



# Inside the Labour party

## A Cicero Group overview

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2018

 **CICERO**

# Foreword

The election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party in 2015 was a momentous moment in British politics. An unheralded left-wing backbencher for over 30 years, Corbyn suddenly found himself at the helm of the official opposition in Parliament and the fastest growing party by membership in western Europe. Corbyn's election signalled the start of a wider transformation in the Labour Party. The last two and a half years have seen a steady rise in the influence of the left over the party's major institutions from the Shadow Cabinet to the National Executive Committee, National Policy Forum and Party HQ, not to mention the membership base itself.

This document is intended to provide an overview of each of the major pillars of the Labour Party, their level of influence over the direction of the party, where they stand on the left-right spectrum within the party, and their degree of friendliness (or hostility) to the business community. We also look at who some of the key figures are within these different parts of the party structure, as well as 'ones to watch' on the different wings of the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP).

We begin with an illustration of what a complex organisation the Labour Party is (p3). This 'organogram' depicts the many overlapping spheres of influence within the party, with decision-making power spread widely across a range of groups and individuals. Whereas the leader of the Conservative Party is relatively autonomous in wielding power over the party, Jeremy Corbyn must negotiate a complex set of internal power dynamics. This is becoming easier for him as his allies grow in influence, but nevertheless it remains the case that there are constraints on his personal authority.

Next we focus on the leader himself (p4), his closest political ally John McDonnell (p5) and the key advisers around them (p6). While Corbyn is the principle public face of the party and a hero to many party members, McDonnell is arguably the driving force behind the current leadership. He ran Corbyn's leadership campaigns and does much of the 'heavy lifting' on policy and strategy. Together with a close circle of advisers, Corbyn and McDonnell have had every bit as much of a transformative impact on the direction of the party as Tony Blair and Gordon Brown in the 1990s, though unlike Blair and Brown they appear to have retained their close personal friendship.

We then turn to the National Executive Committee (p9), the ruling body of the party and a key battleground for control. It is the NEC that sets and enforces party rules, and gaining a majority on this body has been a key objective for Corbyn and his supporters. The Shadow Cabinet (p11) is the party's top team in Parliament and it too increasingly reflects the

priorities of the party leadership. We profile some of the most high profile and influential members of the 'government in waiting', followed by a focus on the increasingly marginalised Deputy Leader of the party, Tom Watson (p14).

Affiliated trade unions (p15) are another vital component of the Labour Party, as the biggest source of funding and a bedrock of support for Corbyn. In particular, Len McCluskey and Unite increasingly wield influence throughout the structures of the party. One illustration of this is the recent appointment of close McCluskey ally Jennie Formby as General Secretary, heading up Labour HQ (p17). This appointment was challenged by Jon Lansman, founder of the grassroots pro-Corbyn movement Momentum, and this may reflect a new fault-line emerging on the left between the 'machine politics' of the unions and the 'movement politics' of Momentum.

The final sections of this document look at the role of the National Policy Forum in policymaking (p18), the importance of the party's much expanded membership base (p20) and finally the 'ones to watch' on both the left wing and the centre ground of the Labour Party. This focuses heavily on members of the 2015 and 2017 intakes of MPs, some of whom already occupy important frontbench roles and may even be candidates to succeed Jeremy Corbyn as leader.

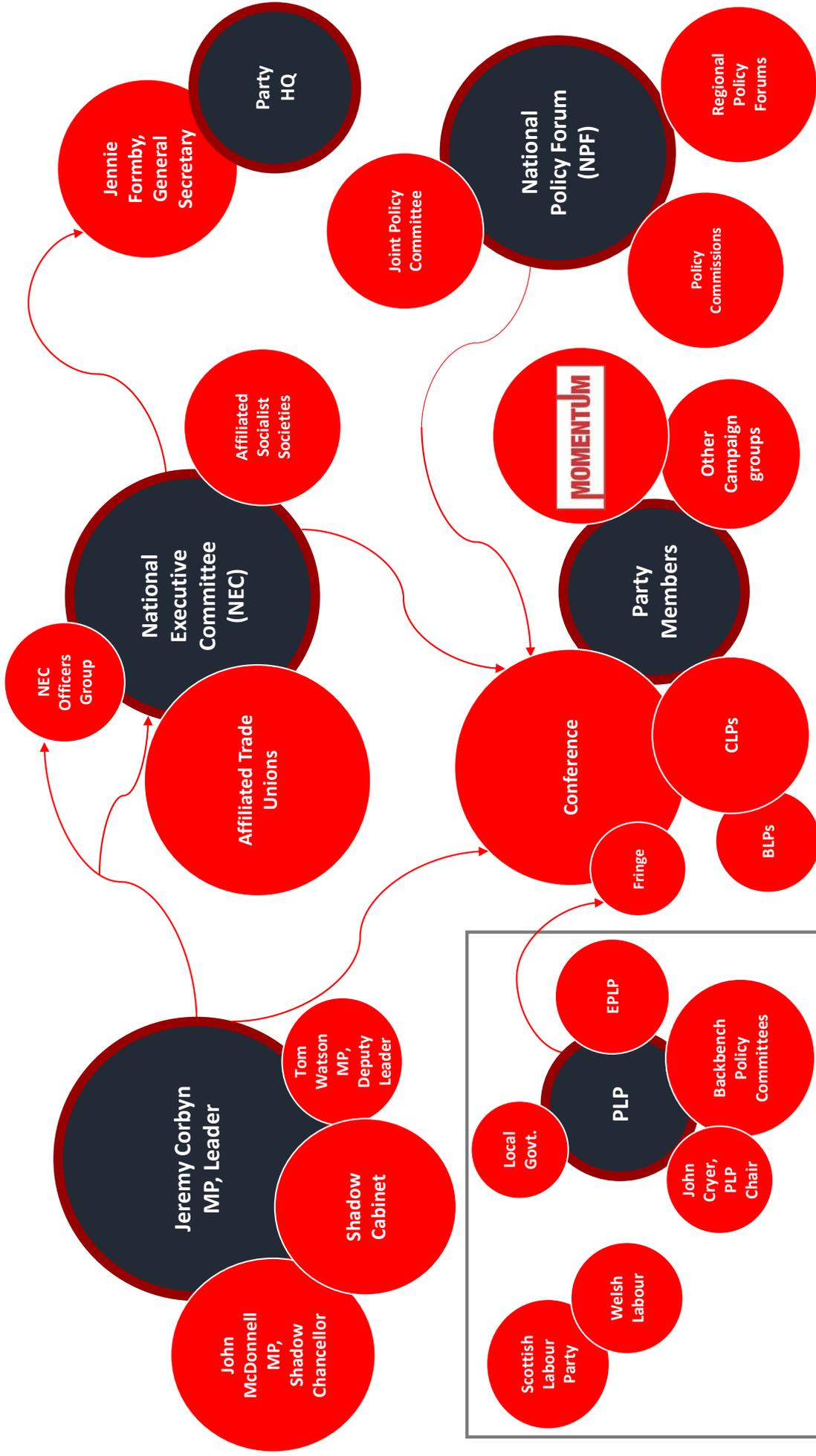
We hope you find this a useful guide as you navigate the 'new' Labour Party led by Jeremy Corbyn and would be happy to discuss our insights with you in more detail.



