

Motions for Left Unity National Conference

Manchester – 29 March 2014

Section 1 - Economy and Austerity

1. **Left Unity Economics Policy Commission - Draft Document for Policy Conference March 2014 – This is part-amended by Brighton, Lambeth and Manchester (these amendments shown in *italics*).**

Introduction – The Economic Context

The global financial crisis which erupted in 2008 triggered the worst economic slump in many economies since the early 1930s. Six years on output had still not recovered to its previous peak in much of Europe, including Britain. Debt-ridden economies within the Eurozone have been devastated by austerity packages primarily designed to ensure banks and other creditors are repaid regardless of the long-term economic and social consequences. As in the 1930s and 1980s, the mass of working people are being forced to pay the costs of a crisis, for which they were not responsible, whilst the wealthiest 1% continue to rake in bonuses, and stuff their bank accounts in tax havens.

The crisis was precipitated by the excesses of global financial markets but has also exposed the chronic instability and grotesque inequalities which have characterised free-market globalising capitalism since the 1970s. In Britain we are suffering from the consequences of 30 years of what is known as 'neo-liberalism' – the privatisation of publicly owned services and utilities, the deregulation of financial and other markets, the pervasive marketization of everyday life, and a sustained onslaught on the gains won by the labour movement in the period from the end of the second world war after 1945.

At the time of writing (March 2014) Britain is experiencing a recovery for the few. Average real wages (after taking into account inflation) are still at least 6% below their level in 2008 with the average worker £30 a week or £1500 a year, worse off. Cuts in public-sector jobs continue apace, disproportionately hurting women, ethnic minorities and some of the poorest regions in the country.

It is a myth that there is no money available. Private sector corporations were sitting on cash reserves of £671 billion (almost 50% of national income) in 2013, which they were unwilling to invest productively. The Bank of England has pumped many billions more into the financial markets preventing further collapse but also fuelling another round of house price inflation in London and the South-East, whilst much of the country remains trapped in stagnation or decline. Banks are reluctant to lend to any small business which actually needs the money, whilst handing out huge sums to buy-to-let landlords and property developers. Radical measures are necessary to ensure a transformation in the economic structure and a reversal of the damage inflicted over the last 30 years of attacks waged by the rich and powerful on the rest of us.

An Immediate End to Austerity and Cuts in Public Services

The Economic Policies proposed by Left Unity must necessarily need to change in focus over time whilst retaining the core principles on which the party was founded.

At this point we call for an **immediate**

1. **Reversal of the cuts in public spending** and the austerity package pushed through by the Conservative Government and an expansion of public spending in pursuit of a policy of full employment (see below)
2. **End to privatisation** of public services in health, education etc, a reversal of outsourcing at all levels and a scrapping of the so-called Private-Public Partnerships and PFI schemes (see other commissions for more detail on these proposals)
3. **Abolition of zero-hours contracts** and the use of agencies to evade European legislation on employment rights (along with all the anti-trade union legislation introduced by the Tories but retained under New Labour)
4. **Raising of the minimum wage** up to the level of a living wage linked to measures of the cost of living (with a higher rate to cover additional housing costs in London and comparable areas) and to the European decency threshold.
5. **Reversal of those changes to the tax system** which have hurt the poor (we would lower VAT to 15% as a first step) and benefited the rich (we would restore the 50% rate of tax on incomes above £75,000 received by the richest 2%) with further changes outlined below

A Strategic Vision of Structural Change and A Different Society

Left Unity, since its founding conference, is committed to the principle of production for meeting human need not primarily for profit, or 'people not profit'. We are environmentalist, feminist and socialist and all these traditions of thought have influenced the proposals below for fundamental structural change in Britain. Ultimately our vision is a society organised on completely different principles from those which govern capitalism:

6. **The principle of from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.**
7. ***The principle of common ownership and democratic control over natural resources and the means of producing wealth. This does not simply mean 'state ownership', but encompasses: nationalisation, local authority control, workers' cooperatives, and other forms of community ownership.***
8. **An end to the short-termism** which prioritises the extraction of resources such as oil and gas despite the risk of long-term destruction of our environment.
9. **An internationalism** which recognises that in a world of global capital and finance we cannot put an end to capitalism in one country alone nor abolish Britain's reliance on exchange and trade with both Europe and the rest of the world. There need to be global solutions to global problems such as climate change.

Left Unity as a broad party contains a healthy diversity of views on how a socialist society could be attained. We are under no illusions that any such programme can be implemented without meeting resistance from the richest 1% in Britain and elsewhere, especially those elites who control transnational corporations and global finance. However what we can seek to achieve in Britain, in association with other similar left parties across Europe, are fundamental changes which

10. **Reverse the impact of 30 years of so-called neo-liberalism** (i.e. privatisation, deregulation, and the widening obscene inequality of wealth and income between a tiny 1% - or 0.1% of the very rich - and the vast majority of people).
11. **End the dominance of the private financial sector and the City of London** in particular, within the economy and over Governments formed by all main political parties.
12. **Shift resources** towards those areas of the country which have suffered from decades of deindustrialisation (the closure of factories, mines, shipyards etc.) and high long-term unemployment,
13. **Would be part of a national plan for regeneration of the economy** (together with proposals from other commissions on education, health, housing etc.) which as a priority would reverse the chronic structural imbalances between the bloated financial sector and other parts of the economy, and between the wealthiest and the most deprived communities.
14. **Respond to the threat of climate change** with measures which take into account the full social costs of current policies for energy, transport and the natural environment.

We recognise the obstacles to implementing any such programme of structural reforms. The response of Labour Governments to threats of capital flight and investment strikes has always been to capitulate. However:

15. We would help to build **international networks of solidarity** to support any government introducing such measures within Europe and elsewhere.

Employment Policy

Full employment, as existed in the postwar period up until the 1970s, should be a primary objective for any left government. But we recognise that the type of jobs created and their conditions and pay also matter. All the policies outlined here will contribute to a dramatic reduction in both unemployment and underemployment (part-time workers who seek more hours). In particular we would prioritise:

16. **Green Jobs:** Electricity generation and transmission, transport and the heating and cooling of buildings account for 83% of greenhouse gasses emitted in Britain annually and it is vital that we adopt a twin track strategy of 'powering down' (reducing energy wastage) and 'powering up' (hugely expanding our generation capacity by developing and deploying zero carbon technologies based on wind, sun and water). This strategy would require a massive infrastructural investment and reconstruction programme, prioritising the rapid development of three key sectors - energy generation and transmission, construction and transport - and the creation of

hundreds of thousands of new and sustainable jobs. Such a major programme of public investment and employment would not only lead to major regeneration in other key industrial sectors, but to rapid growth in R&D in sustainable and socially useful technology and stimulate the demand for graduates from almost all areas of tertiary education and/or training.

17. **Purple Jobs:** The term refers to jobs in the caring sectors which are being remorselessly cut by local authorities as a result of national government reductions in their funding. We would not only reverse those cuts but significantly expand the public sector (which currently mainly employs women) ensuring that labour necessary for the society no longer faces low wages and increasingly casualised and precarious conditions of employment. These are jobs which are critical for support for disabled people, the sick and the rapidly growing numbers of older pensioners. They are also jobs in childcare which would be provided for free to all those with children below school-age. Job creation in a unionised public sector in these areas will serve to strengthen unions and collective bargaining and raise pay levels generally.

