

MOMENTUM ORGANISERS

THE CAUSE

OF LABOUR

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HOPE

OF THE

WORLD



THE PLAN





# The Plan

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## About

### Who We Are

Our campaign was born out of conversations between comrades following Starmer's threat to the SCG on NATO. After more than a year of depressing defeats in the Party - above all Jeremy's suspension - a weakened Labour Left was facing escalating Establishment attacks, from proscriptions to the silencing of Young Labour. But nothing was happening - the Left was passive. Momentum, the vehicle of the grassroots, was passive. Pub conversations turned into Zoom calls - and our campaign was born, initially a [group of six](#).

Our politics and vision was always based on the idea that the post-2019 Left had not got organised - and needed to do so to survive. But we also knew that this couldn't simply be an edict from on high - it had to be built from the grassroots. That's why we held meetings with activists across the country, to build up local organising plans and work out where to go next, together.

Over that period, we recruited an inspirational, experienced and energised group of candidates to run in the Momentum National Coordinating Group (NCG) elections: [the Momentum Organisers](#). As our founding group has stepped back, this fantastic collection of socialists now leads Momentum Organisers. Next up: Momentum itself.

### What We Stand For

We believe in international socialism and the democratic transformation of society in the interests of the many. We are socialists, anti-racists and anti-imperialists, who believe that our goals can only be realised via state power, and therefore through a democratic, transformed Labour Party.

Here's what we stand for:

- **Socialism** - the capitalist system today immiserates millions upon millions in Britain and across the world, with the basic means of subsistence, from housing to transport to energy, run for profit. Meanwhile, the billionaire elite only gets richer. The only answer can be socialist transformation: this in turn requires an organised working-class movement directing the full might of the state against the forces of capital and the wealthy elite.
- **Liberation** - From the horrifying Rwanda scheme to Grenfell to the Metropolitan Police, racism, sexism, transphobia and other oppressions are not just a malignant presence in society - they fundamentally structure it. A commitment to ending oppression and freeing all, from the women in immigration detention to the working-class communities of colour targeted by police harassment, must be central to our mission.
- **Socialist Green New Deal** - the enormous environmental, economic and public health crises ravaging our society and indeed planet are the product of a rapacious capitalist system leading us to ruin. We need an international socialist Green New Deal: here, the first step is ending fossil fuel extraction and nationalising energy, water, rail, mail and broadband systems, to cut carbon and bills. Let the people flourish, not the profiteers.
- **Peace and Anti-Imperialism**: whether it's the British media and state's complicity in Israeli apartheid or the UK's active support for Saudi Arabia's war on Yemen,

imperialism remains a driving force today, both globally and in British politics. We stand for an anti-imperialism which sides with the oppressed and demands peace over war.

## Our Mission for Momentum

In recent years, Momentum has lost its way. **Despite the Starmer onslaught, we have not faced the fight.** What Momentum's NCG lack - and their continuity campaign even more so - is a clear vision for what Momentum's role and mission should be. The suggestion is that Momentum can be Labour faction, political education force, social movement, anti-evictions group and climate campaign all in one. Momentum is taken to be synonymous with the entire Left, without any sense of its role in an ecology of different organisations, working to a common purpose but each with their own particular role and focus. We're told this is the way to build power - but without any plan or clear direction, **Momentum is sliding towards irrelevance and total defeat** at the hands of a ruthless Labour Right.

It's time for change - we need to re-energise our movement, before it withers in the vine. **We need to be in the fight, with honest, clear direction instead of confusion and distraction.** We need to focus our forces where they matter most, instead of facing three ways at once.

That means pouring our resources into **organising**. Organising which strengthens our institutional power bases within Labour. Focused organising which build up local Left strongholds, allowing us to build up real power, and real leaders. And organising which coordinates the defence of the Left - and where possible its advance - from the picket line to Parliament.

Below, we outline our Organising Programme to build a fighting movement, defend the Left from Establishment attacks and make strategic advances in key areas, working in coalition across the Left.

If you like what you see, please vote for the Momentum Organisers in your region - if you're not a Momentum member, sign up now. **Together, we can put Momentum back on a winning path.**

See our [launch article for LabourList](#)

## Democracy and Plurality

There have been important and valuable democratic reforms passed by Momentum members in the past two years. In particular, the 2020 leadership and, particularly, deputy leadership endorsement process was politically misguided and organisationally damaging. We welcome the reform that members will now make this decision democratically.