**Simon Fitzpatrick**  
Account Director  
Cicero Group

# A Web of Competing Spheres of Influence

PLP – Parliamentary Labour Party  
 EPLP – European Parliamentary Labour Party  
 Party  
 CLP – Constituency Labour Party  
 BLP – Branch Labour Party



# Jeremy Corbyn MP, Leader of the Labour Party

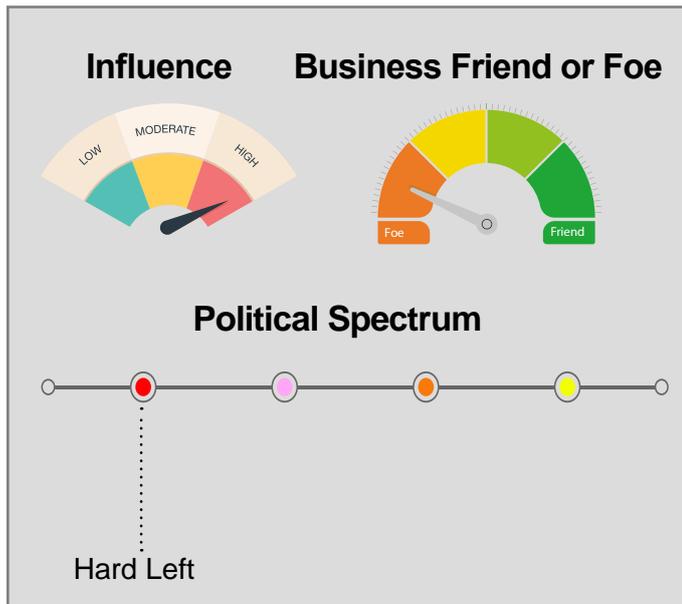
*The next Prime Minister?*



## ROLE

As Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn leads the Labour Party in Parliament, appoints and chairs the Shadow Cabinet and is the principle public face and spokesperson of the party. He sits on the National Executive Committee, has overall responsibility for all election campaigns and is expected to promote understanding and co-operation between all sections of the Party.

## At a Glance



## Profile

The long-standing MP for Islington, Jeremy Corbyn emerged from political obscurity to become Labour Leader in 2015. To many, Corbyn was the unexpected candidate. Until running for the Labour leadership he had never given any clear hint of an ambition to lead, instead preferring to be a rebellious backbencher and frequent thorn in the side of Labour leaders such as Blair and Brown. He was an outspoken critic of the Iraq war, a supporter of unilateral nuclear disarmament and a continued advocate of public ownership of utilities long after it had ceased to be Labour policy. While this often left him isolated and on the fringes of the Labour Party, it also helped foster a reputation as a politician who voted with his conscience, rather than to advance his career prospects - contributing to the perception that Corbyn was a 'reluctant leader' and adding significantly to his 'authentic appeal' to the supporters who swept him to victory in 2015 and again in 2016.

Corbyn's leadership prior to the 2017 General Election was characterised by party in-fighting and efforts by political opponents on the more moderate wing of his party to unseat him. His significantly better than expected showing at the ballot box went some way to drawing a line under that period. His position was secured and his image as weak leader has dissipated, even though many on his own benches retain strong reservations about his leadership. Corbyn has increasingly fashioned a team of likeminded MPs and advisers around him, and his supporters have worked to ensure Corbyn sympathisers are better placed within the Labour party internal structures, therefore helping to increase his influence within the party. Since last year's election he has continually sought to position himself as the Prime Minister in waiting and this has been reflected in efforts to professionalise his image. Though he remains a polarising figure in his party and with the public, Corbyn does not appear to be going away anytime soon.

# John McDonnell MP, Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer

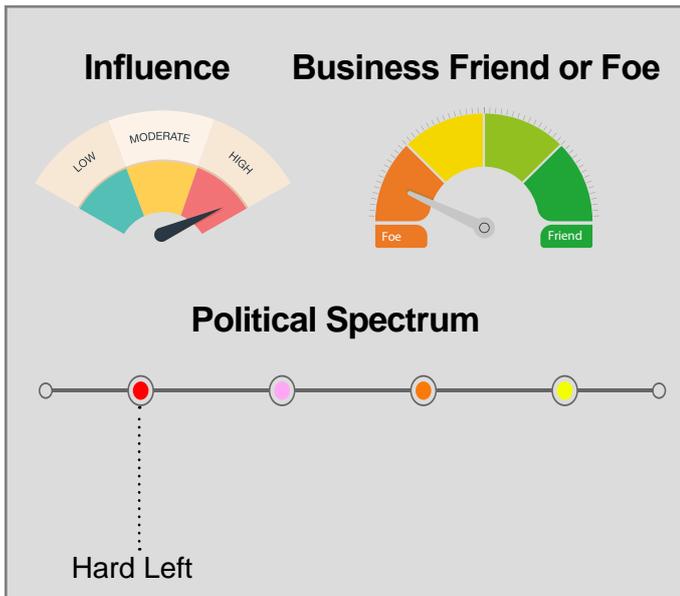
*The power behind the throne?*

## ROLE

As Shadow Chancellor, McDonnell is the overall lead on Labour's economic, fiscal and financial services policies. He is Jeremy Corbyn's right hand man and his influence stretches well beyond the boundaries of his formal Shadow Cabinet brief. A key strategist and campaigner, McDonnell has been presented by some as doing much of the 'heavy lifting' in strategic and policy terms, while leaving Corbyn to be the 'public face' of the party.



## At a Glance



## Profile

The MP for Hayes and Harlington since 1997, McDonnell has long been one of Jeremy Corbyn's closest political allies. Like Corbyn, he toiled on the fringes of the party for most of his time in Parliament. He showed signs of ambition by twice (unsuccessfully) seeking the necessary nominations to contest the leadership in 2007 and 2010. After suffering a heart attack in 2013 when already in his 60s, he must have assumed his chances of ever wielding real influence in the Labour Party were gone. Five years on, he is the de facto second-in-command and stands a realistic chance of one day becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer. He may even have his sights set higher than that.

McDonnell has a long history of controversial remarks and views. But since becoming Shadow Chancellor he has had something of a rebrand. Projecting a softly-spoken demeanour and going for "cups of tea" with the City, he can come across like a 'friendly bank manager' – an image at odds with his once stated aim of "fermenting the conditions for the overthrow of capitalism". While the image may have softened, the policies have not changed so much. He is a staunch advocate of renationalising key industries, wants to break the 'monopoly' of the big banks and would raise taxes on the wealthy and large corporations. However McDonnell has learned – perhaps more easily than his leader – how to 'play the game' politically. He has shown a willingness to compromise, has disowned some of his most controversial past remarks and even accepts speaking engagements at the likes of the Davos summit. We should be in no doubt about the scale of McDonnell's ambition and he is willing to do what it takes to get there.

## Key Advisers and Influencers Jeremy Corbyn



### Andrew Fisher, Director of Policy

Corbyn's lead adviser on policy, Fisher co-founded the Left Economics Advisory Panel with John McDonnell in 2006. A key part of Corbyn's inner-circle.

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### Seumas Milne, Director of Communications and Strategy

Former Guardian journalist Milne is Corbyn's Communications and Strategy Director. A controversial and divisive figure, Milne is a staunch left-winger and closely ideologically aligned with Corbyn.

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### Katy Clark, Political Secretary

A former Labour MP in Scotland for ten years, Clark became Corbyn's Political Secretary in 2015 after losing her seat. She was chosen by Corbyn to lead a "party democracy review" to make the case for changes to party rules such as how leaders are elected, MPs selected and policy made. This review will report at the Labour Party conference in the autumn.

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### Karie Murphy, Chief of Staff

A former Unite official, Murphy is described as Corbyn's Office Manager or Chief of Staff. Murphy is a close ally of Len McCluskey and one of Corbyn's main political 'fixers'. She has been described as the "oil that lubricates the Corbyn machine".

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### James Schneider, Head of Strategic Communications

A co-founder of Momentum, Schneider now serves as Head of Strategic communications for Corbyn. Privately educated and a former Lib Dem, Schneider is now firmly entrenched on the left. He works closely with Milne on strategy and communications, and may have political aspirations of his own.

