moment, when the world faces a moment of reckoning, when we will choose to pull together or pull apart. Populist nationalists across the word have wasted little time in scapegoating migrants, attacking global institutions, arguing for vaccine nationalism and suspending human rights, democracy and press freedom indefinitely. They must not succeed.

That is why I am determined that the Labour party will not be commentators but active participants in the battle ahead. We have remained in PES, the progressive grouping of socialists across Europe, as a signal of the solidarity that will be needed, as well as a practical arrangement that will help us to carry the torch forwards. We are working with progressive leaders from countries like New Zealand where we are in power, and sister parties in countries like Germany where we are in opposition, to battle for a world which is open, caring, resilient and secure. It is a fight we are determined to win.

The challenges we face are vast – climate change, war, violence, populism, nationalism and poverty. But to these we should add defeatism. After the second world war we built the global institutions that held the peace and acted as a force for good for the decades that followed. In the darkest of times, we have been the light on the hill and we must be again. This is, in the end, not simply about our international relations but about who we are. Recently I asked Danny Boyle, the architect of the 2012 Olympics opening ceremony, where the self-confident, outward-looking, proud, diverse country we celebrated that night had gone. He was adamant we are still that country, but we desperately lack leaders who can give both voice and meaning to it. That is Labour's mission – and we will not fail. **F**

Repairing care

We are in urgent need of a politics that puts care at its heart, write *Lynne Segal* and *Jo Littler*

Lynne Segal is anniversary professor of psychology and gender studies at Birkbeck, University of London and Jo Littler is professor of social analysis and cultural politics at City, University of London. They are both part of the Care Collective, whose book The Care Manifesto will be published by Verso in September

The coronavirus crisis has simultaneously shown just how crucial care is for our lives and just how uncaring our society has become. Turning Beveridge's post-war welfare promises on their head, we now have a lack of care operating at every level – from cradle to grave. The majority of parents have less time to care for children, often battling exorbitant childcare costs and working ever longer hours, the load disproportionately falling on mothers. Youth services have been all but eradicated, when they are most needed, with rising stress at all ages. The calamity of social care, especially for disabled and older people, has been mounting for years in these cruel times of 'peak inequality', as Danny Dorling terms it. Those caring for older relatives or spouses have found it increasingly difficult to access resources or respite, leading to frequent depression, especially for home carers already struggling with poverty. Public care provision has become increasingly inaccessible, with services largely dismantled and outsourced to corporate commodity chains. These corporations so often create intolerable conditions for their workers – who are insecure, underpaid, on zero-hours contracts – whilst viciously curtailing the continuity of social and nursing care, as captured so movingly in Ken Loach's latest film, Sorry We Missed You. Thus, while massive profits have been made from outsourced 'care', its provision largely mocks its very name, creating little security for either the cared-for or the carers.

Care was already the issue of the moment, long before Covid-19 hit us

All of these examples of structural carelessness are the direct result of privatisation and outsourcing of the welfare state over the past four decades, in tandem with the savage austerity cuts we have faced since 2010. Their consequences are everywhere: in the rapid emergence of 2,000 food banks; in another child becoming homeless every eight minutes; in heightened stress in the workplace and the home; in increasing rates of loneliness and mental illness (one in four now suffer from depression). Meanwhile, the cuts to the NHS, its partial privatisation, the removal of nursing bursaries and deteriorating conditions across the care sector have seriously undermined our health system. Seventeen thousand hospital beds have been lost in the past decade alone, with a reduction of 100,000 NHS staff, including a shortfall of 35,000 nurses and 10,000 doctors. This is the background to our current intensified crisis. It parallels a callous lack of concern for the plight of refugees and rising xenophobia, as well as continuing refusal to deal adequately with climate change or shrinking biodiversity. This is why we say, in the footsteps of others, that the crisis of capitalism today is above all a crisis of care. Care was already the issue of the moment, long before Covid-19 hit us.

How is this crisis of care affecting us during the pandemic? The UK currently has the worst death rate in Europe due to our government's multiple forms of carelessness. It refused to take heed of warnings of future pandemics following SARS and MERS, unlike South Korea. It responded far too late, with the prime minister flamboyantly refusing to take social distancing seriously at the critical early stage, unlike other countries, most prominently New Zealand. It had over the last few years already curtailed and abandoned structural pandemic preparation. It had slashed hospital resources, including the number of nurses and hospital beds, providing less than half the number of ventilators of German hospitals. It did not respond to co-ordinated EU strategies to provide personal protective equipment, unlike much of the rest of Europe. Its inadequate, part-privatised and continuously reordered infrastructure proved inept at establishing a system to test frontline workers in any health emergency. Meanwhile, care homes were to a large extent abandoned; whilst untested occupants and workers were left exposed to the virus and treated with utter negligence – the deaths of their older inmates not even recorded in the announcement of Covid-19 mortality rates over the first five weeks. The disastrous results are the record spreading of the virus in Britain, surpassed only by the

USA, including the deaths of at least 164 health workers, disproportionately BAME.

Yet this global calamity is also a moment of profound rupture, where many of the old rules no longer apply – and where governments appear to have changed those that remain overnight. How might this moment help us initiate more lasting changes? If the pandemic has taught us anything it is that we are in urgent need of a politics that puts care at its heart. It is a stark reminder of the importance of creating robust care services. We must reinstate bursaries and scrap fees for trainee nurses, raise their poverty pay and protect and take heed of whistleblowers (who are, even now, being sacked for revealing dangerous practices). We have to bring an end to the waste of privatisation and contracting out by demanding the insourcing of services. We need adequately-funded public hospitals and care homes that are within the public sector and accountable to those who use and service them, rather than frittering away our money on private corporations. The time for universal basic services is now.

But it is also important to emphasise that care is not only the 'hands-on' care of directly looking after the physical and emotional needs of others. It is also about recognising our interdependence, throughout life; and our ever greater global interdependence, as well as our shared vulnerability. Therefore, caring is about rebuilding our welfare and community resources from the bottom up, as well as the top down, to enable us all to develop and use our capabilities to flourish and lead engaged and meaningful lives: for we can only really flourish in a flourishing world.

What would a world organised around care look like?

Beginning with kinship, in recent times our circles of care have shrunk to the ever-narrower level of the individual or the nuclear family. Instead, we need to broaden this out again, learning lessons from current and earlier mutual aid and alternative kinship practices. Today it is clearer that people can actually enjoy caring, whatever its challenges, when they have the time and space, despite the ambivalence that easily accompanies caring responsibilities. Caring for and about others helps us to appreciate our shared and fragile humanity, helping us to acknowledge rather than disavow our own fears and dependencies. That is what makes for a good life; we might even say, after John Berger, a fortunate life.

As feminists have long fought for, centring care also means further degendering it, since care has overwhelmingly fallen on women's shoulders. But the government's response to the pandemic has only entrenched sexism. For instance, it did not allow furloughing to be taken part-time, which would have made it easier for men and women within dual-income households to share equally both childcare and paid work.

Beyond the pandemic, we must level up on equality, shortening the working week and teaching boys as well as girls emotional literacy and the diversity of caring skills, beginning with the domestic. We need to 'de-race' caring, given that historically and increasingly today, hyper-exploited caring jobs are predominantly undertaken by BAME and migrant women. In today's global care chains, women often leave behind their own children and dependents in poorer countries, in order to make up the care deficit in richer countries. This is the moment that we must demand an end to the economic exploitation of care workers, and not just clap for them.

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Reimagining care also means rethinking our communities. Adequate care cannot be separated from enriching the neighbourhoods we inhabit. Above all, this means shared public resources for all: reinstating the importance of public libraries, schools and parks, and extending our capacities to share in new ways: from tool libraries to public broadband. The new municipalism – like Preston's reinvigoration of local organisations and facilitation of co-operatives – is exemplary here, as are the successful campaigns for 'insourcing' in universities and local councils. A 'caring commons' enables us to connect and support each other in our complex needs and mutual dependency. Building people's ability to participate in the world, giving them a significant stake in the care they give and receive, and extending local democracy is how we really take back control in a sustainable and pleasurable rather than destructive and proto-fascistic form.

Finally, the only way out of our current ecological mess is by taking these forms of care further, ensuring caring states with sustainable economies. As Ann Pettifor and others have demonstrated so persuasively, this involves implementing a Green New Deal on a transnational level, whose goals are sustainable futures, ensuring that the world's population and the world itself is cared for.