Likewise, the introduction of STV for Momentum internal elections was commendable, introducing as it does a more politically balanced NCG, in which different viewpoints are represented. Indeed, while our slate is united on a shared organising vision for Momentum, it is itself politically diverse. We believe Momentum should be as well.

As such, our campaign contains differing views on the other elements of the Refounding process, as indeed Momentum members did. But collectively, we are democrats and accept the results as settled, while sharing the view of many comrades that the process was opaque and overly bureaucratic. It should not have taken 18 months to complete, a drain of resources at a critical moment. **But we have no wish to re-open inward-looking debates - if Momentum is to survive, we must concentrate our forces on defending and strengthening the Left's position, in Labour and beyond.**

## The Momentum Organisers

Organising with care workers to win a pay rise. Leveraging power in Labour to help renters' unions win. Winning selection and election as socialist councillors. Building a winning socialist movement in Worthing. Campaigning against more police in schools, and the Islamophobic Prevent agenda. Meeting activists across the country and standing with workers on picket lines.

These socialists have organised & won in their communities, workplaces and for the Labour Left. Now, they're running to re-energise our movement and put Momentum back on the front foot. See their stories in full [here](#).

**VOTE FOR THE MOMENTUM ORGANISERS**

**LONDON & EASTERN**

SASHA DAS GUPTA, MARTIN ABRAMS, KISHORE KUKENDRARAJAH, SARAH WARSAMA, IZELLA DRAKE

**YORKSHIRE NI & INT'L**

LEWIS DAGNALL, SAMAYYA AFZAL

**WALES**

UTA CLAY

**PUBLIC OFFICE**

SAMUEL SWECK, TAMMY HYMAS, NYLA IBRAHIM

**NORTHERN**

KATE DOVE, MOHAMMAD SUHAIL, KATHRYN MANLEY, SAM DOHERTY

**SOUTH EAST**

NEKISA GHOLAMI-BABAAMADY, PAULA DUNNE

**MIDLANDS**

HILARY SCHAN-MARTYN, DESARTHUR, MAYA PATEL

**SOUTH WEST**

KIERAN GLASSMITH, LILLIAN CHASTEAU, RUTH DAY

IN SCOTLAND, WE ARE RECOMMENDING A VOTE FOR COLL MCCAIL

**MOMENTUM ORGANISERS**

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Article: [Momentum Needs to Change](#)

Article: [Defending the Left](#)

Article: [Winning Power in Labour](#)

## Our Plan

### Winning Power

Power is not some abstract thing, and neither is it easy to achieve - it means marrying a committed, clued-up activist base, rooted in their communities with control over key bureaucratic and political structures. Either on their own is insufficient. The Your Momentum continuity campaign claim they are 'building power' but the real toll of the last two years is lost control of CLPs, lost votes on rule changes at Conference, thousands of lost members, and lost momentum at a local level.

Momentum needs to get back to winning ways, with a focused plan to win power, by building up our local bases, and by shifting the overall strategic balance of forces.

### Build Local Power Bases

- Local Organising Plans
- Resourcing: Data & Local Groups Levy
- Left Coordination at the Grassroots
- A Plan for Municipal Socialism

As Starmer's leadership closes doors to the left on the national stage, there is much to be achieved at the local level. Not only is there huge scope for socialist gains in our own communities, but local organising in turn lays the groundwork for national success.

- Local Organising Plans

Momentum's local groups have struggled in the past two years, with low participation rates and a sense of purposelessness, drifting without any clear sense of a project. Momentum Organisers has held activist meet-ups across the country to build an organising programme from the ground up, asking members what Momentum could do to re-engage the many comrades who have dropped out of activity since 2019.

Momentum nationally would assist each local group to create their own **Local Organising Plan**, to assess **the political, social and industrial situation** locally, where the **potential for organising wins** are present (in both the short and long term), and an **action plan to get there**. Each area is different - there will be no repeat of the top-down, NGO-style housing campaign, which failed precisely because it was not rooted in organisation on the ground. **We will organise from the ground up, not the top down.**

- Resourcing: Data & Local Groups Levy

With a clear strategy and proper resourcing, Momentum's local groups network can be revived, and become local engines of socialism. But local groups haven't been properly resourced. We'd take two immediate steps to support local groups.