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### Andrew Murray, Special Political Adviser

A secondee from Unite, where he serves as Chief of Staff, Murray is now a special political adviser to Corbyn. He is a former Communist Party member, a firm believer in renationalisation and is believed to have voted for Brexit, but has reportedly impressed party staff with an 'inclusive, amiable approach'.

## Key Advisers and Influencers

### John McDonnell



#### **Madeleine Williams, Chief of Staff**

Williams maintains a low profile, with little biographical information available. However she is a key figure in McDonnell's office as Chief of Staff to the Shadow Chancellor.

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#### **Seb Corbyn, Adviser**

Jeremy Corbyn's son, Seb Corbyn worked on his father's leadership campaign and is now a senior aide to McDonnell. As such, he is an important bridge between Corbyn and McDonnell's offices.

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#### **James Meadway, Chief Economic Adviser**

Meadway previously served as Chief Economist at the New Economics Foundation – perhaps the think tank most closely aligned with Corbyn and McDonnell's economic policy agenda – and now serves as the lead economic policy adviser to McDonnell. As such he is an integral part of the McDonnell operation.

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#### **James Mills, Head of Communications**

Mills was Head of Communications on the Corbyn leadership campaign and now fulfils the same role in the Shadow Chancellor's office. He has been described as an 'attack dog'. However he has past links to the more 'moderate' wing of Labour, having worked on Ed Balls' leadership campaign in 2010.

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#### **Rory Macqueen, Policy Adviser**

Macqueen is a Policy Adviser to McDonnell, working closely with James Meadway. He has led work on developing ideas around the role of co-operatives in the economy.

## Key Advisers and Influencers Wider

### Lord Bob Kerslake



Former Head of the Home Civil Service and now a Crossbench Peer, Lord Kerslake is a key adviser to the Labour Party on preparations for government. He was commissioned to develop a series of “implementation manuals” to put help put Labour policies into practice when in office. He also led a review for the party of the workings of the Treasury, which recommended that HMT should become less ‘overbearing’ and more of an ‘enabler’ for other departments, as well as having more of a remit to support regional growth. Kerslake would no doubt retain an important role should a Corbyn/McDonnell-led Labour make it into government.

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### Graham Turner



Founder of GFC Economics, Turner produced a report on the UK financial system for McDonnell, which recommended relocating the Bank of England to Birmingham as part of a package of measures to boost regional growth. Turner has presented this research to a number of the largest banks in the City and McDonnell has been known to recommend that business leaders meet with Turner. He regularly briefs McDonnell on the state of the economy and been mentioned as a possible future Bank Governor under a Labour government.

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### Dr Richard Barbrook



Dr Barbrook is a left-wing academic at the University of Westminster where he works as a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities. He has advised Corbyn and McDonnell on ‘war gaming’ scenarios under a Labour Government, including a potential run on the pound.

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### Miatta Fahnbulleh



Fahnbulleh is the new head of the New Economics Foundation think tank. The NEF is perhaps the think tank most closely aligned with Corbyn and McDonnell’s policy agenda and is self-styled as “the only people-powered think tank”. Fahnbulleh recently told the New Statesman that the NEF has successfully “stayed above politics”, but she has also praised McDonnell’s “new economics” project. She has worked in both the Cabinet Office and the Prime Minister’s Strategy Unit under successive prime ministers and later became an adviser to Ed Miliband. Her influence over the current Labour leadership may rise at the helm of the NEF.

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# The National Executive Committee

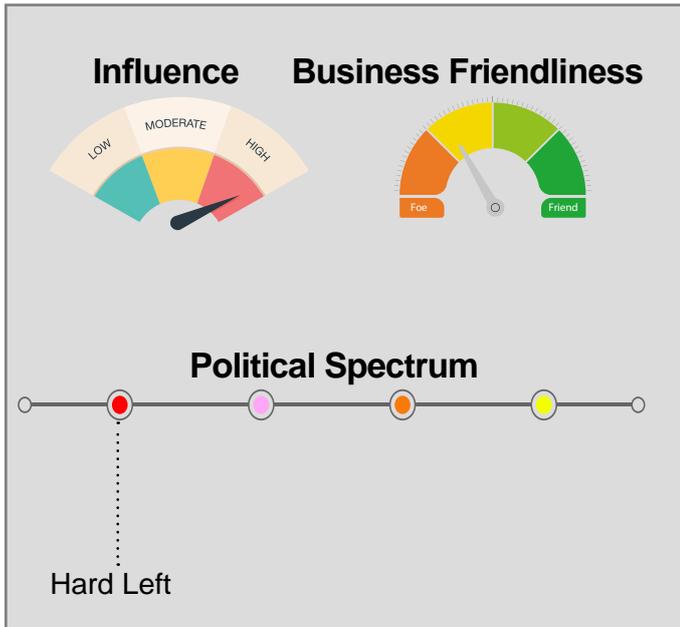
## The battleground for control of the Labour Party

### ROLE

The National Executive Committee (NEC) oversees the overall direction of the party and the policy-making process. It sets strategic objectives on an annual basis and meets regularly to review the work of the party. It also has responsibility for upholding party rules and the propriety of Labour candidate selection processes, and the appointment of key figures such as the General Secretary.



### At a Glance



### Profile

Early in Jeremy Corbyn's leadership, the balance of power on the NEC was finely poised between pro- and anti-Jeremy Corbyn members. However, in September 2017, it was announced that three additional CLP representatives and one new trade union representative would be elected to the NEC. All of these places were won by left-wing candidates in January 2018 - including founder of Momentum, Jon Lansman. The elections gave pro-Corbyn voices a clear majority on the NEC and this represents a decisive shift to the left in the internal structures of the party.

Control of the NEC is vital to be able to steer the overall direction of the Labour Party. This 'battle' for control has been playing out since the election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader. That Corbyn's allies appear to have prevailed is a major boost to the left of the party who may now seek to pursue further internal reforms which will strengthen their grip of the party for the long-term, potentially including the way in which leaders are elected and members are involved in policy-making. However, it may also be that a new fault-line opens up on the left of the NEC, with the trade union representatives and supporters of Momentum not necessarily on the same page. The recent appointment of the Party's General Secretary highlighted the dividing lines between the two, with Momentum's Lansman initially challenging Unite's Jennie Formby. Momentum has sought to present the unions as 'machine politics' and instead push for further control for grassroots activists. It may be that this, rather than a straight left v right contest, becomes the new battle for control of Labour.

### Composition

The **Leader, Deputy Leader & Treasurer** of the Labour Party

**3 Shadow Cabinet** members

**3** representatives of the **Parliamentary Labour Party**

**1** representative each for **BAME Labour, Young Labour & the Socialist Societies.**

**The Leader of the European Parliamentary Labour Party & a representative** of both **Scottish** and **Welsh Labour**

**13 Trade Union** representatives

**9 Constituency Labour Party (CLP)** representatives

**2 Labour Councillors**

## Key Figures National Executive Committee



### **Andy Kerr, NEC Chair**

Kerr is Deputy General Secretary of the Communication Workers Union (CWU) and chairs the NEC. Staunchly on the left of the party, Kerr attracted publicity in February 2018 when he seemingly halted the election of a new Chair of the National Policy Forum as it appeared a candidate not favoured by the left was set to be elected.

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### **Jon Lansman, CLP representative and Founder, Momentum**

Lansman was the highest profile member of the left wing slate of candidates elected to the NEC by CLPs in January. He was a key activist on Corbyn's 2015 leadership campaign before co-founding Momentum as an ongoing movement in support of Corbyn's leadership. He entered the race to become the new party General Secretary, opening up the prospect of a battle with Unite, but ultimately withdrew his application. He remains a highly influential figure on the left however, especially among grassroots activists.

