

The following amendments to the Open Labour Position Paper were received by the deadline.

Amendment 1 (Proposer: Tom Miller)

Before "Statement of Aims", insert:

English renewal

Open Labour notes the damage done to Labour at the 2015 election by the party's indecisive approach to the prospect of a coalition with the SNP, and the fear of swing voters in England that a deal must be done. Open Labour notes the introduction of 'English Votes for English Laws' passed by the Tories, who used the insecurity the proposal generated among English voters by the Independence Referendum to pass the law, which denies a UK level mandate to MPs elected to the UK Parliament, if they happen to be elected by non-English constituencies.

We also note that a key deciding factor in the referendum on EU membership was a growing feeling of economic and political decline in English towns, where there is a growing feeling of divide from cities, and in particular London. In both cases, it is clear within England that power must be democratised and dispersed. Non-metropolitan voters in the Midlands, North of England and the South West face the same political conditions and trends of those faced by Labour voters who 'went nationalist' in Scotland from 2007 to 2015. With new forms of nationalism ascendant, we must renew our commitment to empowering those voters and show that we are on their side.

We also believe that it is incumbent on Labour to show the same patriotic commitment for democracy, civic life and economic recovery in England (and its politically diverse regions) as it has previously shown for Scotland and Wales.

As such, we:

- Call upon Labour to bring together a taskforce from across the party and the wider community to investigate ways of putting English Devolution to the people; for example as traditional counties or 'government office' type regions;
- Call upon Labour to pledge to repeal EVEL and replace it with a federal and democratic settlement for England with massive devolution of spending power and decision making, as previously proposed by Jon Trickett;
- Call upon Labour to pledge a measured return of funding and powers to local government, beginning with social care, and continuing with enhanced rights to build homes, generate income, and encourage local business in line with a wider industrial strategy;
- Call upon the Shadow Chancellor to announce a commission aimed at renewing private sector employment, green infrastructure and vocational & STEM education in 'left behind areas' as part of a wider strategy for returning the country to an export footing – a policy for returning dignity. In this case we believe that industrial capital shares some of the interests of local people in a way that finance does not. Exporters must become Labour's allies.
- Propose that Labour launches these measures as a St George's Day Bill, making it clear that the national wellbeing of England and the dignity of its people depend not on

racism or nostalgia, but instead on social justice and traditions of generosity, tolerance and hard work.

- Call for the creation of an English Labour Party. '*Labour in England*' should become a voice for a forward looking spirit of civic democracy, industrial renewal, and social cooperation.

Amendment 2 (Proposer: Alex Sobel)

Following "Mass, Democratic and Plural" section, insert:

A new Industrial Settlement

Social Democracy that was in the ascendancy after the Second World War in the UK and Western Europe is in decline and inequality is growing. This is the backdrop to the convulsions of the Left in Western Europe in general and the UK Labour Party in particular. This was the case in 1997 but was masked by adopting the politics of globalization and using redistributive policies to mask its effects such as Tax Credits and Sure Start which undoubtedly helped those in work but struggling, especially with children. However it didn't change the political climate and the Labour party since then has looked at different ways to achieve relevance in this changing world but is continually failing to bring forward solutions to the crisis that is epitomized by continually falling pay and workers terms and conditions set against rising living costs.

The Post Industrial Society is based on a service sector which generates more wealth than the manufacturing sector of the economy. There has been a gradual loss of skilled jobs, loss of organised workplaces, balance of payments imbalances and the gradual erosion of credit worthiness. This is coupled with the future challenges of Brexit and automation.

The need for an active Industrial Strategy is paramount. A strategy that isn't just about coordinating economic policies to achieve particular objectives around industrial growth, but one that puts rebalancing targets on employment, education, R&D, carbon emissions and quality of work at its centre.

There is a clear threat from the right with the creation of Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy which could create a masking of what a proper industrial strategy is by just utilising slogans which only promote more low paid jobs but this time in manufacturing as well as the service sector.