(The purpose of Purple job creation is to free women from primary caring responsibilities which have led to their concentration in part-time work, discontinuous labour, and involuntary underemployment. Ending segregation of the labour market where women are consigned to low pay and underemployment to enable them to provide caring for children, sick, disabled people and the elderly, these jobs will enable men and women to work in this sector. This is a step towards ending women's unpaid personal labour at home enabling their full participation in employment and enabling their access to education, personal development and economic independence.)

18. **Creation of Vertically Integrated Cooperative Sector as part of a general national economic plan for the economy.** A vertically integrated sector is one which produces all inputs and outputs from initial production to consumption goods. A workers' owned and operated sector (that is locally or regionally based) can be targeted initially to revitalise areas of the country that are suffering from severe unemployment under worker's control and management as part of a transformational project away from a capitalist competitive basis towards cooperative organisation of work. Initial start-up funds and investment will be provided by the national government at zero interest.

19. **A Reduction in the Standard Working Week to 35 hours in the first instance,** with further reductions over time and corresponding adjustments to the hourly living wage. For those paid less than the median wage, no loss of income will be incurred due to reduction in working hours. All additional hours over 35 are to be voluntary at overtime rates of pay, negotiated under collective agreements with trade unions.

The Banks and Finance

The financial crash of 2008 exposed the damaging consequences of deregulation of the banking sector since the 1970s – and the disastrous consequences of having the City of London operate as a global financial centre divorced from the rest of the economy. Even partial socialisation (to cover the losses) of banks such as Lloyds and RBS has not changed how the banks operate or put an end to multi-million pound bonuses

We propose

20. **An extension of the publicly owned banking sector to embrace all the major British owned banks, building societies and insurance companies.** New forms of governance, combining control by elected representatives of finance

workers and local communities and government, would scrap the bonus culture and direct credit to the most socially desirable forms of investment. Compensation in the form of fixed-interest government bonds could be provided, e.g. to pension funds *and shareholders (capped at a certain level so that large shareholders lose most of their investments), depending on the results of an audit of shareholders.*

21. **A tax on financial transactions** (sometimes known as a Robin Hood tax) which across the EU would both raise revenue and significantly reduce the scale of speculative cross-border financial flows.

22. **Tighter regulation over all forms of financial activity**, especially capital controls on cross-border movement of funds by institutional investors, hedge funds etc, although these would be difficult to implement in Britain alone and we should seek effective European-wide (if not global) regulation where possible.

23. **Reform of pension funds**, many of which are currently in the control of fund managers or investment banks that are responsible for the allocation of funds currently worth over £1 trillion with no democratic accountability.

24. **Measures to assist and protect from eviction** those households trapped by debts or with mortgages they are unable to repay.

Other Forms of Public Ownership and Cooperatives

Left Unity also proposes

25. **The return to public ownership of all the essential public utilities** (with the same rule for compensation as for the banks), such as electricity, gas, rail and bus transport, *water and telecoms companies*, which were privatised over the last 30 years. The private companies have raised prices faster than inflation, made huge profits and still neglected investment in essential infrastructure.

26. **We also propose the public ownership of other essential services**, including the giant supermarket companies, which dominate the retail trade and much of the agricultural and food industry in this country. *We would combine and socialise the energy companies into one democratically controlled institution to reduce energy costs immediately.*

We recognise, however, that state ownership alone does not suffice.

27. **New forms of governance** are necessary involving democratic elections of both worker and community representatives. That also applies to existing public services such as the NHS and Educational institutions.

28. **There should be a cap on the highest rates of pay** for managers across the public sector, set no higher than three times the average wage in the sector.

29. **It is also essential to support and extend existing forms of cooperative and mutual ownership**, whilst preventing the violation of those principles evident in the mismanagement of the Cooperative bank. We will oppose and campaign against the de-mutualisation of existing building societies and other cooperatives. We would ensure that financial institutions under public ownership gave priority to lending to

worker, consumer and housing cooperatives, as part of the broader strategic priorities outlined above under employment policy.

Taxation policy

When the Coalition came to power, it made it clear that the reducing Britain's budget deficit would be primarily achieved through public spending cuts rather than tax increases. The result has been the most vulnerable sections of society pushed ever deeper into poverty. What tax rises we have seen such as VAT have largely been regressive measures, hitting poorest households hardest. Meanwhile, the government has given away billions to the richest individuals and biggest corporations through tax cuts, while failing to stop billions more being siphoned off to tax havens. Richard Murphy of Tax Research estimates the tax gap at £123 billion a year.

- 30. We need tax policies to offset the cost of reversing the spending cuts in the immediate term, while in the longer-term realigning the British tax system into a progressive framework that substantially reduces inequality, protects the poor and ensures the rich pay a much higher share.**

Left Unity will therefore:

- 31. Work to stamp out tax evasion and avoidance**, drawing on the wealth of research by the Tax Justice Network. A Left Unity government would implement unilateral measures at home to shore up its domestic tax base, including a general anti-avoidance principle, strengthening HMRC, creating strong barriers to protect tax policy making and administration from political and corporate interference, controlled foreign company reform and aligning capital gains tax with income tax. It will work with governments around the world to promote financial transparency and prevent tax avoidance by pushing for country-by-country reporting, unitary taxation and automatic information exchange. It will crack down on the UK's network of tax haven Crown Dependencies and Overseas Territories which lie at the heart of the global tax avoidance industry.
- 32. Immediately cut VAT** to the EU minimum of 15% (and abolish it for basic necessities) and remove the VAT exemption for financial services. Our long-term goal is to abolish VAT entirely.
- 33. Reverse the corporate tax cuts**, raising rates back to 40% for large companies, while reducing taxes for small businesses to compensate them for the mandatory living wage. As a matter of principle, Left Unity subscribes to international tax cooperation and building a framework of rules and conventions to inhibit tax wars and beggar-my-neighbour tax policies. We will work with other governments to push for higher corporate taxation rates globally.
- 34. Bring back the 50% tax rate** and apply it to people earning over £75,000. We would introduce an 80% for all earnings 10 times above the median wage. We will work to lift all those earning below £20,000 a year out of tax entirely.
- 35. Introduce an inheritance tax, rising to 90% on all wealth and assets 100 times the median average level, along with a wealth tax of 10% on wealth more than 10 times the median.**
- 36. Investigate alternatives to council tax** including a mansion tax for homes over £2 million and a local income tax, and introduce **a land value tax** collected centrally and redistributed to local authorities according to need.

On Trade and the European Union

37. Given that over 50% of Britain's trade is with the rest of the EU **we do not propose a withdrawal from the Single Market**, or 'protectionism' against imports, whilst recognising that some of what we propose (such as capital controls) will be in breach of Single Market rules on the free movement of capital.
38. **We are opposed to Britain joining the single currency** as currently constituted with an unaccountable European Central Bank which has helped impose austerity measures on countries such as Greece, Ireland and Portugal.
39. **We also oppose the provisions of the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership** between the EU and the USA which threaten to impose further privatisation of public services and weaker forms of environmental regulation *plus reducing the public's access to truthful information, by allowing corporations to conceal information or research which could cause damage to public health if it is seen as potentially damaging to the corporation's future profitability. This is in line with consistent choosing of profit over people by current policy makers and is unacceptable, threatening freedom of information and human rights.*
40. We are for joining with others across Europe to campaign for a **different form of European Union**, a '**socialist reconstruction**', as called for by the 4th Congress of the European Left Party.