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### **Ann Black, CLP representative**

Black is widely seen as one of the NEC's 'swing voters' and is popular across the party. She was first elected to the NEC in 2000 and elected Chair of the Labour Party between 2009 and 2010 by the NEC. A long-standing Chair of the NEC Disputes Panel until losing the position in January 2018, it was Black who lost out on the Chairmanship of the National Policy Forum after the intervention of Andy Kerr.

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### **Jim Kennedy, Unite Representative**

Jim Kennedy is a National Officer of Unite and represents the union on the NEC. He serves as Chair of one of the important NEC sub-committees, the Organisation Committee. Kennedy previously represented UCATT, the construction sector union, prior to its merger with Unite.

# The Shadow Cabinet

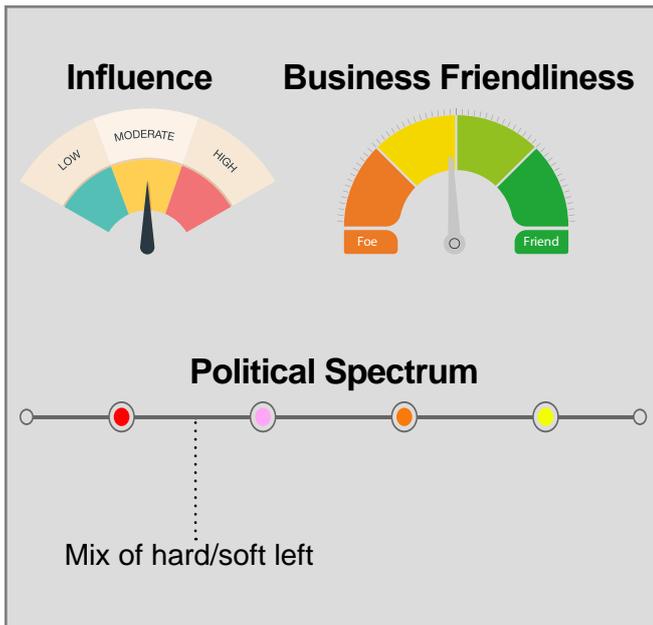
## The Government-in-waiting?

### ROLE

The Shadow Cabinet is Labour's top team in Parliament, comprising MPs and Peers who scrutinise their opposite numbers in Government and put forward the alternative policies Labour would pursue in office. The Shadow Cabinet has three places allotted on the Labour Party National Executive Committee, currently held by Rebecca Long Bailey (Business), Jon Trickett (Cabinet Office) and Kate Osamor (International Development).



### At a Glance



### Profile

The Shadow Cabinet is made up of 32 members, equally split between women and men. Some of Jeremy Corbyn's closest allies sit in the most influential positions, such as Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell, Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott and Shadow Business Secretary Rebecca Long Bailey. Nevertheless, Corbyn has been careful not to completely marginalise other factions within the party, with more moderate figures occupying significant positions including Shadow Brexit Secretary Keir Starmer, Shadow Defence Secretary Nia Griffith and Shadow Secretary of State for Housing John Healey. Others who would not traditionally have been seen as natural 'Corbynistas' such as Shadow Foreign Secretary Emily Thornberry and Shadow International Trade Secretary Barry Gardiner have come to be regarded as loyal defenders of the Leader while the likes of Shadow Education Secretary Angela Rayner and Shadow Health Secretary Jon Ashworth can be seen as having successfully straddled both camps.

Overall, as Corbyn has asserted his authority over the party, the Shadow Cabinet is being increasingly moulded into his own image. His first Shadow Cabinet included many leading figures from the 'mainstream' of the Parliamentary Labour Party. However, with mass resignations following the EU referendum, followed by Corbyn's second leadership victory and the General Election result, both of which significantly strengthened his position, he has been free to appoint a top team that more closely reflects his own political outlook.

It could be argued many within the Shadow Cabinet are merely spokespeople for their relevant Department, rather than influential decision-makers in their own right. This may partly explain Corbyn's willingness to allow some more centrist figures to remain in significant positions in the Shadow Cabinet, knowing that ultimately, he and his inner circle will have the final say. While some moderate voices remain in position, it is clear that the overall balance in the Shadow Cabinet now tilts strongly towards the left and a more critical stance towards the business community.

## Key Figures Shadow Cabinet



### **Emily Thornberry MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary and First Secretary of State**

Thornberry is not a natural ‘Corbynite’, but has embraced the Corbyn project more than most Labour ‘moderates’. Seen as a trusted and loyal member of the Shadow Cabinet, she often steps in for Corbyn at PMQ’s in her capacity as Shadow First Secretary of State. After being sacked by Ed Miliband for a misjudged tweet, she has had a rapid renaissance under Corbyn. Her loyalty to Corbyn combined with roots in the more moderate wing of the party make her a potential unity candidate to succeed Corbyn in the future.

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### **Rebecca Long Bailey MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy**

Rebecca Long Bailey is a close ally of Corbyn and McDonnell, and often touted as a potential leadership successor. Before her appointment as the Shadow Secretary for BEIS, Long Bailey was the Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury. An MP since 2015, she worked as a solicitor in health care for ten years before entering Parliament. She is one of the most prominent younger left-wing MPs and was one of 36 MPs to nominate Corbyn as a candidate for leader in 2015.

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### **Keir Starmer MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union**

Though not a natural ‘Corbynite’, Starmer has become one of the most respected members of Corbyn’s Shadow Cabinet on both wings of the party. He was appointed Shadow Brexit Secretary less than 18 months after his election to Parliament. Starmer arrived in Westminster with an existing public profile having served from 2008-13 as Director of Public Prosecutions. He has been credited with strengthening Labour’s scrutiny of Brexit and gradually pushing Jeremy Corbyn towards a ‘softer’ Brexit position.

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### **Barry Gardiner MP, Shadow Secretary of State for International Trade**

Gardiner is another who was not regarded as being on the left of the party, but has become a loyal member of the Shadow Cabinet and developed a bigger public profile under Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership. He held a variety of more junior posts in government and opposition, mostly on environmental and climate change issues. Although a regular spokesperson on Brexit and trade issues for the party, Gardiner’s influence over the direction of policy is limited. However, Corbyn’s refusal to sack Gardiner despite controversial leaked remarks on the party’s Brexit policy shows he is considered an important part of the team.

## Key Figures Shadow Cabinet



### **Diane Abbott MP, Shadow Home Secretary**

Fiercely loyal to Corbyn, Abbott has consistently defended the leadership. As Shadow Home Secretary she is a strong advocate for the 'Corbynite' agenda, and has been a long established figure on the left of the party. Abbott has been a member of the Shadow Cabinet since Corbyn was elected, previously serving as Shadow Health Secretary and Shadow International Development Secretary. She has won respect from all sides of the party for calling out racist and misogynistic online abuse.

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### **Jon Trickett MP, Shadow Cabinet Office Minister**

Trickett is responsible for leading the Labour Party's 'preparations for Government'. Integral to the Labour Party's campaign organisation, Trickett was one of the first backers of Corbyn's leadership campaign in 2015. He has served in various roles under Corbyn, including Shadow Business Secretary and Campaigns and Elections Chair. He has been an MP since 1996, before which he was an active member of a number of anti-fascist and anti-war movements and a builder and plumber.

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### **Andrew Gwynne MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government and Co-National Campaign Co-ordinator**

Gwynne is the Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, and the Co-National Campaign Coordinator. An important member of the campaign team, Gwynne was responsible for much of the thinking and Labour positioning during the General Election. A Member of Parliament since 2005, Gwynne has served in a number of Shadow Ministerial posts including Transport and Health.