Labour should counter not by mere opposition but by creating its own full scale industrial Strategy.

This strategy should see manufacturing as a key engine of growth but keep sustainability as a central goal with a decarbonising of all industry as a core plank of the strategy.

The strategy should also see the ascendancy of organised labour as the driver of a new industrial settlement. Trade Unions should be a key part of the industrial strategy policy formulation. We should aim for a Tri -partite (industry, government, trade union) settlement

on lifelong learning and upskilling of the workforce and a Tri -partite agreement on active labour market policies addressing the issue of re-employment of redundant workers to ensure we can reassert a full employment goal. Collective bargaining agreements to ensure that productivity improvements benefit those that contribute to them, thus raising wages and in turn contributing to industrial and social stability and reducing inequality.

Alongside this we need an energy revolution consisting of opening up the energy market through reform of ownership of the grid – common, state and new forms of open ownership of energy companies; supporting Renewables through use of guaranteed energy prices and fossil fuel penalties.

This would be a catalyst for the UK to be a world leader on Green Tech bringing forward the conditions to create a 4th industrial revolution.

Amendment 3 (Proposer: Trevor Fisher)

Under “For working people, against hard Brexit”

Paragraph 1, delete:

If Brexit is to take place, we believe that Labour should use all means available firstly to guarantee all workers living in the UK the same rights and entitlements as those remaining in the EU. Secondly, Labour must argue for partnerships with our neighbouring countries to tackle cross border challenges such as climate change and the refugee crisis.

Insert:

Open Labour accepts that the Referendum gave the government the right to trigger Article 50, but supports the 2016 Labour Conference decision that “Unless the final settlement proves to be acceptable, then the option of retaining EU membership should be retained. The final settlement should therefore be subject to approval, through parliament and potentially through a general election or referendum”

Paragraph 2, delete:

Nevertheless

Paragraph 3, delete:

But this does not mean that Labour can ignore the real risks presented by Theresa May’s Brexit – democracy needs public opinion to be led as well as followed. Nor does it mean that the narrow majority for Brexit will always reflect the electorate. Therefore we agree with Labour Party Conference’s decision in 2016 to remain open to a return to the EU, should majority public support for this start to become clear over time, and the terms favourable for British residents. We believe that with such a policy, Labour could lead a process of national healing.

Insert:

However Open Labour recognises that the negotiations following Article 30 will be conducted by the Conservatives without any safeguards, all Labour’s amendments having been rejected.

The final settlement must therefore be approved by a referendum. It is now clear that the decisions will be made before the 2020 General Election and are scheduled for 2019. Only a Referendum and approve or reject the decision of a previous referendum and thus OL must with Anti Brexit colleagues campaign for the final settlement to be put to the people in a second referendum, with the option of retaining EU membership as one of the options.

After paragraph 5, insert:

“OL rejects the option offered by the Tory government of a Take It Or Leave it vote on the final settlement as the position of moving straight to exit, stated by the Prime Minister, is to put the future of the country at risk. Such a vote could not lead to a meaningful debate on the offer, and could trigger economic and political problems including a Referendum for Scottish Independence. OL therefore calls on the Government to abandon this non-concession and accept that only a second referendum can decide the future of the UK.

Amendment 4 (Proposer: Ian McInness*) endorsed by the Management Committee

Under “Statement of Aims”, delete:

Ensure we have members right across UK and that our members and that our MC reflects the UK’s diversity

Insert:

Ensure we have members in every CLP across the UK and internationally and that our members and that our MC reflects the UK’s diversity.