Firstly, **we'd fix the data problem** - for years and years, local groups have complained about inadequate access to data hampering their campaigning. We'd **revamp and upgrade local groups' data access** - Momentum nationally should be a facilitator, not a gatekeeper.

Secondly, we'd introduce a **Local Groups Levy**, giving groups the ability to raise steady income from local membership subs for the first time. Momentum nationally would facilitate a system where members could opt in to an extra levy, starting at just a couple of quid a month, which would be ringfenced for their local group. This will allow groups to

finance themselves in a sustainable way, with a regular monthly income rather than having to make a bureaucratically taxing grant application for each and every expenditure.

➤ Left Coordination at the Grassroots

To succeed as a Left, Momentum must follow the principle of ‘**coordinate not replicate**’. We should be using our power within and through Labour to **coordinate with and support trade unions, renters unions and anti-racist groups**, instead of duplicating their work. Momentum’s outgoing NCG have viewed inside the party and outside the party as separate tasks, rather than necessarily working hand in hand. The upshot has been that **we have gone backwards in Labour, while failing to build any real organisation outside of the Party**, as Momentum’s co-chairs have themselves [admitted](#).

**Momentum Organisers have been pioneering an effective model on the ground - we want to roll out the lessons nationwide.** In [Oxford](#), a strong Momentum group helped get numerous socialist elected as councillors. They have since **leveraged their position on the council** to help pass and implement a landlord licensing scheme pushed by ACORN; support the **Oxford Living Wage** campaign; and establish a new Migrant Champion position, filled by Momentum Organiser Hosnieh Djafari-Marbini. Momentum Organisers supporters have had similar achievements elsewhere, whether that’s stopping the biggest sell-off of public housing assets in British history dead in its tracks over in **Haringey**, or working with Unison to deliver a £19 million pay rise for care workers, as Sam Doherty did in **Greater Manchester**.

It is vital for **Momentum activists to show solidarity on the ground** - during this campaign Momentum Organisers have been out on the picket lines supporting RMT members, and even proposing and passing our [solidarity model motion](#) in their CLPs. The Momentum Organisers are [involved](#) in a plethora of extra-parliamentary campaigns, as active trade unionists, ACORN members, campaigners against Prevent, and so much more. This solidarity on the ground is a prerequisite for **long-term coalitions**. But ultimately, we must offer more than that: we need real power in and through Labour. **Our strength within Labour is the seed from which our power grows.** It is the base from which we can meaningfully act in solidarity. **And if we are wiped out in the Party** - as we will be if we continue on this path of decline and defeat - **we won’t have the power to change anything**, as our membership and finances dwindle away.

➤ A Plan for Municipal Socialism

At the heart of this vision, then, is ensuring **Left power in local government**. Comrades across the whole country have made good progress here, with hundreds elected, but the number could have been much higher had we not lost control of key committees like the London Labour Regional Executive, allowing the Right to then block socialists en masse.

I’m delighted to endorse the Momentum Organisers slate for the Momentum NCG elections. Momentum Organisers have a fantastic plan to rebuild our movement. Their plan to defend and extend our bases, support rather than replicate campaigns, and use the power we do have strategically, is the best way of furthering the municipal socialist agenda - an agenda that can transform our communities and our lives for the better.

- Matt Brown, Leader of Preston Council

There is good work we would continue: the **Future Councillors' Programme** has long enjoyed cross-campaign support within Momentum - we'd continue it. The same is true of the **councillors' network**, a powerful hub with great potential. Indeed, Momentum Organisers would pour more resources behind the councillor network, to enable its continued growth as a space for campaign coordination and learning from best practice. In particular, we'd pursue the **community wealth building agenda** embodied in the toolkit produced by The Democracy Collaborative and Momentum.

But we need to refine our strategy, too. As outlined below, we need to be strategic in our fights within the Party, targeting **wins which beget wins**, such as Regional Executive Committees and Local Government Committees, which are key to getting more socialists selected as councillor candidates. We also need to **integrate target councils into an overarching organising strategy**, both as part of our local organising plans, and as part of national strategy, concentrating central resources where it will make the biggest difference.