For Further Debate: There are a number of proposals for a different type of economy based on democratic and socialist principles which we believe deserve further debate in the wider movement. However:

41. The Economic Policy Commission considers that under capitalism (but not necessarily in a fully socialist society) the various competing versions of a Citizen's Income will in practice promote the neo-liberal agenda of reducing the welfare state and leave the most disadvantaged people in society worse off. Our alternative is to promote full employment as outlined in the document and the principle of from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.

1 A - Amendment - Leamington Spa branch

Delete all at point 40, and replace with:

[40. Unconditional basic income. We will introduce a universal, non-withdrawable, basic income, paid without condition to every individual, regardless of ability or willingness to work. This will replace most existing social security payments, and will be at a level sufficient to ensure that every individual can meet his or her needs, and give the poorest a higher income than under current benefits arrangements.]

1 B - Amendment - Micheline Mason & Christine Wilson

Delete point 40 above and replace with:

[Left Unity will fully explore the feasibility of the rapid introduction of a UBI in the UK as part of our economic policy, working with our European allies in BIEN (Basic Income Earth Network) and supporting the 'European Citizens Initiative' to introduce UBI in every country in Europe.]

1 C - Amendment - Brighton and Hove

Add a new point 26 following after point 25

- 26 [We would disregard intellectual property rights where those rights pertain to inalienable natural commons such as and especially our genetic code and the material is the result of processes of human technical interventions]

Subsequent existing points to be renumbered

1 D - Amendment - Manchester LU

To existing point 26 below

26. We also propose the public ownership of other essential services, including the giant supermarket companies, which dominate the retail trade and much of the agricultural and food industry in this country.
after [ownership of], add [**companies that attempt to destabilise a Left Unity government, by a 'strike of capital' or by trying to transfer assets overseas, and**]

1 E - Amendment - Lambeth Branch

Point 4 – insert at end: [the UK state pension is the lowest in Europe and should be raised to 100% of median earnings.]

Insert new **point 6** and renumber: [6. A democratic society in which the economy is in the hands of the majority, where decisions about our economic interests are made in workplaces, communities and across workplaces, and where appropriate, centrally.

On **point 19** which says

[19. A Reduction in the Standard Working Week to 35 hours in the first instance, with further reductions over time and corresponding adjustments to the hourly living wage. For those paid less than the median wage, no loss of income will be incurred due to reduction in working hours.]

Delete from [For those...working hours] and replace with [Wage adjustments will ensure that no loss of income is suffered as a result of reduced working hours.]

Point 32 delete and replace with [Immediately eliminate VAT on all goods and services]

Point 34 delete [80%] and replace with [90%]

2. An Action Programme for Left Unity – Class Struggle Platform

A programme for resistance

Over the year ahead we will campaign for:

- The TUC and the unions to organise the midweek day of action they promised in Bournemouth and make it a full-scale one-day general strike, to use this mass mobilisation to initiate industrial and direct action up to and including an all-out political mass strike to force the abandonment and reversal all the cuts and the privatisations.
- Solidarity with all wages struggles in the private and public sectors, for an increase in pay to compensate fully for the loss of real wages over the past year, fully indexed against inflation. Stand against zero hours contracts. Raise the minimum wage, pension and social security payments to a level everyone can decently live on.
- A programme of essential public works – including a huge building programme of socially-owned housing, schools, nurseries and local health clinics, providing accessibility for the disabled, phasing out nuclear power and laying the foundations of a sustainable energy and transport policy. No one should be denied work while such crying needs confront us. This programme must be carried through under workers and users' control and funded by taxing the wealth and the profits of the banks and big corporations.
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- Halt and reverse the cuts and privatisations in health, education and welfare. Repeal Lansley's Act; bring all foundation hospitals back into a fully nationally controlled system. Abolish the academies and free schools, nationalise the public schools, restore EMA at a living level, abolish tuition fees, reinstitute maintenance grants and cancel the student loan debt.
- Halt the attacks on women's jobs, services and rights; defend and extend high quality childcare provision for all; fight for access to jobs, pay and conditions fully equal to men; strengthen zero tolerance of domestic violence and rape.
- Fight all expressions of homophobia, transphobia, and the bullying, physical and mental violence, it leads to; illegalise all discrimination and grant full and equal civil rights, including marriage.
- End police harassment against ethnic minorities. End stop and search. For the right of all refugees and migrant workers to come, live and work here with full citizenship rights.
- Solidarity with Muslims and other ethnic minorities against abuse and violence; stop the marches of the EDL and other fascist groups by mass mobilisations and by organising militant self-defence of communities and meeting places.
- Make our struggle international – for solidarity actions with those in other countries, like Greece, fighting austerity, unemployment and racism.
- Oppose all attempts to take Britain into new wars and invasions on false humanitarian or human rights pretexts; but mobilise material support for all those fighting for freedom in Syria, Egypt, Palestine, etc.
- Fight for the defiance and repeal of all the anti-union laws, and the restoration of legal aid.

- Fight for the right of the Scottish people to decide for independence or not, free from any threats or intimidation, and should they do so the immediate recognition and implementation of their decision.

3. Austerity - West London Left Unity (as amended by Sheffield and Loughborough)

Left Unity is an anti-austerity party. We will campaign to unite the existing anti-cuts campaigns and campaigns against privatisation of our NHS, our public services, our welfare state, and our publicly funded education system.

4. Campaign for a 21 hour week - Southwark Left Unity

As a reduction in the working week and the redistribution of work among the unemployed and underemployed are vital for the physical, social and psychological health of our societies, and a ready answer to the crisis facing us, Left Unity adopts the transition to a 21 hour week with no loss of pay as a goal and campaign priority.

To this end Left Unity will:

- a) Form a working group to develop plans and proposals for campaigning for a 21 hour week.
- b) Aim to publish regular articles on the subject from members in different areas of employment and life
- c) Write to unions, professional bodies, academics and campaign groups proposing the organisation of a conference in 2014 to launch a national campaign for a shorter working week.

5. Zero-hours contracts - Manchester Central/Manchester South Left Unity (as amended by Oxford LU)

Conference notes:

- The widespread increase in zero-hours contracts and agency work in both the private and public sector, and the link to the 'extra hours culture' leading to the restructuring of the workforce, and shifting control further towards employers and away from employees.
- The impact this is having upon wage levels, employment rights, job security and the divisive influence that this has upon the workforce.
- The substantial variation in wages across different sectors of the economy
- The national minimum wage for apprenticeships is £2.68 an hour Apprenticeships in general can be used to undercut wages – which obviously undermines the minimum wage.
- The low level of unionisation in those sections of the workforce most affected by ZHC and agency work.

- The success of Hovis workers in preventing the imposition of ZHC/agency work and the success of unionisation campaigns in the USA.
- The success that Die Linke has had in building support for its campaign for a minimum wage in Germany.
- The increased attacks on the legal rights of ordinary people.