Care might be in the air: we had the Thursday night clap for carers; the word is emblazoned on lapel pins and in all kinds of corporate 'carewashing' advertisements; 'care' is even a new Facebook emoji. But to bring it down to earth – to be able to care more – we must both fully recognise our interdependence and repair our broken and neglected model of care at every level. **F**

THE WINNING MESSAGE

Labour's age-old values of compassion and cooperation can tackle the challenges ahead, Liam Byrne tells *Kate Murray*

In a normal year, right now Liam Byrne might well – voters permitting – have been getting to grips with a new job as Labour's first directly elected mayor in the West Midlands. Instead, after the contest was postponed because of coronavirus, he has been spending his time quite differently.

"It's been intense," he says, as he talks about his work helping to coordinate responses to the crisis in his patch and thinking about what comes afterwards.

As former chief secretary to the Treasury in Gordon Brown's administration, Byrne had a ringside seat during the last financial crisis and is well-placed to contrast responses to a global emergency then and now. It's not a comparison that reflects well on our current leaders: Byrne says that at a time when the need for globally coordinated responses has never been greater, the quality of leadership both in the US and the UK is 'not up to the job'.

"No matter how long I'm in politics, one of the things I'll be proudest of is being part of that team that stopped the recession becoming a great depression," he says. "I was running down the street to Gordon Brown during the G20, and Gordon was on the phone, constantly coaxing, cajoling, harassing, arguing with leaders around the world to get the global scale of response in place. And you see why we need that leadership now because the G20 has basically undercooked significantly the scale of response that is needed. The IMF is being denied the access to credit lines

that it needs to support countries around the world and so what it means is that the globally coordinated response is much weaker than it needs to be. That in part is why people's forecasts for next year are so pessimistic."

As MP for Birmingham Hodge Hill as well as mayoral candidate, Byrne has been part of the team of national and local politicians working together on the coronavirus crisis in the region, addressing everything from burial arrangements to food supply and the impact on cultural institutions. His perspective, he says as we talk via video call, has been very much informed by his time in government more than a decade ago. "I learned a lot of lessons that we've put to work in Birmingham. The thing that I remember most vividly is the 'unknown unknowns' that just hit you from left field," he says. "You've got to have good systems to deal with and act on, and we actually did that really quickly in Birmingham and that was one of the lessons that we learned from last time around."

But the financial crisis that Brown's government had to deal with pales into insignificance compared with today's challenges, Byrne believes. "What was happening [then] was the financial system was basically having a heart attack. The lifeblood of credit was no longer being pumped around because the banking system had fallen over, and the interventions that were needed were actually pretty targeted. So we used to say back then we knew what to do, we just didn't know how to get re-elected once we'd done that, and that proved to be the case," he reflects. "This is like multiple organ failure: it is a far more pervasive shock to the system. And it's more complicated because we don't quite know how a supply shock will unwind."

Byrne's offer to West Midlands voters when the mayoral election eventually takes place next year will include an ambitious plan for new jobs, new homes and a huge solar and retrofitting programme. "The industrial revolution began in Dudley castle when the first steam engine was demonstrated," he says. "I've always felt that the region that started the carbon revolution has a responsibility to lead the zero-carbon revolution. I want to be the 'green machine' capital of Europe in the West Midlands. I want us to be the first city region that goes net-zero, and the recovery plan that we need could help us get there."

If the Treasury allocated the increased investment it has said it will spend according to population, that could fund more than 10,000 new homes and 92,000 jobs in his region, Byrne asserts. But he also wants to go further – with a right to work and a right to train. "One of the mistakes we've made in the past is that we've just assumed that any job is OK. And actually this time we need to do things a little bit differently so giving people things like an apprenticeship guarantee, working with employers to pay furlough if employers agree to train for a nationally recognised qualification. These are all things that are doable if the government could just simply get its act together. We have to guard against making the mistake of underestimating what's needed, and it's too easy to underestimate the scale and the speed of the policy response to a crisis like this."

Byrne believes a new generation of local Labour leaders – including Andy Burnham, Sadiq Khan and, he hopes, himself – can build a new 'green municipal socialism for the 21st century' which can work in practice and go on to inform the next Labour manifesto. That's in part why he decided to go for the mayoral job rather than stay in Westminster.

"I've been in the cabinet, and I've been in the Treasury I've worked in Number 10. I genuinely think that politicians can make change happen fastest on the front line," he says. "Whitehall is pretty broken and ministers move around much too quickly. There are constant turf wars between departments. When you work on the front line you're able to join things up much faster, to move much faster."

Whitehall is pretty broken. When you work on the front line you're able to join things up much faster

Many would see the decision of Burnham, Khan and now Byrne to put regional office above being an MP a sign that Labour takes the regional agenda more seriously than the Conservatives. Byrne agrees. "As a movement we've always had this tension between the centralisers and the localisers. My generation of politicians that came into parliament nearly 20 years ago, we were different from the generation that came before. We spent a lot more time in our constituencies, by and large, we took local politics much more seriously, we took local campaigning much more seriously. You've got a lot of very seasoned Labour politicians now asking themselves: 'OK, where can I make change happen? Where can I and Labour make the

world a better place?' And very often, that's on the ground, at the front line."

The move, Byrne insists, is not a reaction to being less than central to the Corbyn project. Indeed, he has warm words for John McDonnell – they are both economic policy wonks and both interested in ideas, he says. And Corbyn, he insists, was entirely right to 'put the fight against inequality centre stage'. In his time since the incident for which Byrne is best known in the public consciousness, his 'leaving note' left in the Treasury after Labour's election defeat in 2010, he decided he had a responsibility to 'help figure out' what the future of Labour looks like. "I've made some significant mistakes, not least my infamous leaving note," he says, adding: "I have spent time trying to reflect on where New Labour had gone wrong, and, in particular, I felt we had just misconceived our strategy for tackling inequality. I serve the most income-deprived constituency in Britain, and so I deal with the consequences of inequality every day at work, so I wanted to stay the course and I wanted to be part of the renaissance of Labour's ideas."

Clearly important too in his ambition for political change is his own personal journey, one that has led him to promote the idea of 'radical compassion', the title of his mayoral manifesto.

"It began after my dad died about five years ago," he recalls. "I lost my dad to what was a lifelong struggle with alcohol. Not long after that Jo Cox was murdered and those two things together triggered a pretty profound personal crisis for me. It was a very dark time in my life and to try and get myself back on my feet I began working with the homeless community in Birmingham because I had some strange notion that it would be cathartic in some way. Of course it's not cathartic, it's bloody difficult. But a lot of the people that I met were self-medicating trauma with drugs and alcohol in exactly the same way my dad was."

It was a very dark time in my life and to try to get myself back on my feet I began working with the homeless community

From that work, he began fundraising for the homeless community and then branched out into working with food banks, building a campaign in the West Midlands called 'operation compassion'. "We were almost creating like Macmillan coffee morning packs for food bank collectors – we would print up shopping lists and stickers and show people how to do it. We trained up a whole load of Labour activists across the West Midlands in a range of methods in food bank collecting. Radical compassion grew out of our operation compassion social movement."

Radical compassion, Byrne says, draws on a tradition embodied in a book he keeps on his desk by Clement Attlee on social work. "The story of the book is that if you're a socialist, you believe in society and you believe in society-building," he says. "Radical compassion as a concept evolved over four or five years but it's actually a very old story within the Labour party that we want to bring to the fore because we are society builders. That's why we're in the Labour party because we believe in cooperation and we believe in building and strengthening society because we believe that's what yields you a good life."

Right now, after months of lockdown, there is an opportunity for communities to pull together, Byrne believes. "There's a real moment for us to capitalise on the surge in solidarity that we've had over the past weeks when people have come together like never before. People like the way that feels, people are happy that they're pulling together with their neighbours. It's what's getting us through, and people want that to carry on."

The appeal of Labour values has never diminished, he adds, but what voters doubted at the last general election was whether the party had a plausible plan to deal with the challenges ahead.

"People are too worried to take what they feel are speculative leaps – they want a plan that they can believe in," he says. "People like what they see of Keir Starmer – they think he's decent and civilised and he's a good representative of Labour values. That's been a sharp contrast to what people have seen in the behaviour of Boris Johnson and his mate Dominic Cummings."

But before Starmer's appeal is tested at the ballot box nationally, there are next year's contests to fight. Byrne believes the West Midlands, which Conservative incumbent Andy Street won narrowly in 2017, will be a crucial test. "There are lots of people, and I'm one of them, who say that this is the most important election that Labour fights in 2021. There are obviously Scottish elections too where we need to make progress but we have to show we are winning back middle England. You cannot govern Britain unless you win in the West Midlands, so this is in my view the most important race that we face in 2021. We know the battle is going to be tough but there is a massive level of motivation to win in the Labour family right now."