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### **Ian Lavery MP, Party Chairman and Co-National Campaign Co-ordinator**

Lavery shares the post of Co-National Campaign coordinator with Gwynne. A close ally of Corbyn, Lavery is also a Shadow Cabinet Office Minister and the Labour Party Chairman (usually a role reserved for the Deputy Leader). Before he was elected in 2010 Lavery was active within the trade union movement and was also formerly a mining craft apprentice.

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### **Dawn Butler MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities**

Butler served as a Minister in the Brown Government and backed Andy Burnham for leader in 2015, but has become a loyal supporter of Jeremy Corbyn and backed him against Owen Smith in 2016. She is a frequent media spokesperson for the party and has recently appeared alongside Corbyn and McDonnell at set-piece events, indicating a rising profile and growing proximity to the leadership.

# Tom Watson MP, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party

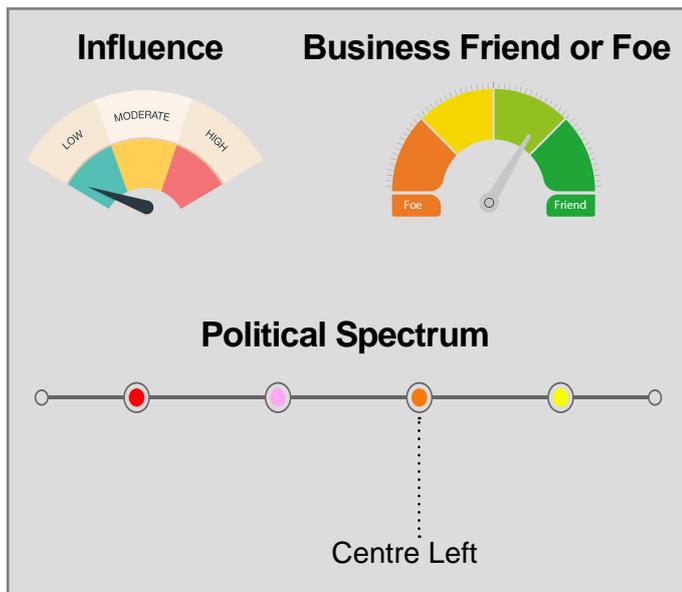
## *Deputy leader in name only?*

### ROLE

As Deputy Leader, party rules state that Watson should be “consulted on a regular basis” by the Leader, and should provide advice and support in achieving the goals of the party. He should also deputise for the Leader as requested. He sits on the National Executive Committee and in the Shadow Cabinet as Shadow DCMS Secretary. In the latter role he has oversight of Labour’s positioning on issues such as press regulation and data protection.



### At a Glance



### Profile

Tom Watson was elected Deputy Leader of the Labour Party in September 2015. He is the Shadow Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, and has been MP for West Bromwich East since 2001. In Government he served as a Minister in the Cabinet Office, was a loyal supporter of Gordon Brown and was instrumental in the politicking that ultimately led to Tony Blair’s departure as Labour leader. Watson has been a highly effective campaigner on issues including phone hacking, historical child abuse, and government surveillance. Many expected that he may ultimately be the man who would be able to topple Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership and ‘save’ the Labour Party. The snap General Election and Corbyn’s far better than expected performance has put paid to that talk.

As Corbyn’s grip over the party has strengthened Watson has become increasingly marginalised by the Leader’s office. His failure to back Corbyn during the attempt to oust him in 2016, his criticism of Momentum, and his falling out with former friend and ally Len McClusky has further constrained Watson’s influence. The appointment of Corbyn-ally Ian Lavery as Party Chairman - a job previously linked to the responsibilities of the Deputy Leader - was a further setback, while Corbyn’s office is also reportedly considering rewriting the Labour rulebook to either install a second deputy leader or ensure the next one must be female. While Watson remains well liked in the Parliamentary Party and is still an effective political operator, the influence he once yielded within the Party has diminished significantly.

# Affiliated Trade Unions

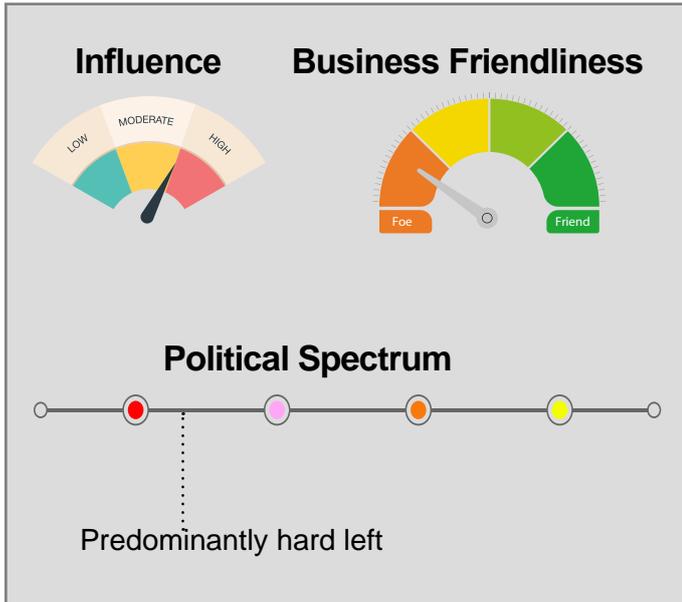
## Putting the 'labour' in the Labour Party

### ROLE

The trade union movement is integral to the Labour Party, which was itself formed out of the union movement at the turn of the 20th Century. Affiliated unions – of which there are currently 14 – remain a key component of the Labour Party infrastructure. They provide one third of NEC members, half of voting delegates at Annual Conference and a huge proportion of the party's campaign funding.



### At a Glance



### Profile

The affiliated trade unions are predominantly on the left of the party and have been staunch backers of Jeremy Corbyn's leadership. As the largest union and biggest funder, Unite in particular wields huge influence in the party. This has been further entrenched by the appointment of Unite's Jennie Formby as General Secretary, causing some concern among the leaders of other unions, who fear that they are being crowded out by the behemoth union. As well as their significant presence on the NEC and now at party HQ, Unite also has strong links directly into the Leader's office in the form of Andrew Murray, who is Chief of Staff to Len McCluskey as well as a Special Political Advisor to Corbyn. Karie Murphy, Corbyn's Chief of Staff, also has long-standing links to the Unite leadership.

The other affiliated unions are more varied in terms of their political leanings and level of influence. The next biggest financial backers are the GMB, UNISON, the Communication Workers Union (CWU) and USDAW. Not all are devout Corbyn supporters, with both the GMB and USDAW having backed Owen Smith in his 2016 leadership challenge, as did smaller unions like Community and the Musicians' Union. But the bulk of the affiliated unions are fully behind Corbyn and he won large majorities from affiliated union members in the 2015 and 2016 leadership elections. Overall, the union movement is enjoying its most influential period in the Labour Party since the 1980s.

## Key Figures Affiliated Trade Unions



### **Len McCluskey General Secretary, Unite the Union**

General Secretary of Unite and a staunch supporter of Jeremy Corbyn's leadership. He is arguably the Labour leader's most important backer, though is currently facing a legal challenge to his re-election from defeated challenger Gerard Coyne. The outcome of this case is an important moment to look out for.

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### **Dave Ward, General Secretary, CWU**

Ward is General Secretary of the CWU and was one of Jeremy Corbyn's earliest backers as leader in 2015. He has been described as a "kindred spirit" of the Labour leader.

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### **Tim Roache, General Secretary, GMB**

Roache is General Secretary of the GMB, one of the largest trade unions representing workers in all sectors of the economy. The GMB is one of the largest funders of the Labour Party, but is not an uncritical supporter of Corbyn's leadership. GMB members voted to endorse Owen Smith in his 2016 leadership challenge.

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### **Frances O'Grady, General Secretary, TUC**

O'Grady is the General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the umbrella organisation for the unions. She is on the 'moderate' side of the union movement and has a higher public profile than most, having been a highly visible campaigner for a Remain vote in the EU referendum.