Conference believes:

- Young workers are greatly impacted by ZHC and agency work, creating insecurity, a lack of control and the removal of their human dignity.
- There is a disproportionate impact on women and Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic groups, those with disabilities and LGBT groups.
- Benefit claimants are often forced onto work programmes, workfare schemes, 'bogus' training courses and forced off JSA by sanctions; increasing their feelings of punishment, humiliation and disempowerment.
- The ConDem government is continuing to accelerate attacks on those claiming benefits; notably the threat to remove benefit rights from those aged 18 to 25 without any provision for genuine training and apprenticeships leading to real jobs.
- The Labour Party is complicit in this and there is scant evidence of any resolve to reverse these attacks.
- People should be empowered to work on their causes and campaigns, to gain full ownership of their lives for themselves.

Conference agrees:

To launch a Left Unity national campaign that aims to work with trade unions and groups inside and outside the workplace to:

1. Develop a high profile identity linking together all groups affected by this restructuring of the workforce – zero hours workers, agency workers, low paid workers, benefit claimants, young people and un-unionised workers.
2. Campaign for those undergoing “training” and “apprenticeships”, in addition to other workers, to be paid the level of a living wage.
3. Campaign for a boycott of and an end to workfare.
4. Produce campaigning materials made available to all branches.
5. Lobby/target employers to change their employment practices.
6. Support the unionisation of workers in the private and the public sector.
7. Campaign for an end to the denial of and reduction of JSA under the sanctions regimes.

6. Austerity - Bristol Left Unity (as amended by Barnet)

Left Unity rejects the pessimistic, cynical and inhumane austerity policies of the UKIP, Tory, Lib-Dem and Labour leaders and welcomes the Agenda for Hope published by Owen Jones in The Independent on 27 January. We see this as an achievable, minimum five-year programme, and will seek to build a progressive consensus around it with Owen Jones and The People's Assembly.

Left Unity believes that a national united movement of resistance against austerity is necessary, and we therefore agree to affiliate to the People's Assembly Against Austerity and support the call for a national demonstration on 21 June. We also welcome the decision of the TUC to call a demonstration on 18 October on the theme of "Britain needs a pay rise."

7. Welfare - Norwich Left Unity

1. UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND PENSIONS. An unconditional minimum £200 plus housing benefit for all those not in work.
2. THE MINIMUM WAGE. £10 per hour minimum pay without conditions and age differentials. Outlaw zero hour contracts.
3. A PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC WORKS. Homes not Trident or Aircraft Carriers. 1 million spacious new social houses and the renewal of the housing stock. For government creation of a million skilled jobs in the production of sustainable energy and flood defences.
4. BEDROOM TAX. Scrap the tax, repay the excess rent and return people to their original homes.
5. STUDENT LOANS. Cancel student debt and freeze student rents. Free access to higher education.
6. *THIS IS THE CORE OF OUR PROPOSED ACTION PROGRAMME. £10, £200 and 1 million add up to a concise slogan. IT CONSTITUTES THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF WHAT WORKERS NEED TO LIVE IN A DECENT AND DIGNIFIED MANNER. IF CAPITALISM CANNOT PROVIDE THIS SECURITY WE WILL USE IT TO FIGHT FOR AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM THAT CAN - SOCIALISM.*

7 A – Procedural motion - Brighton & Hove Left Unity

This motion needs more work and should be remitted.

8. Campaign to Oppose the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) - Birmingham Left Unity

The TTIP is a new trade agreement taking place between the USA and the EU which will be incredibly damaging to the UK's social and environmental regulations, public services, and Labour rights and standards. It will create a body of law which sits above UK and even EU law, which will cement the recent Conservative and New Labour pro-market reforms, and in many cases (such as with the Conservative's privatisation measures in the NHS) will make them irreversible. Regulations, Government subsidies, and many other types of progressive legislation will, under this new scheme, be deemed "trade irritants" which have to be abolished. Multinational Corporations, under this new trade agreement, are raised to the legal status of nation-states. This will create a situation where Governments can be sued for billions of dollars simply for introducing new regulations in the public interest. Examples of this have already taken place, such as when the Australian Government was sued for billions and made to reverse its ban on colour and branding on cigarette packages, which it implemented for public health reasons. Such occurrences will be commonplace under the TTIP, and will strip countries like the UK of much of the little democracy they have left.

Left Unity should start a high-profile campaign against the TTIP as soon as possible. This is because the parties involved are aiming to come to an agreement on this by the end of 2014.

9. ATOS - Leicester Left Unity

Left Unity notes ATOS's incompetent and unjust mistreatment of people who received Incapacity Benefit in the past

We propose

1. That ATOS' role be abolished
2. That in so far as an assessment of particular individual needs is necessary it should be undertaken by properly qualified professional experts.

9 A – Amendment – Glasgow Left Unity

Add to end of point 2. [who are in full time work within the DWP.]

10. Austerity & Destitution - Wandsworth Left Unity

Austerity is a general term which describes a particular approach to managing the economy. Whilst we are against the whole ideology of austerity there are matters of such urgency that immediate calls need to be made to halt particular manifestations of the austerity programme as they are currently causing immense suffering and even loss of life.

Left unity therefore adopts as one of its immediate campaigning issues:

To make it illegal to leave a person destitute i.e. without any money to live on, whatever the circumstances of the person concerned.

Section 2 – Health and Housing

Health

11. Draft statement of the Left Unity Health Policy Commission

Policies to improve health

Move to minimise social and economic inequality. Every step that reduces inequality can be shown to improve the health of all parts of society. All Left Unity policies should consider their impact on the social determinants of health.

The development of new, and improvement of existing, social factors on health such as improved social housing, access to good education, healthy food, healthy environment, exercise facilities etc.

Healthcare planning and provision should include a focus on the social determinants of health as a means of preventing ill health. This means that resources should be distributed across the country according to the pattern of need.

Defence of the environment to minimise any health impacts.

Healthcare Policies

The NHS is central to healthcare provision. The following policies are vital to defend and improve it:

The Secretary of State for Health should be responsible for all NHS healthcare provision. Every part of the NHS should be defended as a publicly run, publicly owned system providing free care. Where this is not the case it should be reversed.

Access to health care should be universal and equitable.

Health care should be funded out of taxation (and borrowing where necessary – e.g. as GDP fluctuates annually).

Market forces have no place in state healthcare provision.

Better ways of integrating the provision of healthcare and social care should be investigated and implemented.

Health education ties the health system to the education system and should be developed as a form of co-operation between the two.

Healthcare provision and planning should be based on evidence and outcomes and excellence should be the norm.

Mental health services have been shamefully neglected over decades and need to be expanded and integrated into the broader NHS. Workforce planning and training of staff should be dependent upon the needs of the NHS.

Health care planning and provision should include a focus on workplace health and ensuring that the physical, chemical, biological and psychological risks in all workplaces are aggressively minimised.

A real weakness of the original NHS is that of poor democratic accountability. We need a modern system in which employees, councillors, patients and carers are represented on all appropriate health bodies. This should help to ensure that the NHS has the flexibility to ensure that local and regional needs are catered for.