*Ian is currently in France and feels unable to join as our statement clearly doesn’t reference Labour Members abroad, so the Management Committee have decided to adopt and endorse his amendment

Amendment 5 (Proposer: David Purdy)

Under “Economic Liberalism: a broken bargain”, delete:

Increasingly citizens feel like the bargain they have been offered by politicians for decades is being broken. Increasing wealth. Dignified jobs. Stability. The chance to get on in life. These things are no longer delivered by Britain’s political consensus. Changing this depends on gaining trust to govern, but unlike when the process of globalisation was in an earlier stage, Labour cannot avoid challenging the terms of debate. A new consensus is therefore required from the left around key shared values and principles. These include:

- Equality and human dignity
- Solidarity and community
- Autonomy and liberation
- Respect for the environment

Each of these ideas can form the basis of greater consensus on the left – but they can also win people over who are not yet supporters of the left or Labour. Our policies and campaigns must be framed in a way which is trusted and persuasive

Insert:

Economic liberalism has failed. Even Theresa May has renounced it, saying she wants to create an “economy that works for everyone,” though so far this is more rhetoric than substance. Labour’s top priority must be to spell out its own plans for revitalising and rebalancing the British economy, while laying the foundations of a fairer, greener and more cohesive society.

It is, however, not enough to produce a programme for government: the party has to regain public trust in its capacity to govern. In the 1990s, this was achieved by accepting the broad contours of Mrs Thatcher’s neo-liberal revolution. In the wake of the most profound economic crisis since the 1930s, a strategy of accommodation is not an option: Labour must offer a viable alternative to the neo-liberal model of capitalism embodying its most cherished values: social justice and human dignity; solidarity, community and active citizenship; personal empowerment and autonomy; and the ideal of living in harmony with nature. At the same time, if it is to become a serious contender for power, Labour must persuade voters to back its programme for government against the rival offer made by the Tories.

It will not be easy to win popular support for radical reform. We should also acknowledge that even if Labour is returned to government at the next election – whether alone or, more probably, as the senior partner in a centre-left coalition – developing a new policy regime is likely take more than one parliamentary term. Even Mrs Thatcher needed the best part of three terms to dismantle the post-war settlement and install its neo-liberal successor. It is, therefore, useful to distinguish between projects and policies. A party’s project sets out what it stands for, not in terms of “ultimate” goals, “eternal” values or timeless visions, but as a carefully considered response to the central problems, conflicts and challenges facing a particular society at a particular stage in its history. This demands idealism tempered by realism, a mindset that guards against wishful thinking, nostalgic yearning and vapid moralising.

A project is not itself a policy or manifesto, but a direction of travel with guidelines for producing policies, understood as responses to specific situations that nearly always need to be modified, adapted, revised, dropped or picked up again as the situation changes. Parliamentarians, whose horizon rarely extends beyond the next election, tend to be preoccupied with short-term policy and tactics, whereas activists, gazing into the distance and dreaming of a world transformed, are more concerned with what their party is or should be doing to bring it about. Without a shared project to bind them together, the two groups are liable to drift apart, while voters who normally pay little attention to politics and need to know roughly what the various parties stand for if they are to make sense of events and the choices before them, are apt to disengage, turn against the “political class” or fall under the spell of populist demagogues who offer simple solutions to complex problems.

Amendment 6 (Proposer: David Purdy)

Under “Progressive Alliance”, delete:

An electoral deal involving the SNP whilst it embraces a hard nationalism (as opposed to a federal solution) for Scotland could only last until their goal would be achieved. It is also completely unclear that the Lib Dems possess the political credentials to be considered a

progressive party in any sense. The Tory Government they placed in office and propped up oversaw a massive transfer of wealth to the rich and powerful. Their new leadership is on record as saying they would happily repeat such a deal, even given the cost to the country which the last one made clear. We do not believe that this indicates progressive politics – the record of the austerity coalition should not be forgotten quickly.

Insert:

While we are opposed to the break-up of Britain and favour a federal solution to the constitutional crisis of our disunited kingdom, this should not preclude co-operation with the SNP on specific issues such as reforming local government finance or devolving powers restored to the UK from Brussels. Similarly, while we remain critical of the Lib Dems for going into coalition with the Conservatives and supporting a programme of deficit reduction that was badly timed, excessive in scale, heavily reliant on spending cuts rather than tax rises and highly regressive in its impact, we do not rule out their participation in a future coalition of the centre-left provided agreement can be reached on a programme for government.