Meanwhile, as well as drawing up plans for what he'll do to kickstart a recovery in the West Midlands if Labour wins, he has been hearing 'harrowing stories' of the impact of coronavirus on the black and minority ethnic communities as part of a BAME taskforce he set up. And, while working on a new book called the Road to Dystopia about the rise of nationalism, he has been thinking about the need for collective action, here and abroad. "It's not just pandemics that we need to worry about. We have what I've called the three rises: the rise in temperature, the rise in new technology and the rise of trade wars. These will all have a massive impact on jobs, unless we find new ways to work together. We've got to demonstrate that we've got solutions that are plausible. Otherwise, people will vote for things that sound good, but take us backwards."

At a national and international level, then, Byrne believes the left has to take on authoritarian populists and build a moral economy in place of the market economy. And at a regional level, it must deliver real change.

The thread running through all of this is collaboration and solidarity and it is there, Byrne believes, that Labour has a winning message. "The challenges the world faces over the next 20 years can only be solved by cooperation – there are millions of people who see that. Those are the people who are going to want to come together behind a party that believes in the ethos of compassion and cooperation." **F**

Kate Murray is editor of the Fabian Review

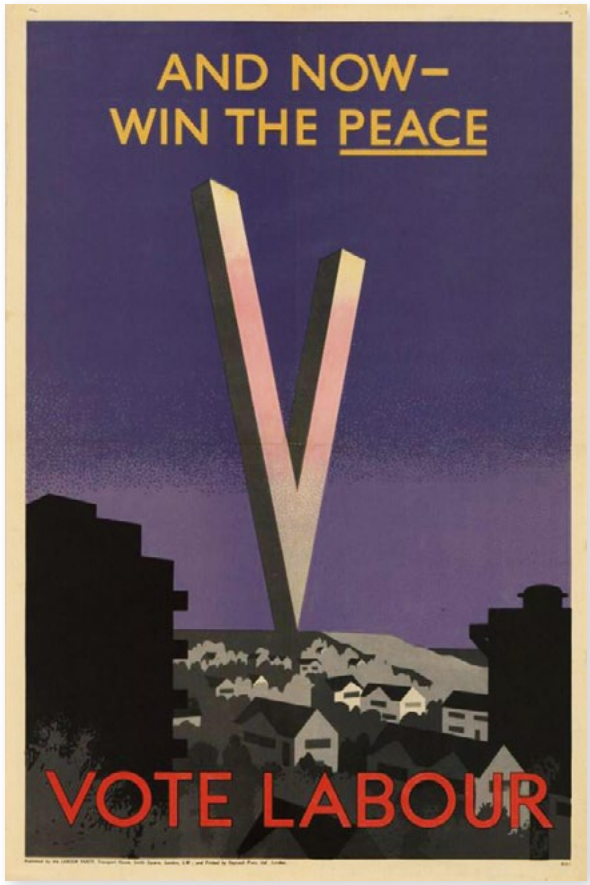
Designing a better world

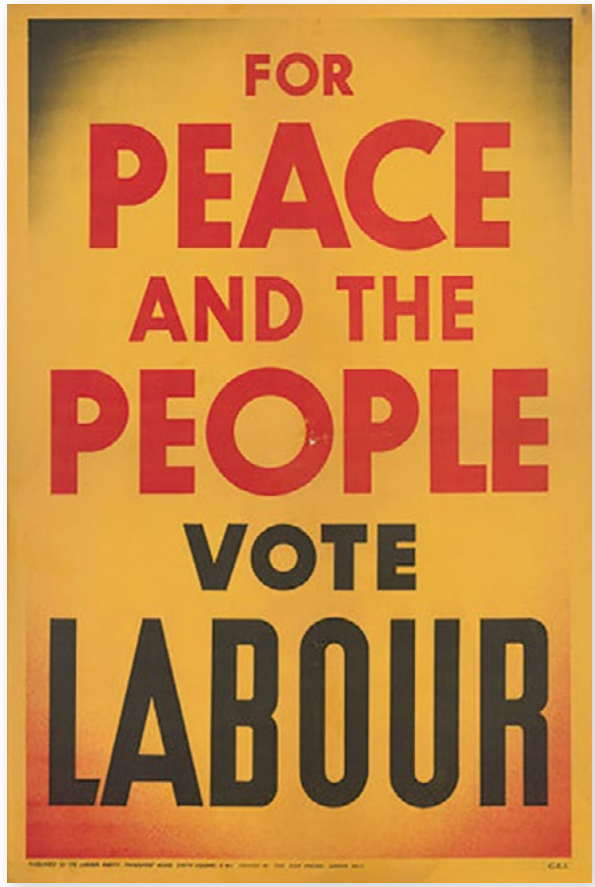
The Labour party has a rich history of graphic design. *Kevin Kennedy Ryan* talks us through the art of the visual political message

In 1948 the Labour party published Soldiers of Lead: An Introduction to Layout and Typography for Use in the Labour Party. This heralded one of the first attempts to regiment the party's visual communications in a way which we would understand for a modern brand. Although Labour remained for over half a century reluctant to work with advertising agencies, it embraced the power of design and typography to create excitement, to drive narratives and to be the harbinger of a zeitgeist. Today, the rapid pace of design with a digital-first approach; low-to-no budgets and 'we-needed-this-five-minutes-ago' deadlines can dent the desired effect of design. In 2019, we started Labour Party Graphic Designers in an attempt to reinvigorate discourse around the role of design in our movement.

Historically, Labour's approach was to employ sympathetic designers on an ad-hoc basis to create posters, normally around election season. Some of these designs remain the most enduring creative work to come out of the labour movement – from Gerald Spencer Pryse's work for the fledgling party in the 1910s, to John Armstrong's 1945 'And Now – Win the Peace', they are still leveraged upon decades later for party fundraising. Even lesser known designs, such as FHK Henrion's 'Yes, It's Part of Labour's Plan' still stand up with a visual coherence that dwarfs much of what we now see from any political party in the UK.

The scale of change in party communications has been huge. In the 1980s, Labour still had a number of signwriters on the books. Fast forward to 2020 and design work can have lead times as short as a couple of minutes for social media graphics. We have rigid brand guidelines and set design styles for every imaginable campaign from rail ("make it look like a rail ticket") to get-out-the-vote ("it's a two-horse race"). To compound the pace of change, think back to the design disaster of the 2015 'Ed Stone': Labour have gone from chiselling messages into stone to having a relatively sophisticated digital marketing strategy in just five years.





The professionalisation of the party's communications in the modern era comes with its downsides: a constraint on artistic freedom as well as the confines of tight deadlines taking precedence over imagination and messaging. To take a parable from Soldiers of Lead:

> "Have you ever listened carefully to the cries of newsboys and street vendors? Usually the sounds have become so distorted by mechanical repetition over a long period of time that they bear no resemblance to the original words. Familiarity may make the sounds intelligible to you, but to a stranger they are meaningless."

We know that not everyone who sees a Labour leaflet will naturally agree with the contents, so why do we continue to create material which tries to kill half a dozen birds with one stone and all too often ends up missing every one? Who will receive our message? How can we arrest their attention and arouse their curiosity? These questions are often the first casualties of fast design.

Another complication arises in the post-expenses scandal era, where there is now greater caution over spending money on items and activities which could be considered frivolous by some in our own movement, let alone a vicious double-standard-ridden right-wing press. Thick paper stocks, embossing and other facets of embellishing printed material are seen to be needless extravagances rather than an investment in creating impactful communications.

We see two modes of approaching design in the party; the adherence to long-standing forms and processes versus the freedom of designing for long-standing messages. With rigid guidelines or the limitations of conveying a complex policy position on a 1200x675 Twitter tile, your creativity is shackled either by time or by structure. Much digital design has an incredibly short half-life – a graphic for PMQs could be obsolete by the next morning. When we get the opportunity to explore long-standing messages, we open up new avenues of freedom and imagination – it's no surprise that some of the best creative work produced in-house by the party in recent years was the celebration of 100 Years of Votes for Women and the NHS at 70 campaign.

When we started Labour Party Graphic Designers, we set out with the dual intention of creating a network for creatives and somehow trying to elevate the standard of design in the movement across the board. Just over a year after our creation we maintain that there is still time for beauty in design. We never set out to override the functions of the party's in-house designers and copywriters, but to augment what the party does – to be like water filling in the gaps between paving stones.

In the lineage of our movement we inherit a rich history of design – from Walter Crane through to Shepard Fairey, via countless others, those with artistic imagination have donated their time and their energies to create designs which actively promote the pursuit of a better world. Today the onus falls on us to take our own energy, enthusiasm and creativity and utilise it for the benefit of our party, our movement and our class. **F**

Kevin Kennedy Ryan is the founder of Labour Party Graphic Designers

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Secure foundations

Labour can regain public trust by putting security on three fronts at the heart of its message, write *Martin Edobor* and *Joe Jervis*

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The failures of the government during the coronavirus pandemic have demonstrated the necessity of an effective opposition, and how important it is that the Labour party now has a leadership team with the gravitas and credibility required to hold the government to account. Slowly but surely Keir Starmer's professionalism and calm authority is leading Labour out of its most disastrous period in post-war history. It is becoming a party ready for power.