[Share our local organising manifesto on Twitter.](#)

[Read our article in the Morning Star](#)

### **Shifting the Balance of Forces**

- Winning the structures that matter
- Focus on rule changes
- Properly resource selection battles
- Momentum Shop Stewards Network

Local organising is just one part of the strategy. We also need to begin to improve the left's position at the overall national strategic level. This is not merely mobilising for internal elections, as Your Momentum suggest. Instead, it must mean a **worked-through plan for retaking power within the Party**, rebuilding members' (and ex-members') confidence along the way. Secondly, however, it will involve **organising through Labour-affiliated trade unions** - at a moment of industrial upsurge, an opportunity presents itself for a more radical trade unionism to take hold. If taken, this is a win-win, with trade unions becoming more radical and potentially shifting to the Left, including within Labour.

- Winning the structures that matter

Firstly, that means **building up local bases of power**, as we have outlined above in our proposals for local organising plans. Without control of CLPs, we cannot guarantee our ability to pass policy motions, win candidate and delegate selections, and so much more. Without bases of local councillors, we cannot pursue our community wealth building agenda, or build up the socialist leaders of the future.

Beyond CLPs, **Momentum should identify and target key committees in Labour**, which can facilitate further gains. In this regard, **Regional Executive Committees and Local Government Committees** play key roles in building the left's strength in councils. By winning them, as Momentum Organisers backers achieved in the North West, we can maintain and even increase the numbers of socialists in positions of power within the Labour Party.



Socialist societies offer both a crucial NEC seat, and a strategic platform from which to fight on policy. Our campaign founder Mark Ladbrooke last year beat the Labour Right to become Chair of the Socialist Health Association, subsequently hardening its opposition to NHS privatisation. Momentum Organisers backers are currently involved in the attempt to turn SERA, Labour's environmental affiliate, to the left.

The NEC itself must not be neglected. While a Left majority may not be possible in the short-term, developments in the Labour leadership and unions could bring it into play, and we must maximise our strength now so we are in a position to take advantage. That means identifying and concentrating our resources on winnable seats, particularly in the equalities section. It also means collaboration with other left groups, not dictation, as we lay out below. Finally, we need to caucus effectively at the NEC, including with union allies, a frustrating rarity in recent years.

This must be accompanied by holding key power bases. As we build for the future, holding Young Labour and winning Labour Students this summer will be crucial: we are delighted to be backed by young socialist leaders like Nabeela Mowlana and Fraser Amos, and will ensure they are actively supported.

➤ Focus on rule changes

Of course, when it comes to internal Labour affairs, it is Party Conference that plays a crucial role for Labour members, trade unions and the media. Recent years have seen a welcome explosion in transformative socialist policy programmes, embodied in the hopeful spirit of Conference 2019. These are the ideas which motivate our movement, and where we can seek - in the absence of the sovereignty Conference should possess - to at least make alliances with trade unions and others.

But we must face facts. What we lack is not policy ideas, but the power to implement them. As Labour for a Green New Deal co-founder Chris Saltmarsh said when endorsing our campaign, policy campaigns can only flourish in a democratic party. So whilst we would continue to push policy demands at Conference and beyond, we would also prioritise the

## Missed Opportunities

Sadly, the Labour Left has suffered defeat after defeat under the outgoing NCG. Dealt a bad hand after the 2019 General Election and 2020 Labour leadership, the NGG - whose record Your Momentum have wholly endorsed - have played it badly, overseeing an extended period of decline. Amidst Starmer's onslaught, there has been no concerted strategy communicated to the membership.

Indeed, Momentum has been [distracted right when it was needed most](#). In 2021, as Starmer geared up for a showdown with the Left at Conference, Momentum's leadership - shortly after slashing the staff organising team - embarked on an Evictions Resistance campaign which needlessly & unsuccessfully sought to duplicate the work of brilliant renters' unions. Getting socialists selected as delegates played second fiddle. The end result: a housing campaign which fell flat, and an historic defeat on Starmer's leadership rule change - designed to lock the Labour Left out of power - by an excruciating margin of 53% to 47%. Instead of taking responsibility, the NCG offered false consolations, emphasising policy motions set aside as soon as they were passed, while claiming against all evidence that they are "building a socialist majority inside and outside of the Labour Party."

fight for rule changes, rule changes which can **shift power away from an autocratic Starmer leadership and towards the wider labour movement.**