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### **John Hannett, General Secretary, USDAW**

Hannett is the General Secretary of USDAW, the shop workers union. USDAW is one of the most 'moderate' unions and supported Andy Burnham in 2015 and Owen Smith in 2016. Nevertheless it remains one of the largest financial backers of the Labour Party.

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### **Dave Prentis, General Secretary, UNISON**

Prentis is one of the longest-serving union General Secretaries, having been at the helm of UNISON since 2001. He is a highly respected figure and another who has not been an uncritical supporter of Corbyn's leadership. Nevertheless, UNISON backed Corbyn in both of his leadership campaigns.

# The General Secretary and Party HQ

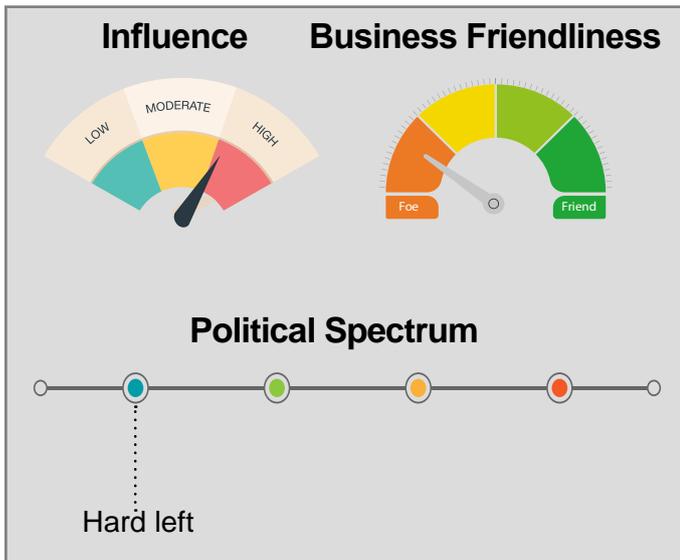
*The organiser-in-chief*

## ROLE

The General Secretary, a role currently held by Jennie Formby is the most senior employee of the Labour Party, and acts as the non-voting secretary on the NEC. She heads staff of around 200 in the two Party HQ offices, in London and Tyneside, and in the many local offices in England. She has overall responsibility for giving leadership and direction towards the strategic and operational management of the Labour Party organisation.



## At a Glance



## Profile

Following the resignation of Iain McNicol, a recruitment process was triggered for a new General Secretary to be appointed by the National Executive Committee. An accelerated timetable was agreed on 26 February and the appointment of Jennie Formby was announced on 20 March 2018. Formby has been a Member of Unite since 1987 when she became a Regional Officer. In April 2016, Formby was appointed Unite's South East Regional Secretary. Her candidacy was keenly promoted by Jeremy Corbyn's office, and supportive Labour MPs include prominent left-winger Chris Williamson, and Party Chair Ian Lavery.

Formby's appointment has raised questions around the increased power of Unite over the Labour party, especially from other trade unions who were initially concerned at what they regarded as a Unite 'stitch-up'. Though ultimately backed by the GMB, another of the largest affiliated unions, GMB General Secretary Tim Roache described their support for Formby's election as "not a small decision". Formby's appointment was also initially challenged by Momentum, with Jon Lansman declaring his candidacy before later withdrawing. Fellow unions and Momentum will hope to see Formby perform the role in a collaborative and inclusive manner, as concerns have been raised about her previously 'abrasive' style. Her tenure drew negative headlines before it even officially began, with reports that a number of senior officials had resigned in anticipation of her appointment, including long-standing Director of Policy Simon Jackson and Director of Governance and Legal John Stolliday. These roles are likely to be filled by others on the left of the party, further enhancing the impression of a 'takeover' of the party infrastructure.

# The National Policy Forum

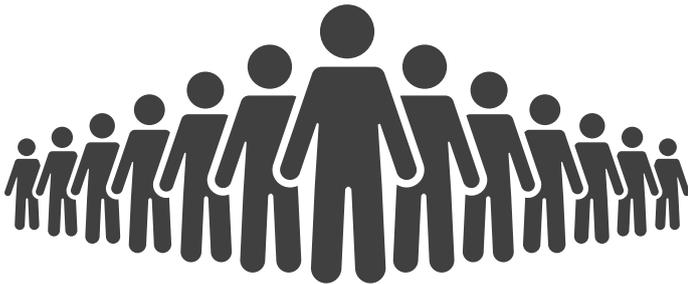
*The engine-room of Labour policymaking*

## ROLE

The National Policy Forum (NPF) is Labour's policymaking body, comprising representatives from all the major groups in the Labour Party, including CLPs, regional parties, affiliated trade unions and socialist societies. The NPF meets several times a year and shapes Labour's policy agenda. NPF Representatives read and discuss submissions received via the Labour Policy Forum website and discuss them in Policy Commissions which comprise NPF members and the relevant Shadow Ministers.



## Composition



**55 Constituency Labour Party** representatives

All **39 members** of the **NEC**

**30 affiliated trade union** representatives

**22 regional party** representatives

**10 local government** representatives

**9 Members of Parliament** and **6 Members of the European Parliament**

**8** members of the **Shadow Cabinet**

**4** representatives of **BAME Labour** and **3** from the **Socialist Societies**

**4** officers from both the **Welsh and Scottish Policy Forums**

**2 Peers** and **2 Co-operative Party** representatives, plus the **Co-operative Party General Secretary**

**1** each from Labour **Students, Northern Ireland Labour, Labour International, LGBT Labour,** and the **Disabled Members Group**

## Profile

The NPF is a body which attracts little attention outside of the party, but is a major part of the policymaking process. The policy papers drafted by the NPF via the various Policy Commissions are debated and voted on at Annual Conference, and feed directly in to the party's manifesto at General Elections. This illustrates the highly collaborative approach to policymaking in the Labour Party as compared to the more centralised structures of the Conservative Party.

The NPF is another party body with substantial trade union input, with a total of 43 members from affiliated unions including the 13 who sit on the NEC. But with a greater number coming from CLPs and regional parties, the party grassroots has arguably a greater degree of influence on the NPF than on the NEC.

# Labour Party Membership

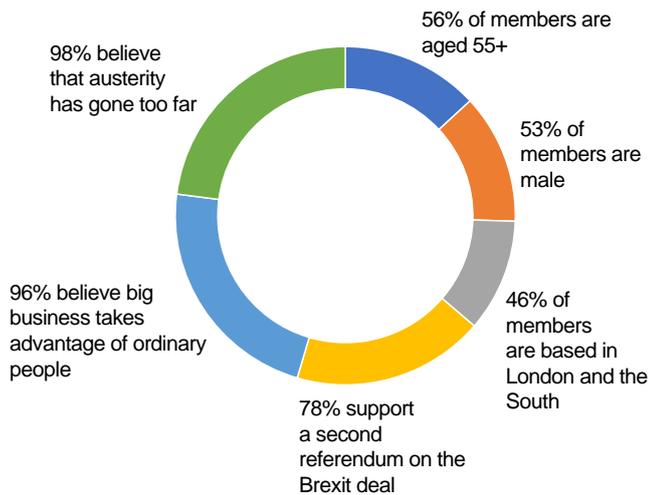
*The party foot-soldiers*



## PROFILE

Labour is the largest political party by membership in Western Europe. Prior to the 2015 leadership election, the party had just under 300,000 full members. They now have over 550,000.