Starmer appears to be aware of the scale of the challenge ahead of him. At the very beginning of his leadership, polling by YouGov suggested that just 19 per cent of the public found Labour trustworthy, with 32 per cent trusting the Conservatives. The Tory lead was greater still when it came to being 'in touch with ordinary people', and just 8 per cent thought Labour was a 'strong' party. Make no mistake: rebuilding trust and re-establishing that cultural connection with the British people are Labour's immediate challenges if the party wants to gain a hearing on the major issues of the day – coronavirus and the economic recovery.

First our party must recognise how that trust and cultural connection have each been lost. At the election each of us campaigned in constituencies where a majority voted to leave the EU, engaging in hundreds of conversations. For those who couldn't vote Labour, Jeremy Corbyn was the most cited reason, but our Brexit position was a common factor too; indeed Ashcroft polling later showed almost three in four Labour-Tory switchers cited 'Get Brexit Done' as key to their decision.

We should not be repeating old arguments, but we do need to understand the current reality in order to develop a plan to win back hearts and minds. The leave-remain labels may eventually disappear, but British Foreign Policy Group polling in May showed the cultural chasm between the two groups might actually be growing.

Starmer's constructive opposition has been a welcome attempt to restore trust – repositioning the party above political point scoring, posturing and virtue-signalling. But he must now continue in this constructive vein on issues that matter to leave voters – post-Brexit trade negotiations and managed immigration. The 'Call Keir' phone-in is an important initiative if it can be used to connect with voters outside the Labour bubble – particularly ex-Labour voters – whilst taking shadow cabinet meetings outside of London post-lockdown must also be a priority.

However, if Labour is to produce compelling policies with a clear narrative, we need to understand that the cultural disconnect preceded Brexit. The public voting to leave the EU and against a Labour government are both rooted in the same priority – a desire for security.

Labour has always been a party willing to deliver liberty and opportunity, but over the past decade we have failed to offer security and paid the price. Recent polling by Onward suggested that two in every three voters say that a society should prioritise the security of its citizens over offering opportunity. It is far from a zero-sum game, of course, because the two reinforce each other, but security is a precondition for opportunity, and the coronavirus crisis will embed this fact more deeply into our national psyche.

Labour has tended to fall short on three different public measures of security.

First and foremost, national security. The public expects a prospective prime minister to be committed to keeping our country safe. Starmer has been right to point out that he is deeply patriotic and believes in Britain as a force for good in the world. Showing pride in our country, demonstrating that our international allies are Western democracies, a firm commitment to border control, and backing our armed forces and NATO; these are non-negotiable prerequisites for demonstrating that we can keep the population safe.

Second, financial security. Every citizen wants to feel confident the government will safely steward the economy. Most recognise the risks to their own finances that mismanagement can bring. Some of the individual policies in our 2019 manifesto might have been popular, but when combined were not seen as financially feasible by many voters. It is therefore promising that shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury Bridget Phillipson will now have to sign off any new spending commitments. Labour must not assume that high levels of regard for key workers will automatically constitute support for loosening the public sector purse strings. Relentless message discipline around about what we can (and crucially can not) afford post-pandemic will be vital.

Third, local economic security. Unfettered globalisation and technological change have combined to uproot workplaces and gut high streets in towns across Britain, driving a shift in jobs from the manufacturing sector to services, with high-end careers located mainly in the big cities. A university degree has become a precondition for social mobility, and for decades no political party showed adequate sympathy towards industrial towns whose populations often lack the modern, flexible skills which enable economic mobility. Post-pandemic, Labour will presumably restate the case for international cooperation, but the party must not allow itself to be framed as supportive of the untrammelled globalisation that has widened geographical and social divides. A renewed commitment to localised supply chains, a nation state that protects the UK's assets from hostile takeovers, and a pitch for 'internationalism in the national interest' can win hearts and minds.

Our party needs radical change. Labour must understand why security matters and create a national post-pandemic story that reflects its importance. **F**

Held to account

The ability of the courts to challenge the government is under attack. The left must not only defend judicial review but go further, to shape the principles we should be governed by. *George Peretz* explains

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The last 40 years have seen an explosion in judicial review. The courts regularly quash government decisions on the basis that they infringe broad principles. Those principles are sometimes rights under the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) incorporated into UK law by the Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA), but sometimes the courts invoke other broad principles laid down by statute (such as discrimination and environmental protection) and sometimes broad common law principles (essentially made up by the judges), such as fairness or maintaining access to justice.

Support for that explosion has become axiomatic on the left. That is largely because judicial review has often been an effective way of driving governments in a more socially liberal, pro-environmental direction than the political process would otherwise have pushed them. The temptation on the left has been not to worry too much about the democratic objections to judicial review but just to sit back and enjoy the results.

But in the last few years, darkly-funded right-wing think tanks – in particular Policy Exchange's Judicial Power Project – have deployed their ample resources to carry out reams of analysis complaining about an alleged power grab by the judiciary at the expense of democratically elected politicians. That investment has borne fruit, as more or less the same right-wing politicians and journalists who campaigned for Brexit now intend to turn their firepower not just on the HRA but on judicial review more generally. That intention was given shapeless but menacing form on page 48 of the 2019 Conservative manifesto, which threatened to ensure that judicial review is "not abused to conduct politics by another means or to create needless delays" and to "examine these issues in depth, and come up with proposals to restore trust in our institutions and in how our democracy operates". This threat needs to be taken very seriously, not least because it is cloaked in language that is calculated to appeal to the left and to precisely those voters to whom Labour needs to appeal: the language of democracy and trust.

In the face of this threat, those on the left who – like me – support the power of judges to scrutinise and overturn the decisions of elected politicians, or bureaucrats ultimately employed by such politicians, need to tackle the Conservatives' line of attack head on. It is not enough simply to fall back on the claim (which we all share) that all government decisions should respect principles such as human rights, environmental protection, rationality, access to justice, and fairness. These principles are broad ones, where there can be genuine and honest argument about whether they have been breached in any particular case, or whether the breach is acceptable in order to achieve other public policy goals, or about what should be done where those principles conflict (as they often do). Indeed, in most cases that get before a judge at all, there will be reasonable argument on both sides. Nor is it enough to point to the fact that judges often come up with answers that we like. The challenge is to explain why it is unelected judges that should decide such questions rather than democratically elected politicians answerable to parliament or to their own electorates.

One bold answer to that claim was provided by Lady Hale in the 2018 case concerning Northern Ireland abortion rights, where she defended the power of judges to declare aspects of abortion law to be incompatible with the ECHR by claiming that the case raised a matter of "fundamental human rights on which, difficult thought it is, the courts are as well qualified to judge as is the legislature. In fact, in some ways, the courts may be thought better qualified because they are able to weigh the evidence, the legal materials, and the arguments in a dispassionate manner, without the external pressures to which legislators may be subject."

That answer should cause any socialist – or indeed anyone who believes that important decisions about public policy should be made through an accountable political process – to hesitate. The most obvious "external pressure to which legislators may be subject" is that of democratic accountability to their voters. And the claim that the acceptability of a prohibition on abortion in certain cases should be decided not by politics but by "those able to weigh evidence, legal materials, and arguments in a dispassionate manner" is a claim that sounds more at home in Plato's Republic than it does in the thinking of anyone who places themselves in the tradition of the Levellers and Chartists. After all, among those most likely to be "passionate" about such an issue, and to wish to subject their MPs to 'external pressures', are those women whose rights to abortion were at issue in that case. Nor is Lady Hale's answer much more attractive if you explain that the next Labour government will make the judiciary more diverse and representative: that is very necessary, but since members of the judiciary are – by virtue of being lawyers – by definition not

representative in any sense that a democrat would recognise, it does not address the democratic objection.

A central problem here is that much of the theoretical defence of judicial review of government action, especially on human rights grounds, comes from a liberal tradition (in particular the social contract tradition) that tends to see rights protection as logically prior to democracy and democratic accountability, and which sees the entrenchment of human rights protection – enforced by judges and insulated against the actions of democratically elected politicians – as an essential bulwark against democratic 'abuses' (in particular, to protect property and the free market, as in the case of writers such as Hayek and Nozick). It is of course true that other liberals in that tradition – most famously, Rawls – are less concerned by property rights and more inclined to support the protection of rights and principles that are more congenial to the left: but even there, the rationale for judicial control of elected politicians' decisions on the basis of general human rights principles is, ultimately, that those rights are prior to, and trump, democratic decision-making and therefore have to be protected against democracy by impartial and unaccountable judges. In the hands of Dworkin – a major influence on many lawyers at law school – that tradition turns into the contention that there is a single right answer to human rights claims, discoverable by an impartial, almost heroic, judge. The road from Dworkin to Lady Hale's pronouncement is a short one.