In accordance with Left Unity policy, members must consider joining Keep Our NHS Public and other relevant bodies. They should also consider involvement in public health bodies like Clinical Commissioning Groups, Healthwatch and Hospital and other

Trusts, the purpose being to defend the remains of an integrated service and resist commodification and especially privatisation at every opportunity.

As a long-term goal, we need to work towards a single integrated NHS. An integrated NHS would eliminate the so-called purchaser/provider split. This is a costly way to create an internal market. It sets parts of the NHS against each other to no good purpose and costs up to 14% of the entire NHS budget annually just to maintain.

A genuine NHS could control the behaviour of the drug companies. This would mean ensuring that fair prices are paid for drugs. It would also mean that the excessive use of drugs would be ended. Once drug companies cannot promote their products directly to doctors the unnecessary reliance on pharmaceuticals can be ended. A unitary NHS would be in a powerful position to deal with global businesses. The possibility of pharmaceutical production within the NHS must be considered.

Health research is essential and the intense competition for funds should be scaled back. The money saved on sterile bidding for funding could be used to expand the total amount of research. Research has to be encouraged at all levels of provision and aimed where the NHS requires it. This goes from work on genetics to the study of the daily practice of GPs and community health workers.

Immediate Demands for discussion at Policy Conference:

The 10 point plan to re-instate, protect, and improve the NHS:

1. Repeal the Health and Social Care Act to restore the NHS as a publicly delivered, publicly funded and publicly accountable healthcare system, and re-establish the position of the Health Secretary as fully accountable for providing comprehensive health care. The most practical solution is to back Lord Owen's NHS re-instatement bill, which we fully support. (<http://www.opendemocracy.net/ournhs/david-owen/nhs-reinstatement-bill-and-explanatory-notes-updated>)

2. Re-instate the NHS as the preferred provider of healthcare. This will protect the NHS as a public service by minimising private sector takeover of NHS services

3. Abolish the Private Finance Initiative (PFI). Renegotiate and buy out contracts at realistic value.

Any publicly owned banks must cancel PFI contracts before re-privatisation. Stop and reverse the outsourcing of clinical and support services related to PFI projects.

4. Moratorium on A+E and hospital closures. Any reconfigurations must be clinically, not financially driven, and must show they have won public and professional support for alternative, improved services.

5. Reduce the Department of Health's reliance on expensive external management consultants who have too much influence on health policy. Instead the DH should re-engage with the representative bodies of frontline NHS professionals, as well as patient groups, to develop and plan future NHS policy in the most clinically effective and sustainable manner

6. Ensure evidenced-based adequate staff to patient ratios and bed numbers in order to maintain safe, effective, and high quality patient care.

7. Improve accountability and transparency of the NHS by empowering community health bodies and combining them with external peer review of hospitals and GP practices.

Reviewing and strengthening the NHS complaints process and improving the ease of access, and protection for whistle blowers will also contribute to patient trust and confidence.

8. Use the purchasing power (monopoly status) of the NHS to improve NHS procurement practices in order to reduce costs of drugs, medical devices and general supplies.

9. Strongly focus on dealing with the social determinants of health, such as poverty, income inequalities, unemployment, poor housing, social exclusion, lack of child care etc. Prioritise public health and social care.

10. Exempt the NHS from the EU/US Free Trade Agreement, which otherwise threatens to open up our healthcare system to irreversible privatisation

11 A Amendment - Hackney Left Unity branch

1. Add to the [Immediate Demands:]

[We will end cuts and privatisation in the health service.

We will ensure that the NHS is fully-funded so that the needs of all patients can be met efficiently and promptly with the best available treatments.

We will cancel the PFI debts – relieving the NHS of a huge and unsustainable financial burden and ending this form of corporate exploitation of the taxpayer.

We will reverse the decline in real wages of health service workers.]'

2. Replace the paragraph beginning [A genuine NHS could control the behaviour of the drug companies... with

[The private pharmaceutical industry exploits patients and the NHS. Left Unity will campaign to expose the anti-social behaviour of Big Pharma, to restrict its powers, and ultimately to replace it with a non-profit and accountable system of pharmaceutical production. Towards that end, we will immediately ban pharmaceutical company representatives from NHS premises, where their only role is to distort clinical practice. We will insist on the publication in full of all clinical trials data, past and present. We will aim to take Continuing Medical Education (for already qualified and experienced doctors) out of the hands of Big Pharma by providing publicly-funded alternatives.

We will also seek to promote generic production of drugs and to challenge the monopolies created by the current restrictive regime of Intellectual Property Rights. Towards that end we will seek to collaborate with other countries pursuing similar policies.

We believe that private profit has no place and plays no positive role in the development and dissemination of drugs. Therefore we will aim to build publicly-owned alternatives to Big Pharma.]

11 B – Amendment – Lambeth branch

Under [Immediate Demands for Discussion at Policy Conference], point 8 - Add at end:

[Ensure those in charge of NHS purchasing power allocations have no conflict of interest arising from a financial benefit to be gained from selecting a particular product. E.g. they do not own shares in pharmaceutical companies, or other medical supply companies or corporations or trusts which support medical suppliers.]

12. NHS Campaigns – composite - Islington, West London and Barnet

Left Unity members and branches will support and work within broad based campaigns to defend the NHS in a non-sectarian way. We should develop and encourage local support for such campaigns.

We should encourage local campaigns to understand the need for a national movement against cuts and privatisation of the NHS.

We agree to affiliate to and support Keep Our NHS Public.

We will produce and distribute our own material where appropriate, especially in situations where these campaigns do not have policy on questions we think are important and relevant. We will not seek to set up our own campaigning organisations where there are campaigns that we can work in. We think that only through joint action with others will we win some battles against this government, and we don't want to build 'party fronts'.

13. Defending the NHS - Birmingham Left Unity

The NHS is one of our greatest and most important institutions and must be defended from privatisation. Left Unity should campaign to:

- Bring the NHS back fully into democratic public ownership
- Reverse attacks on the provision of services
- Stop the closure of hospital departments, particularly A&Es
- Increase the number of healthcare professionals and NHS staff to ensure patients receive the care and treatment they deserve

Left Unity will work alongside campaign groups, doctors, nurses, healthcare professionals, NHS workers and trade unions to keep the NHS a universal healthcare provider free at the point of access to all.

Housing

14. Housing - Liverpool Left Unity

There are many aspects to the housing crisis in Britain.

- The bedroom tax,
- the relentless attacks on social/council housing and its removal from democratic control
- the virtual end to the concept of housing based on social need

- the cost and insecurity of private rental,
- the prevalence of short, insecure term lets, which damage the construction of viable communities, and impact on children's schooling
- the rise in homelessness,
- the shortage of mortgages and the lack of affordable housing
- the slowdown in the house building industry
- the scandal of viable housing standing empty
- the use of housing once again as speculative capital especially in London.

These all make housing a key policy issue for Left Unity

This conference agrees that Left Unity should

- Campaign for dignity in housing for all.
- Campaign for the immediate end to the bedroom tax and should support the campaigns (including direct action and organisation in the communities) to see it abolished.
- Campaign for publically owned and democratically controlled (council) house building programme funded by government at minimal interest rates

Left Unity should adopt as policy, to guide all elected representatives and to use within campaigns and to implement as soon as elected, the following policy points.