➤ Properly Resource Selection Battles

One of the brightest points of the last few years has been the emergence and development of a **new generation of socialist leaders** in Parliament, giving hope to so many about the future of socialism. But we can't let 2017-19 be a one off. The number of left MPs is important not just on its own terms in giving socialist, pro-worker positions a greater platform on a national stage, but also crucially for internal strategic reasons. **The stronger the SCG is by the time of the next leadership election, the stronger our hand will be in determining the future leadership and its direction.**

## Policy Primary

Some candidates have made false insinuations that we will abolish the policy primary. This is, to quote Mick Lynch, a direct lie. We will maintain the policy primary, while conducting a movement-wide review to improve the process, particularly compositing and the lack of deliberation over strategic priorities. With two policies repeated across three of the top five motions this year, it's clear that the process can be improved.

The NCG has a crucial role to play here, both in assigning adequate resources for this key task, and in building broad political **alliances to protect left candidates** from the Starmerite purge. The Your Momentum campaign have rightly highlighted parliamentary selections as a vital upcoming opportunity for the left, declaring it their 'immediate priority' if re-elected. But their **rhetoric isn't matched by reality.** In their time running Momentum, the organising team **has been cut by over 50%**, a far greater reduction in capacity than any other part of the staff team. This decision flies in the face of all logic at a time when we are under an existential threat.

We would ensure that Parliamentary selection campaigns are fully resourced.

[Read our article for Labour Hub](#)

Check out and Share our [Organising Plan to Win in Labour](#)  
[Watch our video on Conference 2021](#)

➤ Momentum Shop Stewards Network

A longer-term but no less vital way of shifting the balance of forces is to build Momentum's presence and influence in trade unions. However, with the notable exception of the practical support offered to the UNISON Left faction, Time for Real Change, **most of Momentum's work in this area has also seemed to lack a clear strategy or set of desired outcomes.** Without that clarity of purpose, building any kind of network, let alone an effective one, is going to continue to be an uphill struggle.

We would **immediately review the strategy of Momentum's Trade Union Network project**, working closely with our affiliated unions, existing union lefts and independent projects like Strike Map and the Bristol Union School to map out areas of potential collaboration and refine our strategy. This may involve a focus on specific sectors, unions or geographical areas, or simply the identification of key individuals who can help to grow and

promote our work. Of course, we would also continue to offer the kind of practical support Momentum has given to Time for Real Change.

Following and subject to this review, we would look to relaunch this scheme as the **Momentum Shop Stewards Network**.

There would be multiple strands and phases to this project. The first would be similar to the Momentum Councillors Network; a discussion, training and best practice sharing space for existing reps, with the aim of trying to map and build a network where the Left already has sympathisers. We would focus this work specifically on the recruitment of shop stewards, as they are an **influential middle stratum between the mass membership and union leaders**.

If this phase is successful, then once the network has been able to mature we would consider a second phase to specifically funnel people towards becoming shop stewards, training people up to take on these politically and industrially important roles, and developing our influence more deeply over the medium to long term. One longer-term aim, of course, would be to win, working in coalition, union leaderships for the Left, both for the heightened potentials for worker organising, and for the shift Leftwards this would entail within Labour.

### **Re-Energising the Movement**

Keir Starmer is not a strong leader. Cheered on by the media, he lied shamelessly to the Labour membership, knowing his actual programme would be rejected as quickly as Jess Phillips was. Since then, he may have been brutal in his dealings within the Party, but the shift rightwards is far from set in stone. As Blairites manoeuvre for the post-Starmer era, and the 90s tribute act fails to inspire on the doorstep, we should be clear: **the future is up for grabs**.

With Momentum's lacking direction it is no wonder thousands have left Momentum, and tens of thousands more Labour. But hope remains. Already Momentum Organisers has experienced the same vibrant energy in our activist meet-ups across the country. When working together united towards a clear goal, the left can feel unstoppable. The RMT strike might yet be a catalyst for renewed left confidence.

We need **one or two signature wins** to re-energise demoralised members and ex-Left members. Comrades **want to see some fight, and some leadership**. We'd offer it to them, ensuring wide publicity of Momentum's successes, and tying this into local re-recruitment campaigns using our Local Organising Plans.