It is not realistic to expect the democratic process to ensure that the standards politicians proclaim will in fact be complied with

The difficulty with that way of thinking for those outside that liberal tradition is that it sets up judicial review of political decision-making as a hard constraint on political action imposed and maintained by a legal elite. But those in socialist or republican traditions tend to reject the individualistic assumptions that lie behind social contract theory. For them, the claim that unelected judges should be able, in areas that are often matters of genuine and deep political controversy, to set limits to the decisions that can be taken through the democratic political process looks (or should look) problematic. If you believe – as most on the left, especially those influenced by the republican tradition, do – that important public policy decisions should be taken through a process of democratic politics and debate, in which citizens engage with each other in order to reach collective decisions that have legitimacy, what is the justification for giving a small group of inevitably unrepresentative people the power to overturn decisions taken by elected officials or those accountable to them on the basis that those decisions fail to comply with certain principles, where the application of those principles is often contestable?

The answer, in my view, is to see judicial review of governmental decisions not as a way of imposing boundaries on politics and on democratic self-government (the tendency in the liberal tradition) but to see it as a way of strengthening politics and the ideal of democratic government by setting up a form of accountability that is distinct from, but strengthens and complements, democratic accountability to elected politicians and voters. That is to say, judicial review ensures that government respects the commitments and standards that it has promised to respect, by applying a detailed analysis, in the particular case before the court, of whether the government has in fact honoured those commitments and standards. Moreover, it does so through procedures that put an individual (or group of individuals) who claims that the government has failed to meet those commitments and standards on, at least in principle, equal terms to the government. But also and critically, in our system – and in any future constitutional arrangements that the left should be comfortable with – judicial review is not the last word in determining the boundaries of the law, but is and should always ultimately be subject to democratic decision-making (that objective being currently secured in the UK by the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, to which the Human Rights Act is subject).

That defence of judicial review starts from the observation that democratic forms of accountability are incomplete. Politicians of all parties claim to honour human rights standards and principles of fair, competent and rational administration and to uphold them for all: but in practice, democratic forms of accountability are weak in holding them to that promise. Two broad types of failings can be identified.

'Macro' failings: in formulating policy and legislation, politicians inevitably pay attention to those who are necessary parts of their winning coalition rather than those who are not. Moreover, the democratic process has a limited focus: many '"technical' areas of policy or legislation, in a complex modern state, get limited or no democratic scrutiny, and injustices caused by such policy or law that affect only a minority can and do persist for years, unnoticed and unaddressed (especially when addressing them costs money, would take ministerial focus or parliamentary time, risks annoying powerful vested interests, or the minority is thought to be unpopular). Finally, the use by governments of wide powers in ways that were not foreseen by parliament (the first Gina Miller case, on whether the prime minister could trigger Article 50), or even to suspend their accountability to parliament (the second Miller case, on prorogation), are failings that cannot effectively be addressed by democratic procedures, since they circumvent or subvert those very procedures.

'Micro' failings: the modern state involves countless individual decisions by bureaucrats, in areas such as tax, social security, immigration, and planning: such decisions only come near elected politicians on exceptional occasions, but can and do cause real injustice.

So it is not realistic to expect the democratic process – especially as flawed a process as we have in the UK, but probably any process – to ensure that the standards politicians proclaim will in fact be complied with. Nor can the democratic process deal with measures that circumvent or subvert that process itself.

Judicial review is, however, a powerful tool with which to address such failings. Starting with 'micro' failings, the system of administrative tribunals that we have is already a powerful force addressing routine injustice and poor decision-making in the areas of (for example) social security or immigration. On 'macro' failings, judicial review is, in principle, a powerful way in which minorities (or even

majorities) adversely affected by a failure by government to live up to the standards of human rights, environmental protection, or good administration that it promises to uphold can force government to account for itself in a process that forces transparency and reasoned argument. It can also force government to go back to parliament to get, honestly and openly, the powers that it wants, and even (as in Miller 2) to re-open parliament when it has shut it down for no reason that it is prepared to front up to.

That way of looking at judicial review provides, I believe, the right framework for the left to think about and defend judicial review. It is not that judges defend rights carved on tablets of stone, or laid down in a mythical social contract, against democratic decision-making: it is that judges defend the integrity of our democracy by holding government accountable for promises that it makes to us as citizens about equality, environmental protection, human rights, and standards of good government, and by forcing government to accept democratic scrutiny of the powers that it wants to take. But the reason why judges are well-equipped to do that is not because they are 'better qualified' but rather because they are independent, accessible to all (at least in principle) and act only on the basis of procedures that ensure transparency and sustainable reasoning.

A number of points flow from that way of thinking about judicial review.

First, it provides a way to turn the language of democracy against those who abuse it in order to attack judicial review. Fundamentally, that language, when deployed by the current government and their outriders in right-wing think tanks, is a fraud: their project is not about democracy but about weakening the accountability of the executive both to parliament and ultimately to the people. Their aim is to reduce the ability of the courts to draw attention to the use of executive powers in ways that fail to comply with standards that, on the other side of their faces, they claim to respect, or in ways that circumvent or subvert the parliamentary government to which they loudly proclaim allegiance. The so-called "Judicial Power Project", which provides the intellectual substance behind the smoke and mirrors, is, in reality, the Executive Power Project.

In response to that fraud, the left needs to emphasise that judicial review is a tool of our democracy, not (ultimately) a constraint on it. Judicial review forces government to be accountable, in principle to all citizens, for the decisions that it takes, and forces it to explain how those decisions are consistent with standards and principles that it has promised to uphold. That point should be backed up with examples – from the Hillsborough campaign, through upholding equal rights for gay people and ending grossly excessive tribunal fees, to checking gross abuses by the Home Office – of how judicial scrutiny has played a key part in addressing failures in our politics. But the left also needs to explain – as a statement both of what is and what ought to be – that where judges conclude that a particular measure fails to respect human rights, or is inconsistent with other principles, or exceeds powers given to government, it is open to us – and should be open to us – as citizens, acting through our democratic institutions, to take a different view, or to grant the government the powers that it wants when it openly and honestly asks for them.

Second, as I have mentioned in passing a couple of times, the legitimacy of judicial review depends on access to it being genuinely open to all. That means a vigorous defence of open rules on standing and of the legality of ways (such as crowd-funding) of paying for public interest actions; it also means promising and prioritising – and even enshrining as a constitutional right – effective legal aid and assistance for all those seeking judicial scrutiny of government decisions that affect them.

Third, the issue of effective judicial scrutiny of government is not a mere 'nice to have' for the left, subsidiary to its wider economic and political project: it is essential. The left relies on the modern state as a mechanism to transform the economy and society: but the left cannot hope to win over those sceptical about the accretion of further powers to the state on which the left's programme depends unless it can reassure them that the state, from ministers down to minor functionaries, is accountable to all the people that it serves and will uphold fundamental rights and principles. Democratic accountability cannot do that, on its own: rather, seen in the framework that I have set out, effective judicial scrutiny of government, open to all, is an essential part of accountability and good government in a modern state.

Fourth, fundamental principles of law, equality, environmental protection, good government, and human rights are not imposed on us by heaven or by a contract we entered into before we were born: they are for us, as citizens, to debate and shape. Judges, through their decisions, can and do inform us about those principles and draw problems in their application to our attention: but ultimately, those principles belong to us, not to the courts. That is why I think the left should avoid clutching its pearls when it is suggested that the ECHR (as interpreted by the Strasbourg court) should not be the be-all and end-all of our discussion of human rights. For a start, the ECHR is a fairly minimal baseline: but, even more seriously, it is not, and cannot honestly be claimed to be, the product of our own democratic discourse. The response to calls for a 'British Bill of Rights' – disingenuous though they often are – should be to take those calls at face value, and to think about a process in which, perhaps by means of citizens' assemblies, we should together be shaping the fundamental rights and principles by which we want our governments to live for the 21st century in a new charter. Those could include rights to legal aid, rights to jury trial, rights to free health care, and others that are not adequately protected by the ECHR.