1. Planning for housing to be within an overall plan of the town or city to ensure full access to the existing social and recreational facilities for the residents.
2. Planning of housing to be linked to plans for schools, health care,
3. Housing should be aesthetically pleasing to the eye and take into account existing designs of property's in the local area
4. Heating for all houses to be planned within a neighbourhood plan and at the most efficient use of fuel. Incorporating solar wind or ground source energy where ever possible.
5. Every home should have fire alarms and sprinklers
6. For union recognised building sites
7. For housing to be eco-friendly and sustainably sourced and run.
8. For house building programmes to integrate provision for the elderly close to family housing
9. The need for long term secure tenancies so as to build communities
10. For rents to be affordable within the living wage

11. For most houses to be built to Parker Morris standards and with back and front gardens
12. To ensure the needs of LGBT, elders from all communities, and other minority groups are respected in housing and to build at least one LGBTQ shelter - extra care units in every major conurbation
13. For rent control on private landlords
14. To defend housing benefit for under 25 year olds, and for reversal of previous caps
15. Ensure that Local Authorities are required to house all those who are unintentionally homeless.
16. Re-legalise rent strikes
17. Local Authorities to be given the responsibility to safe guard standards in the private sector and to intervene where requires
18. To reverse the cuts in legal aid
19. To reverse cuts in emergency accommodation with the creation of a diversity of units that meet all needs
20. To recognise the needs of people in flood prone areas.
21. To ensure as much run off water as possible is held within the areas
22. To facilitate the organisation of tenants.
23. To use idle industrial capital to build sustainable and high quality prefabricated housing
24. A radical reform of the planning system, which will allow planners to plan, with detailed site allocations determining the value of land (essentially a nationalisation of development rights). Included within these reforms would be the introduction of mandatory housing standards, and a review of the Use Classes Order with a new separate Use Class introduced for social housing. In addition, a new National Spatial Plan would be introduced to provide a cohesive and holistic strategy and a joined-up approach to planning for major housing and economic growth, and infrastructure investment. There would be increased capacity and support for local planning authorities, including investment in training and education programmes for the planning sector
25. Development of a large scale State construction programme in partnership with local authorities and local communities, focusing on the regeneration of urban areas. The role of the Government's housing and regeneration agency the Homes and Communities Agency will be reviewed, with a view to them focusing on supporting the new State programme, and direct development of their own assets where appropriate. All surplus public sector land will be put to use in order to support the programme.

Left Unity Liverpool recognises that there is much more than house building needed to humanise and truly civilise our cities and wishes to work with international political campaign "The Right to the City"

To this end, we invite supporters of Left Unity and all campaigning for dignity in housing and our other demands to attend a meeting on this matter in Liverpool, the first city to develop social housing, but now one of the cities most damaged by the government's policies. Further details will follow

14 A - Amendment - West London

After point 23 which says [to facilitate the organisation of tenants] add [and encourage the setting up of Housing Co-operatives]

15. Housing – Waltham Forest Left Unity (as amended by Loughborough and Birmingham)

One campaigning priority relates to housing. As well as campaigning against housing benefit cuts and the bedroom tax (the latter only affects those in social housing), there are other points to be taken up. Specifically:

- 1) Increased production of social, cooperative and public housing to be done by the public sector and not-for-profit social housing sector; there is clearly significant need for social housing which is not being met.
- 2) Reintroduction of rent controls: rents in private housing are rising out of proportion to incomes (which we know are stagnant or falling). A maximum increase can be introduced for which property owners and managers need to demonstrate their necessity in the context of repairing and refitting the rented property.
- 3) Protections for the rights of short-term tenants in both public and private housing with respect to length of rental contract and termination of tenancy must be increased. We should call for democratic control of housing policy by tenants on housing estates.
- 4) Local authorities should be responsible for regular inspection and approval of all rented properties with a grading given in relation to facilities provided, state of repairs and heat insulation.
- 5) Reduce the carbon footprint of all housing stock and improve energy

16. Housing - Milton Keynes Left Unity

Left Unity regards the provision of housing as a basic right.

Towards this end we demand:

1. A massive revival of council, Cooperative and other social house building programmes. The shortage of housing must be ended.
2. Council and social housing must be high quality, energy-efficient and with

spacious rooms. Where appropriate, outside areas must be provided for children to play.

3. Accommodation to be allocated on the basis of need and rents set at an affordable level. There should be life-long tenure.
4. Communal housing schemes with shared services, gardens, swimming pools, gyms, etc should be included as part of the mix of housing options.
5. Housing estates and blocks of flats should be democratically run by tenants in conjunction with the local authorities and relevant trade unions.
6. Architects should be encouraged to innovate and use their imagination. However, the design of all new builds and the refurbishment of existing accommodation should fully involve future residents and the wider local community.
7. A publicly-owned building corporation to be established to ensure that planned targets for house-building are reached and to provide permanent employment and ongoing training for building workers.

16A - Amendment - Lee Rock & Laurie McCauley

In point 3 delete [affordable] and insert [token]

17. Housing - Richard Farnos & Joseph Healey – LGBT Caucus

This conference notes that research suggests that:

1. a disproportionately high number of LGBTQ people live in private rented sector housing,
2. a disproportionately low number LGBTQ people live in council or social housing,
3. around 50% of older LGBTQ people would like the option of living in LGBTQ shelter /extra care accommodation - currently there is none in Britain,
4. other older LGBTQ people who don't want specific LGBTQ accommodation want to live in safe and secure homes,
5. young LGBTQ people, many of whom are estranged from their families , have been hit by housing benefit cuts and will be forced on the street if the Conservatives scrap it for under 25s,
6. there is increasing homelessness and sofa surfing by LGBTQ youth because of cuts in emergency accommodation and refuges just as demand jumps due to welfare 'reforms',
7. that a factor in cause of the current recession was a housing boom caused by the lack of house building and the buy-to-let bubble.

This conference believes that:

8. all, including those who rent privately, have a right to a decent and secure home , without fear of excessive rent increases,
9. council/social housing should be an option for all, not a just a safety net
10. no one should ever have to sleep on the streets or sofa surf,
11. the housing market is still over inflated, which is bad both for the economy and those in insecure accommodation.