### Who are Labour's members?\*



## Role

### *Constituency Labour Parties*

CLPs are the local units into which the Labour Party is organised, aligned with Parliamentary constituencies. Each CLP has a set of executive officers including a Chair, Vice Chair, Membership Secretary and Treasurer. These are important local organisers who can shape the priorities and campaigning approach of the party at a grassroots level. Control of these positions is an important part of the ongoing contest between Momentum activists and party 'moderates' for control of the structures of the Labour Party. CLPs also have an important role in the selection of Parliamentary candidates and selecting delegates who will represent the CLP and vote on policy motions at Party Conference. CLP members also directly elect nine members of the party's ruling National Executive Committee and 55 members of the National Policy Forum.

### *Annual Conference*

Annual Conference, held each autumn, is one of the main forums for Labour Party members to have their voices heard in the policymaking process of the party, as well as the setting of internal party rules. Conference formally decides the policy framework of the party, which determines the content of the party manifesto. A powerful illustration of this came in 2017, when the Labour manifesto included an unequivocal statement of support for the renewal of the Trident nuclear deterrent – the policy endorsed by conference – despite the personal opposition of the party leader. Being selected as a delegate for conference is therefore a vital opportunity for members to influence the direction of the party.

### *Fund-raising and activism*

Party members are a vital source of funds for the party, through their membership fees and other small donations. But perhaps their most important role is in the grassroots activism that is so important to Jeremy Corbyn's vision of a Labour Party which is a 'movement' more than a mere political party. On most metrics, Labour members were significantly more 'active' than Conservative ones in 2017 – both online and on the ground. This is essential for the party if it is to counteract the significant funding advantage enjoyed by the Tories, as illustrated at last year's General Election when the Conservatives raised almost £25m in donations compared to just £9.5m by Labour.

\*Grassroots: Britain's Party members: who they are, what they think and what they do' by Tim Bale, Paul Webb and Monica Poletti (January 2018) - <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/media/qmul/media/publications/Grassroots,-Britain%27s-Party-Members.pdf>

## Ones to Watch

### *The new generation on the left*



#### **Laura Pidcock MP, Shadow Minister for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy**

Pidcock was elected MP for North West Durham in June 2017 and recently appointed Shadow Minister for Labour. She attracted attention shortly after her election for stating that she had “no intention of being friends with any Tories.” She is considered to be highly supportive of Jeremy Corbyn’s politics and Corbyn’s team appears to be supporting Pidcock as a potential leadership successor. She is touted for elevation to the Shadow Cabinet in the near future. Pidcock is a former mental health support worker and charity manager.

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#### **Angela Rayner MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Education**

Elected in May 2015, Rayner is another who has had a rapid ascent under Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership. Although she supported Andy Burnham for Labour Leader in 2015, she was one of just 18 Labour MPs to back Jeremy Corbyn against Owen Smith in 2016. Rayner has a trade union background having served as Convenor of UNISON North West.

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#### **Kate Osamor MP, Shadow Secretary of State for International Development**

Another of the 2015 intake to make it to the Shadow Cabinet in little over a year. Osamor has been a loyal supporter of Jeremy Corbyn from the outset, having nominated him in 2015 and supported him again in 2016. She is a member of the NEC and has used her role as Shadow International Development Secretary to set out a new approach to aid policy which seeks to address inequality on a global basis.

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#### **Dan Carden MP, Shadow Minister for International Development**

Carden was elected MP for Liverpool Walton in 2017. A former aide to Len McCluskey and researcher to a Jeremy Corbyn-supporting MP, Carden is firmly on the left of the party. He was swiftly appointed PPS to Rebecca Long-Bailey, before being promoted to the front bench as part of Kate Osamor’s Shadow International Development team. He seems to be a strong candidate for further promotion under Corbyn’s leadership.

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#### **Marsha De Cordova MP, Shadow Minister for Disabled People**

De Cordova unexpectedly won Battersea from the Conservatives in 2017. She is registered blind and worked previously at a number of charities for the visually impaired. She is now bringing this experience to her role as Shadow Minister for Disabled People in the Shadow DWP team. She has been an active member of Unite, is on the left of the party and has an inspiring background, so could well rise further in the Labour ranks.

## Ones to Watch

### *The new generation on the left*



#### **Richard Burgon MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Justice**

A former trade union lawyer who sits to the left of the party, Burgon was elected in 2015 as MP for Leeds East and is a strong Corbyn ally. Originally appointed Shadow City Minister, Burgon has since been promoted to Shadow Justice Secretary. He leads Labour's policy agenda on reforming the justice system, and has often been critical of big business.

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#### **Lloyd Russell-Moyle MP, PPS to Richard Burgon**

Russell-Moyle was elected MP for Brighton Kemptown in 2017. He has been an activist on the Labour left for a number of years, backing John McDonnell for party leader when he unsuccessfully sought nominations. He studied Peace Studies at university and was a member of an anti-capitalist network of student activists. He is now PPS to Shadow Justice Secretary Richard Burgon, a fellow left winger, and seems a likely bet for further promotion.

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#### **Cat Smith MP, Shadow Minister for Voter Engagement and Youth Affairs**

Elected in 2015 for Lancaster and Fleetwood, Smith is currently a member of the Shadow Cabinet in charge of Voter Engagement and Youth Affairs as well as Shadow Deputy Leader of the House of Commons. Before being elected in 2015, she worked with Jeremy Corbyn when he was a backbench MP and as a policy officer for the British Association of Social Workers. She was one of Corbyn's earliest backers for leader and now has a key role on his frontbench in engaging voters and young people.

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#### **Laura Smith MP, Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office**

Smith won Crewe and Nantwich for Labour in 2017 and was appointed as a Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office early this year. She is a member of both Unite and UNISON, and got into politics via protesting against cuts to education funding. She is a former teacher and has strong working class roots. She wrote on LabourList last year: "I'm new to politics...I was an activist, a member of the union and came from a long-standing Labour Party family" – characteristics likely to see her fare well in Corbyn's Labour.

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#### **Holly Lynch MP, Shadow Minister for Flooding and Coastal Communities**

Lynch sits to the left of the Labour party and has previously been identified as being part of Corbyn's extended 'core group' of supporters. Elected as MP for Halifax in the 2015 General Election, Lynch was recently appointed Shadow Minister for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs and is Co-Chair of the Fairtrade All Party Parliamentary Group. Her Shadow Ministerial post will see her visit dozens of coastal seats, many of which are important marginals, making this an significant post politically.

## Ones to Watch

### *The new generation in the centre*



#### **Peter Kyle MP, Member, BEIS Select Committee**

Kyle was elected in May 2015 for Hove. Shortly after his election he became a member of the BEIS Select Committee, a position he currently holds. Kyle supported Liz Kendall in the 2015 Labour leadership election. In 2016, Kyle spoke out at Corbyn's leadership claiming he "won't be bullied into uniting around a losing leader". He is noted as a business-friendly MP and has been a strong critic of the influence of Momentum in his constituency.



#### **Wes Streeting MP, Member, Treasury Select Committee**

Streeting was elected in May 2015 and has been a member of the Treasury Select Committee since July 2015. Since his election, Streeting has emerged as a strong critic of Corbyn, and has received public backlash from figures such as Len McCluskey and Ken Livingstone. Due to his position on the influential Treasury Committee and his willingness to criticise Corbyn on his lack of action on a perceived antisemitism culture within the Labour Party, Streeting is considered an influencer among centrist Labour MPs.



#### **Anneliese Dodds MP, Shadow Treasury Minister**

Dodds was elected to Parliament in June 2017. She was appointed as Shadow Minister shortly after her election in July 2017 due to her experience working in the European Parliament on economic affairs. Dodds was MEP for South East England in 2014 and sat on the European Parliament's Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs. She comes from an academic background having been a lecturer in public policy.



#### **James Frith MP, Member, Education Select Committee**

Frith was elected to Parliament in June 2017 to represent Bury North and became a member of the Education Select Committee in September. Prior to becoming an MP, he worked for various recruitment and careers companies, and founded a social enterprise to help young people to receive careers and guidance advice. He also previously worked for Blair-era Education Secretary Estelle Morris as Campaign and Communications Manager and is one of the new MPs closer to the 'Progress' side of the party.