Indeed, such a charter could form part of a new constitution, amendable as in Ireland by referendum so as to ensure ultimate popular sovereignty and to avoid the US experience of pernicious judicial decisions that are in practice impossible to reverse. Such a constitution, shaped by a popular decision-making process and subject to revision by referendum, could legitimately constrain parliament itself in relation to fundamental principles of law, equality, environmental protection, good government, and human rights. But such a constitution could go further, and improve our deeply imperfect democracy (powers for local government, reform of the House of Lords, proportional representation, strengthening parliament) in ways that the current government and its outriders, despite their conjuror's patter about democracy and 'trust in our institutions', really have no interest whatsoever in pursuing. F

The spirit of the left

Labour's shift back to the centre risks marginalising the creativity and commitment which new members brought to the party, argues *Leo Panitch*

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THREE MONTHS AFTER Labour's defeat in the June 1970 election, the Fabian Society published a pamphlet by Tony Benn, entitled The New Politics: A Socialist Reconnaissance. Warning of the dire consequences of the party ignoring the fundamental reasons for that defeat, Benn chose to leave differences over policy aside for the moment. The real issues, he insisted, had to do with democracy; not only how to fashion intra-party democracy so as to ensure that leaders once elected were accountable to those who had got them elected, but also how leaders both inside and outside the state could help to build the kind of mass popular support for, and involvement in, radical social change.

The central argument of Benn's Fabian pamphlet was that the only way forward was for the Labour party to open its arms to the new spirit of 'participatory democracy' that had developed outside its ranks. Challenging 'outdated concepts of parliamentary democracy accepted by too many political leaders in parliament and on local authorities' also involved recognising, Benn insisted, that Labour's "internal democracy is also riddled with the same aristocratic ideas as deface our national democracy".

The central argument of Benn's Fabian pamphlet was that the only way forward was for the Labour party to open its arms to the new spirit of 'participatory democracy'

Very much attuned to the new left that had emerged in the 1960s, Benn pointed to the great many activists who, alongside the industrial militancy of so many young workers at the time, spawned the wave of new community associations, the women's and gay liberation movements and the massive anti-Vietnam war protests. He saw in these new movements "a most important expression of human activity based on issues rather than traditional political loyalties, and [they] are often seen as more attractive, relevant and effective by new citizens than working through the party system." People were showing that by banding together collectively in a myriad of new organisations with clear objectives they could win surprising victories on given issues against large and centralised corporations and governments which were increasingly vulnerable to dislocations.

But this was only one side of the picture. Far in advance of later commentators, Benn already recognised, with remarkable prescience, an "alternative philosophy of government, now emerging everywhere on the right" which was promising the citizen "greater freedom from government, just as big business is to be promised lower taxes and less intervention and thus to be retained as a rich and powerful ally. But this new freedom to be enjoyed by big business means that it can then control the new citizen at the very same time as government reduces its protection for him."

It was significant that it was the Fabian Society which published this pamphlet. Its founding belief that state reforms would gradually accumulate so as to usher in a socialist society was itself gradually abandoned with the embrace of the mixed economy by the 1950s. Now the impasse of reform under the 1960s Labour government was not only encouraging a new free market philosophy of government on the right, but also a better understanding on the left of the limits of reform in what Ralph Miliband in 1969 called 'the state in capitalist society'. It was increasingly clear, not least from the renewal of the City of London as a centre of international finance, that even to hold on to the old reforms would require going beyond them to take capital away from capital. How to effect a democratic transition to socialism was back on the agenda.

When party policy shifted to the left as Labour went into opposition in the early 1970s, it proved somewhat more attractive to the new activists, but the cold reception they often faced as new members was still deeply rooted in the Cold War atmosphere that suffused party HQ in the 1950s. This was graphically described by Ron Hayward, who would become general secretary in 1972:

> "We all pay lip service to recruit new members into the party… But, if we are going to "tie labels" around their necks at first sight or after hearing their first views, then we ought not to pretend that we believe in 'democracy','communication' and 'liaison'… The clobbering of a member usually new to our ranks is the only bit of life this type of party shows from year to year."

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The bitterly fought struggles over the democratic intra-party reforms which were commonplace in most social democratic and liberal parties around the world consumed the Labour new left for over a decade. Its marginalisation was already in train well before the 1983 election, not only in the PLP but also at party HQ. Notably, Benn's protégé, Jeremy Corbyn (the two had met even before the 1970 Fabian pamphlet was published) identified 'the incompetence of the party machine' as explaining more about Labour's momentous election 1983 defeat than its radical manifesto did, no doubt referring tacitly to the overall electoral effects of party officials who, under the glare of a sensationalist media in the immediate run-up to the election, readily deployed 'loony left' epithets against certain Labour candidates.

The new left's further marginalisation in the party in the 1980s eventually paved the way for New Labour's own embrace of a 'new philosophy of government' in the 1990s. But what was not new was the reproduction among party officials appointed under the Blair regime of the old intolerance of movement activists, as the recently leaked report has revealed, showing how a new generation of left-wing activists drawn into the party by Corbyn's 2015 leadership campaign were regarded by party HQ.

The 2017 election campaign could be seen as demonstrating, as Corbyn put it in his post-election speech at conference, that armed with "the programme of a modern, progressive socialist party that has rediscovered its roots and its purpose", Labour could be electorally successful. To carry this further, Corbyn insisted, "our democracy needs to break out of Westminster into all parts of our society and economy where power is unaccountable."

Yet by depriving Theresa May's government of its majority, this very electoral success meant that the next phase of politics would take place in Westminster, not in the country at large — the precise opposite of what Corbyn saw as the all-important next step for the left's democratic advance. As Corbyn himself became inevitably immersed in the arcane complexities of parliamentary procedure around Brexit, his personal political profile was transformed from the inspiring leader of a mass repudiation of both Thatcherism and New Labour, to a rather desultory PMQs performer at the dispatch box, in a House of Commons which still bore all trappings of a gentleman's club, albeit one which admitted women as members.

December 2019 may be seen as marking the furthest point to which the generation formed in the 1970s was able to carry the Labour new left project. What legacy has it left to the new generation that it drew into the party since 2015? In terms of democratising party structures, not very much.

The replacement of Iain McNicol as general secretary was hardly democratic, as Jennie Formby was appointed amidst a behind-the-scenes stitch-up between the leader's office and the leadership of Unite. The democracy review delivered very little beyond its BAME reforms, while the undemocratic effect of a preponderance of senior union personnel in key roles at party HQ led to union-backed candidates being imposed on a significant number of CLPs. Despite the establishment of a new 'community organising team' to work in key marginal constituencies, little was accomplished by way of enlivening CLPs as centres of community life. Indeed, few of the new members, most of whom joined at the national level, ever attended branch meetings.

The main legacy of the Corbyn interregnum in fact lies outside the official party structures, in Momentum and its offshoot, The World Transformed. The way the latter has enlivened party conferences – with a four-day festival of radical art, music and culture combined with wide-ranging strategic political discussion, contrasting sharply with the trade-show atmosphere of the New Labour years – may itself be counted as a major democratic advance in British political life. And whatever Momentum's own internal democratic challenges and its current divisions – its brilliant role in election campaigning, which put the party machine to shame, exemplified the remarkable commitment and creativity of the new generation of socialists Corbyn attracted to the party.

Perhaps the most telling passage in the recently leaked report on Labour's internal handling of charges of anti-semitism and the infighting within the party concerns an exchange between two Labour party regional officials discussing Momentum's initiative in 2016 to recruit their own regional organisers. This development threatened the regional officials' control of the party at the grassroots, but one of them frankly admitted that Momentum's underpaid organisers would "do the groundwork we cannot be arsed doing and they will engage the members in a way we cannot be fucked with. They are going to be so motivated". The promise to rid the Labour party of factionalism in response to this leaked report is in its own way troubling. Calling it 'factionalism' tends to imply a kind of equivalence between the new activists who were attracted into the party by Corbyn and those who so readily traduced them all as 'trots'.

It would not be at all surprising, based on its past history, if the Labour party's reversion to the radicalism of the centre now brought with it a marginalisation of those newly committed to reviving the search for a path to realise the kind of democratic socialist vision Benn articulated in 1970. But in face of the irrationalities, let alone the inequalities, of capitalism in the 21st century, it would be more unfortunate than ever. **F**

Books

Rethinking AI

A new analysis shows why we must make sure AI works for all, finds *Zara Nanu*

Zara Nanu is the chief executive and co-founder of Gapsquare, a company which has developed software for businesses to track equality and diversity

An Artificial Revolution: On Power, Politics and AI by Ivana Bartoletti is a book I wish I'd written. It brings together key themes on which I have been working for the past five years: artificial intelligence, gender, and the power of tech. Five years ago I founded Gapsquare. It was yet another year when the World Economic Forum casually announced that it will take over 200 years for the gender pay gap to close. We thought AI and tech would have the power to accelerate progress in this space. When we started out, this seemed like the perfect idea – using data and AI, the ultimate examples of neutrality – to help create equality. Bartoletti outlines over 126 pages examples of all our faulty assumptions: data is not in fact neutral, algorithms and AI are discriminatory and very limited political will is guiding progress in this space.