Left Unity will campaign:

12. to defend housing benefit for under 25 year olds, and for reversal of previous caps
13. for housing legislation to be reviewed to:
 - ensure that Local Authorities are required to house all those who are unintentionally homeless.
 - restore greater security for private renters and regulate rent rises
 - re-legalise rent strikes
 - de-criminalise squatting of abandoned properties
 - to keep the 'right to buy' but only at market value with its income ring fenced to build or renovate properties
 - for all Private Landlords to be registered with their local authority
 - for local authorities to proactively ensure that private accommodation meets the decent home standard
14. to reverse the cuts in legal aid
15. to reverse cuts in emergency accommodation with the creation of a diversity of units that meet all needs
16. to abolish all new buy-to-let mortgages with lender only allowed to loan on existing not predicted income
17. to build at least one LGBTQ shelter -extra care units in every major conurbation
18. to increase the building and renovation of Council, and truly affordable, housing to at least 250,000 units a year

Section 3 – Europe & Migration

18. Migration Policy - Anti-Racism Policy Group

1. Migrants and refugees face a sustained offensive which began under the last Labour government and has further intensified with the Tory-led coalition. There is a campaign of vilification by mainstream politicians, which fuels the rise of UKIP and the far-right. This is cheered on by the right-wing media's scare stories about Romanians and Bulgarians "flooding into Britain".
2. Migrants and refugees have had their rights to benefits, housing, health, work, and legal representation removed or restricted. An ever-widening number of professionals and landlords are expected to act as "immigration spies", legally obliged to check the immigration status of their clients.
3. There are moves to set caps on non-EU immigration and talk by the government of re-negotiating Britain's relationship with the European Union to bring an end to freedom of movement.
4. Many of these measures are contained in the proposed Immigration Bill and some proposals are even being rushed in ahead of the Bill becoming law. Raids on migrants at home, in places of employment, cafes, social events continue and are being carried out more publically, sometimes with embedded media coverage, in order to spread fear across migrant communities.
5. This situation will worsen in the run up to the European and local authority elections in May 2014. The success of UKIP in the May 2013 local elections, fought openly and unashamedly on an anti-immigration ticket, has pushed immigration up the political agenda.
6. Labour and the Tories have reacted by competing with each other over their anti-immigration rhetoric. This creates a predictable vicious circle that boosts the chances of UKIP and strengthens the right per se.
7. While there is a long-term trend in British society that has been hostile to immigration since the 1960s, attitudes over the last decade have dangerously hardened. According to the *British Social Attitudes Survey* in 2003 some 33 per cent of people believed immigration had a negative social impact. But by 2011 this had risen to some 48 per cent. Some 75 per cent of respondents advocated a reduction in immigration with 51 per cent wanting 'a large reduction'.
8. But other data shows that responses to questions about immigration depend heavily on how the question is posed. Even those who buy into anti-immigration rhetoric can also be won to arguments based on fairness and working class solidarity; that they enjoy freedoms to move and work overseas that should not be denied to others, that the global super-rich enjoy near total freedom of movement across the world's borders that is denied to the poor and marginalised, etc.
9. The self organisation of black and other migrant communities over decades is also important in undercutting racism and anti-migrant sentiment. While individual anti-deportation campaigns can have the limitation of being seen as special pleading they also act to mobilise people in a positive way. The work done by Lambeth Left Unity in support of the Jermaine Strachan campaign was exemplary.
10. Left Unity completely rejects all anti-immigration arguments and rhetoric. We believe mass migration has had, and always will have, an overwhelmingly positive impact on society. We recognise and respect the extraordinary sacrifices that people have made and continue to make to come to Britain, and we unreservedly defend their right to stay, to bring their families, and to build a new life for themselves.

11. Migration transforms the nature of the working class for the better, bringing experiences of global struggles, and opening up new and exciting avenues for cultural and artistic change.
12. Migration has an impact in breaking down many, but by no means all, racist myths and stereotypes. There is a strong anti-racist sentiment in many of Britain's major cities that is a consequence of decades of struggle by ethnic minority communities against racism. Like on so many other issues there is simply no pro-migration, anti-racist voice in party politics shaping the agenda.
13. The labour force today is bigger than ever, but capitalism still does not provide jobs for all those able and willing to work. This has nothing to do with immigration but is entirely based on the 'artificial scarcity' that capitalism creates when there are too many people looking for work than can be profitably employed in the market place. A reduction in the working week with no loss of pay is a solution to the scourge of unemployment in the interests of working class people, restrictions on migration ultimately serve the interests of the bosses.
14. For all these reasons, Left Unity believes that there can be no "fair" or "non-racist" immigration controls. We are opposed to immigration controls. We are opposed to all laws which make people illegal because of who they are, where they or their parents were born, the colour of their skin, what language they speak, and so on.
15. We believe that it is in the interests of the working class as a whole, migrant and non-migrant, in Britain and internationally, to have equal rights to move across borders, to settle in other countries, and to bring their families with them if they choose to do so.
16. Insofar as the right to 'freedom of movement' exists, however imperfectly, in the EU states as a result of binding international agreements, we defend them trenchantly and without equivocation.
17. These circumstances present Left Unity with important duties in the immediate period.
 - A) Anti Cuts Campaigns: Bring these issues and migrant voices into campaigns against the cuts, defence of the health service, housing etc. The ruling class tries to divide us - saying they are saving services and resources for the "indigenous" people by excluding the "foreigners". We need to say "we are all in it together" and ensure that these campaigns do likewise.
 - B) Support campaign(s) to stop the Immigration Bill.
 - C) Elections 2014: Be a strong pro-migrant voice during the 2014 election campaigns. Where we have candidates they should make it a priority to challenge the reactionary line that is coming from the other parties. But we can challenge these even without candidates. We should produce pro-migrant materials and distribute these, take our arguments to hustings, put out press releases and letters to local papers where this nonsense is circulating.
 - D) Defiance not Compliance. The government proposals and existing controls can only work if professionals comply with them. Already we have seen the opposition by health professionals to it is being proposed. Left Unity needs to campaign for the trade unions not only to oppose these proposals but support workers in refusing to carry them out.
 - E) No to privatisation. The Government is outsourcing immigration controls to organisations such as G4S who have an appalling track record on human rights including the death of Jimmy Mubenga who they were trying to deport. While we campaign against the whole immigration machine in so far as it exists it should be in public hands
 - F) Challenge ideas in the labour movement, and even sections of the socialist movement, that openly support or implicitly endorse the idea of "British Jobs for

British Workers". Immigration controls divide and weaken the working class and therefore against the interests of all workers

19. Left Unity's European work - Crouch End Left Unity (as amended by West London)

We note the recent 4th Congress of the European Left Party the final political document of which stated:

"The global crisis of capitalism, after decades of accumulation of profits and massive redistribution of wealth and power in favour of capital, affects in one way or another every country and every aspect of social life. Extreme austerity policies, shrinking and precarious employment, privatization of public goods and companies, destruction of a large part of the productive forces, dramatic reduction in the Welfare State, weakening of democratic institutions, strengthening of repression and emergency powers have all been employed to maintain the dominance of capital and global profitability.

The situation has become unsustainable for the peoples of Europe. Austerity and authoritarianism are applied as part of the European oligarchies' strategy to dominate the peoples...

Today, crucial choices have to be made. There will be no maintaining of the status quo or going backwards. If the current choices are upheld, the EU will increasingly be reduced to an authoritarian management board and producer of social regression, threatening any idea of solidarity and European justice. We propose a break in order to found a new European project, one which is based on the interests of the peoples and respect for their sovereignty, in order to restore a sense of meaning to European integration.

For us, there is no question of waiting for the European Union to crumble, and for the monsters that could emerge from the rubble, nor of promoting nationalist solutions setting the peoples against one another. The European Left, which we represent, is internationalist and stands together in solidarity. We strive towards a socialist alternative, a civilisation freed from capitalism, exploitation, oppression and capitalist violence. Ours is a vision that guarantees not only a distribution of wealth that supports work and an advanced social and economic development model, but also democracy, equality, democratic and social rights for all European citizens.