### **Focusing our Forces**

- Harnessing the Power of Digital Momentum
- Comms for the Movement, not the Clicks
- Building a Sustainable Organisation

**The best plan in the world means nothing without the resources to implement it.**

Any project serious about its goals has a **plan for implementation**. With Momentum Organisers, we will focus the organisation's limited resources where they matter most, namely in support of our organising efforts laid out in this programme. Concretely, this means:

## ➤ Harnessing the Power of Digital Momentum

Momentum's cutting edge digital reputation is well deserved. We would continue to invest in this team, prioritising **the creation of effective digital campaign tools**, to be used by Momentum nationally, local groups and in coordinated campaigns.

Likewise, we must urgently address groups' **access to data** as part of our plan to revamp and upgrade it. The current system is confusing, clunky, inefficient and severely limited, and has led to widespread dissatisfaction and disengagement from local groups. **We need an integrated system** for database management, emails, texts and phonebanking **that can be operated directly by local group activists**, rather than through staff intermediaries.

## ➤ Comms for the Movement, Not the Clicks

Momentum has a brilliant creative staff team - and potentially network of volunteers - with a strong reputation well beyond the organisation. **We will put their considerable talents to the creation of**

**video and design content which is aligned with our political goals.** In particular, Momentum should be doing more of its excellent communications campaign in response to the RMT strikes, typifying as it does the possibility of **movement-facing communications, exerting pressure within the Party but making arguments beyond it.**

Momentum's communications should also **celebrate socialist success stories on the ground** - too often the good work of local groups goes uncelebrated by Momentum nationally. It is surprising, for example, that Momentum Oxfordshire's vibrant success stories were only [celebrated](#) for the first time by our campaign. Likewise, Momentum nationally should be training up local groups more proactively to produce their own propaganda.

In a downward period, where Momentum appears to have reduced the size of its video and design staff team, any responsible campaign should outline what we will do less of. For us, the answer is simple: clipping Piers Morgan or Susanna Reid might do good numbers on Facebook, but it does not concretely serve Momentum's political objectives. We are in an existential fight within Labour - all resources must be directed at our political mission.

## Confronting reality

The inability to recognise the basic reality of the situation is the overriding failure of the outgoing NCG and their re-election campaign, summarised in a shopping list of demands on the Your Momentum website. The consequences are twofold. Firstly, because the organisation sets itself unreachable goals, Your Momentum make dubious claims about their record, such as declaring Momentum "on a fighting footing", after seeing thousands of members leave and local groups severely lacking for energy and members. Secondly, because Your Momentum sets itself such broad goals, they become wholly vague and unconnected to anything which could be termed a strategy. We can "make gains" in Labour - where? Momentum will "support the development of class struggle trade unionism" - how precisely? Momentum will bring together social movements and Labour - in what form?

We cannot afford this unaccountable vagueness and false optimism anymore: members deserve better than an approach which pretends that Momentum is on the up even as the walls crash in around us.

➤ Sustainable Organising

As we have argued above, **Momentum is spread too thin: a jack of all trades, master of none.** But this has negative impacts for the organisation too: an alarming number of posts have been advertised recently, an indication of high staff turnover. Not only is the unfocused, unstrategic 'do everything' approach of Your Momentum politically undesirable, but it is also having negative impacts on the organisation's sustainability.

If elected, we would put all of Momentum national's work to two simple tests: **does this serve our organising objectives, and is it organisationally sustainable?** For some projects, such as the Leo Panitch, this will just involve tweaking them to ensure there is a clear pipeline to socialist leaders within and through the labour movement. In other cases, it may mean choosing not to dedicate precious staff capacity to projects which are not core to our political strategy.

Naturally, the new NCG will assess the Organisation's financial situation upon taking office, and pursue work in line with what is fiscally sustainable. We may also look at innovating ways of raising additional revenue, amidst a cost-of-living crisis for our members, as we have done with our Local Group Levy proposal.

### **Unite to Defend the Left**

- Fight McCarthyism, Defend Democracy
- Principled Anti-Imperialism
- Resist Unjust Suspensions
- CLGA: Collaboration not Dictation

Back in 2020, Starmer promised an 'end to factionalism', party unity, to respect party democracy and even to introduce more democratic processes, including putting a stop to NEC candidate impositions.