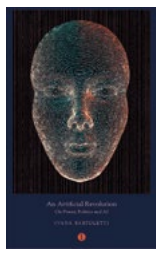
Many of these things I knew, but the craftiness with which the author brings together feminism, AI and politics challenged me to dig deeper and rethink who and what AI is for, and how we can take a more leading role in making sure AI works for all.

AI has been at the centre of attention when it comes to facial recognition and policing, access to loans and education, the future of work, and our imagined lives in the decades to come. All too often the images we have of that future are similar to the ones in AI apocalyptic movies such as The Terminator or I, Robot with artificial general intelligence (AGI) artefacts turning against humans.

Our feelings about AI are usually mixed, a combination of marvel at the innovation that can be achieved by using AI for the early diagnosis of cancer, to absolute fear of losing jobs and control. When a feminist cybersecurity expert like Bartoletti (who is also chair of the Fabian Society) starts to unpick these issues, it becomes clear that we should to worry less about what the future of AI looks like and more about the thinking and processes that are set in place to build AI now.

The book includes a compelling series of case studies that demonstrate how the current developments in AI compromise our progress in women's rights and racial equality, workers' rights, and our freedoms in general. And we are freely giving away these freedoms in exchange for funny memes and quizzes that tell us which actor or actress we most look like.

Contrary to being considered the holy grail behind unbiased decisions, data is inherently political. What to collect and what to disregard is an act of political choice, and there is nothing neutral about these choices. Along the same lines, the author argues that bias is not the right way to think about data and algorithms, as this is more about systemic feminist and racial inequalities that are being embedded in algorithms that are deciding our shopping choices, career, education and political choices.



An Artificial Revolution: On Power, Politics and AI, Ivana Bartoletti, The Indigo Press, £7.99

Bartoletti highlights how feminist-hating populism is being fuelled by online manipulation, which is happening across the world from Donald Trump to Matteo Salvini, from Boris Johnson to Viktor Orbán. Populist parties and politicians use digital tools to override traditional media, which they perceive as biased against them.

People who work in AI are not all the glamorous Silicon Valley CEOs who can earn $15.7m a year. A large majority of the workforce are people employed at $28,000 a year by third-party contractors to vet millions of appalling images and videos to check whether they can remain online and train machines on what abnormalities in cells look like. The author points out that this workforce is largely untrained, unsupported and likely to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder and mental health issues. Most importantly it is a workforce that is not visible in any industry conversations about the ethics of AI.

AI has power and, as such, it has power structures, and these can and do imply, even necessitate, dominance and oppression.

Covid-19 is inevitably already having an impact on the issues unpicked by the author, as is the Black Lives Matter movement. Covid-19 has exposed, at an unprecedented rate, that women and ethnic minorities are bearing the emotional and physical brunt of the crisis. Politics has not helped as the UK government has suspended gender pay gap legislation that requires companies with 250 employees or more to report on their gender pay gap, thus sending a strong signal to all businesses that this is not a priority issue.

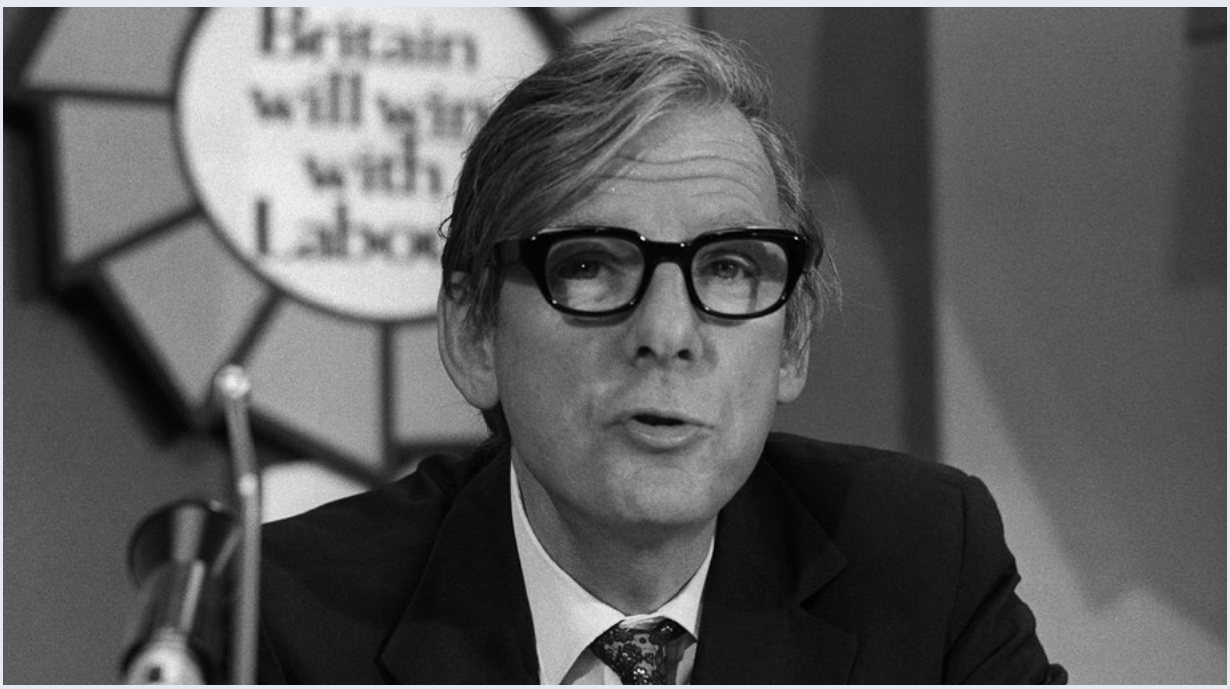
But it is not all doom and gloom. In her conclusion, the author argues that we can achieve fair progress in this space through more fair and democratic coding, as well as making AI part of the bigger political and geopolitical picture.

To make this happen, the book should be mandatory ready for anyone in Westminster and those starting degrees in engineering and computer science. Currently these professions are male-dominated and have very little engagement with the idea of ethical development of AI. At the same time they are the ones setting the scene for and building AI. **F**

Shore signs

Harry Taylor sees lessons for Labour today in the career of a Fabian cabinet minister

Harry Taylor is deputy regional director of the Labour party in the West Midlands and co-author, with Kevin Hickson and Jasper Miles, of Peter Shore: Labour's Forgotten Patriot, published by Biteback



Peter Shore in 1974 © Alamy

During the EU referendum campaign, my co-authors and I lamented the lack of a coherent left message, vision and voice for Brexit. There were some attempts to build a so-called Lexit movement but they largely floundered for the lack of prominent political and media personalities, many of whom seemed to abandon a historically rich and patriotic left Eurosceptic position under pressure from social media. The deaths of Tony Benn and Bob Crow three days apart in March 2014 had robbed the left of two leave advocates with serious public profiles, whilst George Galloway remained beyond the pale for many on the Labour left. Jeremy Corbyn, a lifelong Eurosceptic, had marked the EU seven out of 10 and backed remain, as too did John McDonnell.

In academia there appeared a professional disdain for anyone who dared consider a left-wing leave position and several academic careers have been damaged as a result. Ironically, the only left-wing leave voice that did cut through came from the grave via YouTube. The video of Peter Shore speaking at an Oxford Union debate during the EEC referendum campaign of 1975 went viral, showing Shore giving one of his famous Churchillian performances, laying out the dangers of membership of what was then the EEC, and urging his audience to vote against remaining a member. Many, if not most, of those watching in 2016 would be forgiven for asking "Peter who?". It was clear that Shore had rather unfairly been neglected by historians and we wanted to rectify that.

Peter Shore was born in Great Yarmouth in 1924 but moved to Liverpool with his mother, brother, and sister when the Great Depression destroyed the family's hotel business and forced his father, Robert, back into the merchant navy.

On Merseyside, Shore witnessed real poverty for the first time and remembered seeing children walking to school barefooted. He attended Quarry Bank School with future fellow Fabian and Labour MP, Bill Rodgers.

Shore was a shy figure who paradoxically shone in the debating society where he modelled his delivery on Churchill and his content on John Stuart Mill. Where many of his classmates on the left were attracted to communism, Shore, after reading Marx, rejected Marxism. Instead he was influenced by Arthur Koestler's Darkness at Noon and became an unswerving democratic socialist. He read widely, excelled at history and went up to Cambridge but volunteered for the RAF as soon as possible and delayed his studies to do so. His ambition was to become a pilot but he failed his landing tests and instead became a navigator. By the time he completed his training in Canada the war in Europe was almost over and Shore was sent to India as part of the forces seeing out victory over Japan. On returning to Cambridge to complete his degree, Shore, like so many of the war generation, threw himself into the Labour party, committed to winning the peace.