#### **Stephanie Peacock MP, Opposition Whip and Member, International Trade Select Committee**

Peacock was elected to represent Barnsley East in 2017 and became a member of the Select Committee on International Trade in December 2017. She was also appointed Opposition Whip in 2018. She has a strongly political background, having worked as a Parliamentary Assistant to former MP Sylvia Heal and held various positions within the trade unions, USDAW and GMB. She is not considered to be on the far left of the party, but her union background may help her to progress in the current climate.

## Ones to Watch

### *The new generation in the centre*



#### **Stephen Morgan MP, PPS to Andrew Gwynne and Member, Public Accounts Committee**

Morgan was elected MP for Portsmouth South in 2017. He was quickly appointed as PPS to Andrew Gwynne as Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, a significant post given Gwynne's dual role as Co-National Campaigns Coordinator. He has a strong background in local government, having worked for Portsmouth City Council and the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Council, as well as continuing to lead the Labour Group at Portsmouth City Council.



#### **Dr Paul Williams MP, Member, Health and Social Care Committee**

Williams was elected to Parliament in June 2017 and appointed to the Health and Social Care Select Committee in September 2017. He is a GP by background and since his election, Williams has driven a number of policy initiatives mainly focused on health policy, called for increased efforts in preventative care in the NHS and an accountable care system. He also held a Westminster Hall debate in March 2018 on the UK's future relationship with the EU on international development.



#### **Ellie Reeves MP, Member, Justice Select Committee**

Reeves was elected to represent Lewisham West and Penge in 2017 and became a member of the Justice Select Committee in September. She has strong connections in the party, having sat on the NEC for over a decade and served as Vice-Chair of London Labour. Various members of her family also represent the Party in Parliament including her sister, Rachel Reeves, and husband, John Cryer. She previously worked as a lawyer for various high-profile law firms and founded the organisation, Working Mums Advisory.



#### **Alex Norris MP, PPS to Jon Ashworth**

Norris was elected in 2017 to represent Nottingham North and was shortly thereafter appointed PPS to Jon Ashworth as Shadow Secretary of State for Health. He previously held various health portfolios as a councillor for Nottingham City Council, including representing the Executive for Adults and Health, and as Chair of the local Health and Wellbeing Board. He has previously referred to himself as a "committed socialist" but is on the moderate wing of the party having backed Liz Kendall for leader in 2015.



#### **Tan Dhesi MP**

Dhesi was elected in last year's General Election for Slough, and is the first turbaned Sikh to be elected to Parliament. Before his election, Dhesi worked for his family's construction business. He is fluent in Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu and French as well as having a working knowledge of German, Italian and Latin.

## Ones to Watch

### *The 'Old' Guard*



#### **Yvette Cooper MP, Chair, Home Affairs Committee**

First elected in May 1997, Cooper became the first woman to serve as Chief Secretary to the Treasury in 2008, and in 2009 was appointed Secretary of State for Work and Pensions. Cooper ran unsuccessfully for the Labour leadership in 2015 and has often been an outspoken critic of Jeremy Corbyn subsequently. Through her influential position as Chair of the Home Affairs Committee, she has condemned the Leader's response to anti-Semitism within the Party. She is one of the most senior and influential 'moderates'.



#### **Hilary Benn MP, Chair, Exiting the EU Committee**

Benn was elected in a by-election in 1999 and served in the Cabinet under Tony Blair and Gordon Brown between 2003-2010. He served as Shadow Foreign Secretary from May 2015 until June 2016 when he called on fellow MPs to ask Corbyn to stand down as Leader. Benn was subsequently dismissed from the Shadow Cabinet, leading to nine resignations from the Shadow Cabinet. In September 2016, Benn was elected Chair of the Exiting the EU Committee, reflecting the high esteem he is held in across party lines.



#### **Rachel Reeves MP, Chair, Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (BEIS) Select Committee**

Elected in 2010, Reeves served as Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions in 2013 until Corbyn's election as Leader in 2015. Reeves was elected Chair of the BEIS Committee in July 2017, where she has been highly vocal on corporate governance issues. She is not as outspoken a critic of Corbyn's leadership as other moderates, yet called for his resignation in 2016. Reeves worked as an economist at the Bank of England and is an important economic thinker on the moderate wing of the party.



#### **Alison McGovern MP, Member, Treasury Select Committee**

Though an MP since 2010, McGovern's profile on the moderate wing of Labour has significantly increased since 2015. She became Chair of Progress, a leading campaign group on the right of the party, had a short stint as Shadow City Minister and now sits on the Treasury Committee, a platform which she has used to speak out on issues such as rebalancing the economy and the gender pay gap. She is a high profile supporter of keeping the UK in the Single Market.



#### **Chuka Umunna MP**

Umunna was elected to Parliament in 2010 and was Shadow Business Secretary from 2011 to 2015. Following the election of Corbyn as Labour Leader, Umunna resigned from the Shadow Cabinet. He has since been a strong advocate to remain in the EU and is a leading MP of campaign group, Open Britain. Early in his Parliamentary career he was widely tipped as a future leader but is out of step with the current party leadership. He remains a prominent and influential voice among party moderates however.

## Ones to Watch

### The 'Old' Guard



#### **Jonathan Reynolds MP, Shadow City Minister**

Reynolds was appointed Shadow City Minister in October 2016. He has been MP for Staybridge and Hyde since 2010 and has served in a range of frontbench roles including as Shadow Minister for Energy and Climate Change and Shadow Minister for Transport. Reynolds is a solicitor by profession. Regarded as a moderate within the party he takes a much more constructive tone towards the financial services industry than his boss the Shadow Chancellor, and as such has become Labour's principal 'emissary' to the City.

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#### **Catherine McKinnell MP, Member, Treasury Select Committee**

McKinnell was elected in 2010 for Newcastle upon Tyne North. A member of the Treasury Select Committee, she has previously served as a Shadow Treasury and Education Minister. McKinnell was an employment solicitor before she entered Parliament. She has been a vocal campaigner for the Women Against State Pension Inequality. McKinnell had a spell as shadow Attorney General in Corbyn's first Shadow Cabinet, but resigned in January 2016 citing "internal conflict". She has remained on the backbenches since.

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#### **Stella Creasy MP**

Creasy was elected in 2010 for Walthamstow. She previously served as a Shadow Home Affairs and Business Minister under Ed Miliband. Creasy is a former PR consultant, public affairs executive and speech writer for Labour Government Ministers such as Douglas Alexander. She has been critical of the direction of the party under its current leadership and is one of Labour's most prominent and effective backbench campaigners on a range of consumer, equality and social justice issues.

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#### **Meg Hillier MP, Chair, Public Accounts Committee**

Hillier was elected in 2005 for Hackney South and Shoreditch. A former Junior Minister in the Home Office, she has also served as the Shadow Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change and a Shadow Home Office Minister. A former journalist, Hillier was also previously a member of the London Assembly, and a board member of TFL. A highly regarded constituency MP, Hillier now holds one of the most influential backbench positions in Parliament as Chair of the Public Accounts Committee.

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#### **Rushanara Ali MP, Member, Treasury Select Committee**

Ali has been the Member of Parliament for Bethnal Green and Bow since 2010. She is currently a member of the Treasury Select Committee, and the UK Trade Envoy to Bangladesh. Born in Bangladesh she emigrated to the UK with her family when she was young. Ali has previously served as Shadow Minister for International Development and Education. Before her election to Parliament, Ali worked in a number of public affairs roles including for think tanks IPPR, and Young Foundation, as well as working as a civil servant in the Foreign Office and Home Office.



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