Since then, he's waged ceaseless internal warfare against Labour's Left and party democracy as a whole. Our figureheads in Parliament are on the defensive, with the whip suspended from Jeremy Corbyn and MPs threatened over legitimate critique of NATO. Our members are under attack, whether it's anti-democratic proscriptions created to silence dissent on the Left, the campaign to delegitimise Palestinian solidarity, particularly from Jewish socialists, or hundreds of unjust suspensions, sometimes for as little as an innocuous Facebook like share. Party democracy has been hollowed out, with stitch-ups in Stroud and Wakefield showcasing the leadership's willingness to completely undermine local Labour Parties and trade unions.

For all its talk, and despite some improvements from the previous regime, **Momentum has not faced this fight head-on.**

- Fight McCarthyism, Defend Democracy

**We are undergoing a new McCarthyism,** where left-wingers are hounded out of public life and the slightest deviation on foreign policy is treated as an aberration to be crushed. **Momentum must be at the forefront of the fightback,** through creative campaigning, our comms output, active political education, and strategic motions and rule changes within the Party.

➤ Principled Anti-Imperialism

We must hold our nerve, however. **Compromising on our anti-imperialist principles is as indefensible to our campaign as to compromise on public ownership.** They are red lines. So we will stand unwaveringly in solidarity with oppressed peoples all over the world, including in Palestine, and will not step back in our defence of a foreign policy based on peace and cooperation, rather than military intervention. Naturally, this will involve critique of NATO - one does not need to view it as the main instigator of the war in Ukraine to note its historical acts of aggression and territorial expansion.

In this regard, Momentum offered a **lacklustre defence of Stop the War** in recent months - one does not need to agree with every sentiment expressed by every member in every article to recognise that comrades are under attack by a militarist Establishment, and to stand with them.

➤ Resist Unjust Suspensions

It isn't just left-wing groups under attack. Hundreds upon hundreds of Labour members have been unjustly suspended from the Party, including members of our campaign. Many are reinstated, after months of anxiety designed to demoralise and disorient socialists - and force us out of the party of organised labour. Meanwhile, proscriptions continue apace.

To their credit, Momentum have set up a legal advice unit. We would **continue this legal and pastoral support and better publicise it**, so it is accessible for all Momentum members, not just those in the know. We would also **issue members with active guidance** around social media, language, both in terms of political education, and to minimise the scope for bureaucratic attacks.

➤ CLGA: Collaboration not Dictation

Of course, the only way to put a stop to these attacks is to win back control of the Party. That requires working across the Left, especially through the CLGA. However, other groups have often felt marginalised or mistreated by Momentum, notably in the CLGA, which **failed to agree a united slate for the Labour Left's NEC candidates this summer.** Undoubtedly, **the CLGA requires real reforms** - but whatever the outcome, coordination and compromise remain key pillars of the Labour Left's survival. That means **no more threats of primaries as moral blackmail to compel agreement** - and a commitment to build real bridges instead of defensiveness and dismissal.

Share our [Twitter thread on defending and uniting the Labour Left](#)

### Coordinating the Left, from Parliament to the Picket

- Coordinating the Fightback
- Shared Campaigns Across the Left
- Collaboration at the Grassroots

Corbynism brought together varied sections of the Left behind a project: the Corbyn leadership. With that gone, we have fallen prey to fragmentation, mutual mistrust and rancour. Not only is this alienating, but it has also left us much weaker, both in terms of defence from leadership attacks and in our propositional campaigning: **united we stand, divided we fall.**

We need a **new model of coordination across the Left**, from the grassroots to leaders in Parliament and the trade unions.

- Coordinating the Fightback

**Starmer's attacks on the Left are escalating, and they concern us all.** First it was Rebecca Long-Bailey, then Jeremy Corbyn, then Young Labour. The pinnacle came with the threat to Socialist Campaign Group MPs over NATO. This is a precursor to a full-on attack on Momentum and the left's most prominent leaders in Parliament -the aim is to get rid of MPs who stand unquestioningly with trade unions, who voice the demand for socialism shared by millions across the country, and who offer full-throated opposition to the Tories' racist, authoritarian schemes. Meanwhile, at the base members have faced the dual threat of unjust suspensions and proscriptions.