After a long and influential period at the Labour research department, Shore was elected for Stepney in 1964 in the first of Harold Wilson's election victories. Shore had written Labour's election manifesto (and would go on to write those in 1966 and 1970) and was seen very much as a one-to-watch and future cabinet minister. He had a distinguished parliamentary career, serving as a cabinet minister under Wilson and Callaghan and in the shadow cabinets of Foot and Kinnock before being elevated to the Lords in 1997. Throughout his career he published influential pamphlets and books including The Real Nature of Conservatism (1952), Europe: The Way Back (a Fabian Society tract published in 1973), Leading the Left (1993), and Separate Ways (2000).

Shore was first and foremost an ideas man. He saw the Fabian Society as 'a very important centre for thinking', second only to the Labour Research Department of the 1950s and 60s. In fact, Shore had joined the Fabians before he joined the Labour party and it was in the Fabian Society that Shore was first encouraged to run for a leadership position. When the general secretary position became vacant in 1953, the assistant secretary, Bill Rodgers, was considered a shoo-in. However, amongst the Bevanites of Harold Wilson, Richard Crossman and Ian Mikardo, Shore was seen as the brighter prospect and was duly encouraged to stand. It is some testament to Shore that as a last-minute candidate with a standing start he won a very respectable third of the vote. Three decades later it was to the Fabian Society that Shore outlined his bid in the 1983 Labour leadership election. With obvious parallels for Labour today, Shore told his audience that Labour's preoccupation with pressure groups meant that 'the great majority of our supporters find their interests overlooked and ignored: and then switch off'.

So with his clear calibre as a thinker and parliamentarian, why had Peter Shore been largely ignored by historians and what can we learn from him today?

There seem to be two reasons for the previous lack of interest in Shore as a historical figure. The first is that he was difficult to classify on an ideological or political spectrum. Shore abhorred those who tried to answer the political issues of the present with the ideological framework of the past. He was a pragmatic politician of the left whose refusal to be confined to a rigid ideological framework meant he was slandered by those who were as no better than a Tory. The second reason is the changing relationship between the Labour party and Europe, with Shore's Eurosceptic views going from mainstream in one generation to deeply unfashionable in the next.

After the terrible defeat of December 2019 we would do well to look to Peter Shore for some inspiration as to how the Labour party can move forward and progress towards forming a government in 2024. Shore would have found much of the economic programme in both the 2017 and 2019 manifestos largely sensible and in keeping with his belief in the powers of the state being used to overcome crisis. Shore felt that the interests of private industry were rarely in tune with the interests of the nation and there had to be some government intervention to stop those interests diverging too much. He would also have despaired that Labour abandoned its 2017 pledge to carry out the referendum result and instead argue itself into a no man's land to be picked off by both arch-leavers and arch-remainers as 'traitors'.

He was a pragmatic politician of the left whose refusal to be confined to a rigid ideological framework meant he was slandered by those who were

From the ashes of defeat, Shore would likely see the current Covid-19 crisis as a once in a generation chance for the Labour party to reset itself. He would see the war against coronavirus through the prism of the second world war and urge us to rediscover Old Labour's faith in the nation state. Labour's role in the wartime coalition and the policy of socialising large parts of the economy to fight the war successfully had conditioned large swathes of the electorate to the idea of directing the economy to work in the national interest. Shore would push for the integration of health and social care under state direction as part of an overarching policy aim of reducing the gap between the richest and the poorest. More crucially for Labour's electability in the short term, Shore would want the party to present itself as the true party of Britain whose 'progressive patriotism' would appeal across class divisions. It's a narrative that was mooted during the Labour leadership campaign and mentioned in the Corbyn years, but not built upon or expressed. Keir Starmer has indicated his willingness to move in this patriotic direction and his appointments so far also seem to confirm this.

The Conservative commentator Patrick Cosgrave wrote of Shore, that "between Harold Wilson and Tony Blair, Peter Shore was the only possible Labour party leader of whom a Conservative leader had cause to walk in fear. His party, alas for them and for him, never appreciated that fact." Although Shore failed in his leadership bids, Starmer has a unique opportunity. By learning from the ideas of Peter Shore, Starmer may just become one of those rare Labour leaders over whom Tories lose sleep. **F**

Listings

ANNOUNCEMENT

Fabian Society events
Due to Covid-19, all Fabian Society events are still being held online. Keep an eye on our website for news of up-to-date activities and contact your local society for ways to stay involved.

BIRMINGHAM &WEST MIDLANDS
Contact Luke John Davies at bhamfabians@gmail.com

BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT
Contact Ian Taylor, 01202 396634 or taylorbournemouth @gmail.com for details

BRIGHTON & HOVE
Contact Stephen Ottaway at stephenottaway1@gmail.com for details

CENTRAL LONDON
Contact Michael Weatherburn at londonfabians@gmail.com and website https://fabians.org.uk/central-london-fabian-society/

CHISWICK & WEST LONDON
Contact Alison Baker at a.m.baker@blueyonder.co.uk

COLCHESTER
Thursday 16 July 2020
7.30pm for networking, 8pm to 9.30pm via Zoom
Andrew Harrop, general secretary of the Fabian Society: The Fabians and the left in 2020
Thursday 20 August 2020
7.30pm for networking, 8pm to 9.30pm via Zoom
Chris Vince, Labour Party candidate for Police & Crime Commissioner for Essex.
Contact Maurice Austin at Maurice.austin@phonecoop.coop

COUNTY DURHAM
Contact Professor Alan Townsend, 01388 746479

CROYDON & SUTTON
Contact Emily Brothers at info@emilybrothers.com

DARTFORD & GRAVESHAM
Contact Deborah Stoate at debstoate@hotmail.com

FINCHLEY
Contact David Beere for details at djbeere @btinternet.com

GRIMSBY
Contact Pat Holland for details at hollandpat@hotmail.com

HAVERING
Contact Davis Marshall at haveringfabians@outlook.com

HORNSEY & WOOD GREEN
Contact Mark Cooke at hwgfabians@gmail.com

ISLINGTON
Contact Adeline Au at siewyin.au@gmail.com

NORTH EAST LONDON
Contact Nathan Ashley at NELondonFabians @outlook.com

NEWHAM
Contact Rohit Dasgupta at rhit_svu@hotmail.com

NORTHUMBRIA AREA
Contact Pat Hobson at pathobson@hotmail.com

OXFORD
Contact Dave Addison at admin@oxfordfabians.org.uk

PETERBOROUGH
Contact Brian Keegan 01733 265769 or brian@briankeegan.demon.co.uk

PORTSMOUTH
Contact Nita Cary at dewicary@yahoo.com

READING & DISTRICT
Contact Tony Skuse at tony@skuse.net

RUGBY
Contact John Goodman at rugbyfabians@myphone.coop

SOUTHAMPTON AREA
Contact Eliot Horn at eliot.horn@btinternet.com

SOUTH TYNESIDE
Contact Paul Freeman at southtynesidefabians @gmail.com

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

TONBRIDGE & TUNBRIDGE WELLS
Contact Martin Clay at Martin.clay@btinternet.com

WALSALL
Contact Ian Robertson at robertsonic@hotmail.co.uk for details

YORK & DISTRICT
Contact Jack Mason at jm2161@york.ac.uk

FABIAN QUIZ

BLACK SPARTACUS: THE EPIC LIFE OF TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE

Sudhir Hazareesingh

This summer's giveaway is a modern biography of the great Haitian slave leader, military genius and revolutionary hero Toussaint Louverture.

After the abolition of slavery in 1793, Toussaint Louverture, himself a former slave, became the leader of Saint Domingue's black population, the commander of its republican army and eventually its governor. During the course of his extraordinary life he confronted some of the dominant forces of his age: slavery, settler colonialism, imperialism and racial hierarchy.

In this book, Sudhir Hazareesingh draws on a wealth of archival material to follow every step of Louverture's journey, from his triumphs against French, Spanish and British troops to his skilful diplomacy and Machiavellian dealings.

Penguin has kindly given us five copies to give away. To win one, answer the following question:
Haiti was the world's first independent black-led state and the first independent Caribbean state. But their independence came at a cost: Haiti had to pay reparations to France as compensation for the loss of its slaves – the modern equivalent of approximately $21bn.

In what year did Haiti finally pay off their "independence debt"?

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

ANSWERS MUST BE RECEIVED NO LATER THAN 11 SEPTEMBER 2020

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