Amendment 7 (Proposer: David Purdy)

Under “Progressive Alliance”, delete:
...members of the voting..

Insert:
...voters...

Amendment 8 (Proposer: David Purdy)

Under “Progressive Alliance”, delete:
However, Labour must oppose any electoral deal until the considerable objections can be resolved by proponents of this kind of alliance.

Insert:
In particular, Labour should take the initiative in convening cross-party talks with a view to identifying common ground on electoral and constitutional reform.

Amendment 9 (Proposer: Charlie Mansell)

Under For Working People, Against Hard Brexit

Amendment to 3rd paragraph

"The lesson of Brexit and the election of Trump is that globalisation and its institutions are less stable and set in stone than some supposed. We recognise the need to research and develop policy for what may be more variable and flexible institutional arrangements the UK might fit into over the coming years."

Amendment 10 (Proposer: Charlie Mansell)

Under Progressive Alliance

Add to 2nd paragraph

"The Tories and UKIP have together polled over 48% since 2013, secured 50% in the 2015 General Election and since Brexit have polled 54%. This is a significant hegemonic bloc on the right that has so far not gone away and even expanded recently"

Amendment 11 (Proposer: Charlie Mansell)

Under Progressive Alliance

Add to 4th paragraph

'Rather than seeking impossible to deliver electoral deals, we should instead be collaborating across a number of parties to campaign to secure a similar wording for electoral reform across a range of General Election manifestos. This in itself would be a practical, achievable and worthwhile campaign"

Amendment 12 (Proposer: Charlie Mansell)

Under Mass, democratic and plural – the party we need

Add to 4th paragraph

"Members nowadays join for what are a mix of instrumental and expressive reasons with the balance varying depending whether they see the party as more of an offline 'gateway' to be inducted into party culture or more of an online 'platform' to express their views. Labour is currently not well designed to meet these differing needs and we need our Party to evolve to better meet different balances of expectations"

Amendment 13 (Proposer: Charlie Mansell)

Under Mass, democratic and plural – the party we need

"We note Momentum's recent constitutional changes that recognise a majority of its members now see it more as a 'platform' for left activism, reinforced by the clear 9-3 victory in its elections for those who support that approach. By doing so they have drawn an early boundary between themselves and those who come from less pluralist left positions. We welcome this political realignment and will through our own actions reinforce that trend"

The following amendments to the Open Labour Constitution were received by the deadline:

Amendment 1 (Proposer: Tom Miller)

Constitution clause 5.13 currently reads:

The Management Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual election of the Management Committee, elect a chair, vice-chair, secretary and treasurer from among its

members. The management committee will also assign the roles of Organiser, Administrator and Communicator. The Management Committee may from time to time elect such other officers as it may decide.

Replace all 5.13 with:

The Management Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual election of the Management Committee, elect a male and a female Co-chair, a Secretary and Treasurer from among its members. The Management Committee will also assign further roles from its own membership as it reasonably deems fit to carry out the tasks of the year as set by the AGM. An initial schedule of these positions shall be presented to the committee by the Co-chairs, Secretary and Treasurer; the committee may then amend the schedule by consensus or majority vote, and must pass a final proposal by the end of its first meeting after an AGM.

Amendment 2 (Proposer: Tom Miller)

Constitution currently reads throughout:
Management Committee

Replace throughout with:
National Committee

Amendment 3 (Proposer: Alex Sobel)

Constitution currently reads:

5.4. One member of the Management Committee shall be elected by and from members resident in Wales.

5.6. All Regional Organisers shall be a member of the Management Committee ex officio.

Add between 5.4 and 5.5

5.5. Members of the Management Committee shall be elected by the members to serve as LGBT, Disability and BAME Officers