Meanwhile, in Starmer's anti-democratic, right-wing Party, trade unions are unsupported - with GMB, Unite and the RMT the latest - and denied their rightful voice within the Party, even their right to have their candidates for Parliament longlisted. **We are under attack as one, we must fight back as one.**

But Momentum hasn't been prepared. When the threat over Stop the War came, it was clear as day that there was **no coordination between the socialist MPs targeted and Momentum.** Media statements decrying a situation are not the same as an organising plan to resist it. Given how far LOTO has shown it will go in its vendetta against the Left - **a failure to adequately prepare now is inexcusable.**

Momentum Organisers are therefore proposing a **shared forum across Momentum, the Socialist Campaign Group and left-led trade unions**, to plan for and respond to attacks against us. As the trade union principle goes, an injury to one is an injury to all.

- Shared Campaigns Across the Left

This forum need not only be defensive in nature. It could and should be a space to coordinate campaigning activities. Momentum's recent mobilisation in support of the RMT, leveraging its position within Labour and digital capabilities, was a case in point.

The Labour Left alone is weakened. But working with trade unions and social movements, we are **more than the sum of our parts.** We should be campaigning on wedge issues

Naturally, of course, we should also be mobilising to support workers in struggle, as Momentum groups have done across the country with the RMT, as well as key social movement struggles.

- Collaboration at the Grassroots

While national collaboration on a unified strategy is essential, we need to link up Momentum with the parliamentary and industrial wings of the movement **at the local, grassroots level** too.

Through the implementation of our Local Organising Plans, as well as our proposed Momentum Shop Stewards Network, we would **identify reps and branches** where the potential for local collaboration with Momentum on industrial issues.

And we would like to see our movement's "Star Power" deployed to strategic locations where the left needs to be re-energised, coordinating with the SCG and others to achieve this.

Read our [article on how Momentum can work across the Left](#)

Share our [Twitter thread on coordinating across the Left](#).

## Conclusion: Let's Get Back to Winning Ways

Two years ago, Forward Momentum took office with a wave of energy and reforming zeal. As a seemingly soft left leader took office, it felt like space would open up for the 'social movement' promise to be delivered in Momentum.

Two years on, and the atmosphere around Momentum and the Labour Left is incomparably gloomier. We have faced a backlash from the Labour Right more fierce than most had imagined.

It was a tough position for any leadership to be in. But Forward Momentum have wholly failed to adapt to the task. The initial response to Corbyn's suspension was weak, and there has been no collaboration with our former Leader since. Likewise, despite the clear potential for a Leadership attack at Conference 2021, Momentum's delegate selection operation was slow and under-resourced. A seminal defeat ensued.

Instead, resources were poured into an Evictions Resistance campaign which failed in its objectives. This was symptomatic of a wider inability to make their grand promises on community and trade union organising a reality. Momentum's own co-chairs have admitted this failure.

It is no wonder Momentum has lost members. Its own leadership has not been honest with members about the scale of the threat facing us, nor has it developed any plan to address them besides muttering hopelessly that "there are no quick fixes".

There are no quick fixes, but there are tangible steps we can take to recover our position.

The plan we have laid out in this document faces up to our predicament, and offers targeted solutions. It is a worked-out plan focused on rebuilding our movement within the Party, at a local and national level. We cannot promise you it will be easy. We cannot even promise you that we will be victorious. But we can promise you that we will be in the fight.

Already, the Momentum Organisers campaign has picked up a huge head of steam, re-energising a movement that has been withering on the vine. Holding activist meet-ups across the country, we have felt an energy not seen on the left in years. We have organised training sessions on persuasive conversations, and seen comrades return who have been out of the Left for years. We have seen former Forward Momentum campaigners come over to our side, and a wide array of comrades won over by our vision.



Our movement thrives when it is working collectively towards a common, socialist goal. This was the joy of the 2017 General Election, and the same spirit we must now rediscover. To do that, we need an organising programme from the ground up.

The programme we have laid out - unrivalled by anything from our opponents represents a focused, resourced plan to:

- **Defend the Left**, working in coalition with trade unions
- **Build strong local power bases** through a resourced local groups network working towards one integrated strategy as part of a Left ecology;
- **Shift power back to the Left** within Labour, with focused organising which lays the groundwork for more gains to come;

Let's break the cycle of defeat. While the re-election campaign of a failed NCG talks vaguely of "building power", we have the plan, and the people, to do it. Vote for the Momentum Organisers.