It is to this end that we fight for a re-foundation of Europe, in other words, for a new definition of its objectives, policies and structures; an economic, productive, social and ecological model that is totally different, and that is based on solidarity, social justice and popular sovereignty."

Left Unity supports this call for a re-foundation of Europe, on a socialist basis, and commits to working to this end in solidarity and internationalism with the European Left Party and other anti-capitalist left forces in Europe.

There is no question that the EU is an anti-working class institution and we support the struggles against the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, the Fourth Railway Package and other ongoing neo-liberal attacks which are intrinsic to the EU.

20. Left Unity Position on European Elections 2014 - Southwark Left Unity

Given that Left Unity for a variety of reasons – lack of regional infrastructure, cost of deposits, and above all a lack of campaigning activists – will not be in a position to contest the European elections in May 2014 it needs to have a clear stance on its electoral strategy in relation to other parties contesting this election. It is clear that this election will be a very important one, not only for the UK but for the whole of Europe, with the spectre of the Far Right taking many seats in the new European parliament and its UK variety – UKIP doing very well here. Many in Left Unity will regard this election, with its PR electoral form, as an important opportunity to fight back against both UK and European wide xenophobia, Fascism and austerity. However, it is vitally important for the political and ideological (not to mention ethical) future of Left Unity that it is not seen to back parties which have a record of supporting austerity and cuts, on the basis that they are “the lesser of two evils”

In the light of all of these issues this conference resolves to:

1. Not to give its support in these European elections to any other party standing for election and to make clear that it is up to the individual view of its members as to how they wish to cast their votes.
2. To allow any region which believes that it is necessary because of the threat of a Fascist or Xenophobic victory in its region to support another party which it may regard as ideologically and politically crucial for that region. This decision shall apply only to a region following a full and democratic meeting in that region, which all regional members shall be informed of with several weeks notice.
3. Any national Spokespersons or members of the National Council in their dealings with the media shall make it abundantly clear that Left Unity is totally neutral in the European election and does not give its support to any other party. This shall not apply in relation to any region which has voted to support another party but it shall be made clear that this was for regional/local reasons.
4. Any national Spokesperson or member of the National Council who supports a vote for another party in the European election shall make it clear that this is a personal position and is not the view of the party.

21. International Solidarity - Lambeth Left Unity

This conference believes:

1. That the Europe-wide capitalist crisis requires a Europe-wide working-class response.
2. That we should no more oppose European capitalist integration than we would oppose the merger of two companies, even though the bosses use mergers as an excuse to attempt job cuts and other attacks. When Britain plc merges into Europe plc, the answer is to link up with other European workers in solidarity and struggle.
3. That demanding withdrawal from the EU, or opposing British entry into the European single currency, is a British nationalist position which misidentifies the enemy as "Europe" rather than the ruling class.

4. The road to a Socialist United Europe is the road of responding to European capitalist unification by organising for cross-European workers' and socialist struggle. We advocate the following program for this struggle:

- Oppose all cuts; level up wages, services, pensions and workers' rights to the best across Europe
- Tax the rich and expropriate the banks, Europe-wide
- Cancel the debts of Greece and other countries being bled dry by the private banks and European and global financial institutions;
- Scrap the EU's bureaucratic structures; for a European constituent assembly;
- Against a European defence force; for a Europe without standing armies or nuclear weapons;
- No to Fortress Europe; abolish Schengen and the British anti-immigration laws – for the free movement of workers, refugees and asylum seekers;
- For a European workers' government.

5. In a referendum on British entry to the Euro, our position will be to advocate an active abstention and our slogans will be along the lines of, "In or out, the fight goes on"; "Single currency - not at our expense"; and "For a Workers' Europe".

6. The upcoming European elections will be dominated by nationalist rhetoric around Europe, including attacks on migrant workers' rights and calls for harsher immigration controls. The left and labour movement must stand against this attempt to divide the working class, by fighting back against anti-migrant prejudice.

This conference resolves:

1. To organise public meetings promoting solidarity with workers and social movements across Europe
2. To organise meetings and actions in solidarity with Romanian, Bulgarian and other migrant workers.
3. To initiate a short statement setting out this position and circulate it around Britain and

Europe for signatories.

4. To produce articles, pamphlets and leaflets setting out this position ahead of the European election.

5. To refuse support from LU as an organisation to all non-working class parties and candidates and all parties supporting cuts, austerity and privatisation of our services

21 A - Amendment - Manchester LU

Para. 3 (believes): delete [or opposing British entry into the European single currency,]

Para. 4 (believes): Replace bullet point [For a European workers' government.] with [For a Europe of democratic socialist states.]

Para 5. (believes): Delete all and replace with: [We oppose British and/or Scottish entry into the European single currency, since the European Central Bank is unelected and unaccountable, nationalisation of it is not a serious option this side of a socialist revolution across the EU, there are considerably different economic conditions in countries that have adopted the euro, and it is part of the troika that has enforced extreme levels of austerity on some countries in the eurozone.]

Delete completely para 5 (resolves) [To refuse support from LU as an organisation to all non-working class parties and candidates and all parties supporting cuts, austerity and privatisation of our services]

21 B – Amendment - Crouch End

Add at end of point 5 (resolves):

[without excluding the possibility of specific discussions, for example with the Green Party over how to ensure that a far-right or fascist candidate is not elected.]

22. The EU and the European Elections - Manchester Left Unity (also submitted by Nik Barstow & Ruth Cashman)

Conference notes that Left Unity currently has no agreed position on the relationship between the UK and the EU, that this will be a major issue in the European elections on 22nd May 2014 and that it is urgent to take a view regardless of whether Left Unity is in a position to stand candidates or not.

Conference, therefore agrees:

1. That the Europe-wide capitalist crisis requires a Europe-wide working-class response.
2. That we should no more oppose European capitalist integration than we would oppose the merger of two companies, even though the bosses use mergers as an excuse to attempt job cuts and other attacks. When Britain plc merges into Europe plc, the answer is to link up with other European workers in solidarity and struggle.

3. That demanding withdrawal from the EU, or opposing British entry into the European single currency, is a British nationalist position which misidentifies the enemy as "Europe" rather than the ruling class.
4. The road to a Socialist United Europe is the road of responding to European capitalist unification by organising for crossEuropean workers' and socialist struggle. We advocate the following program for this struggle:
 - Oppose all cuts; level up wages, services, pensions and workers' rights to the best across Europe;
 - Tax the rich and expropriate the banks, Europewide;
 - Scrap the EU's bureaucratic structures; for a European constituent assembly;
 - Against a European defense force; for a Europe without standing armies or nuclear weapons;
 - For a Europe of democratic socialist states.
 - Against fortress Europe: for the free movement of people
5. In a referendum on British entry to the Euro, our position will be to advocate an active abstention and our slogans will be along the lines of "In or out, the fight goes on"; "Single currency not at our expense"; and "For a Workers' Europe".
6. The 22nd May European elections will be dominated by nationalist rhetoric around Europe, including attacks on migrant workers' rights and calls for harsher immigration controls. The left and labour movement must stand against this attempt to divide the working class, by fighting back against antimigrant prejudice.

This conference, therefore, resolves:

1. To organise public meetings promoting solidarity with workers and social movements across Europe
2. To organise meetings and actions in solidarity with Romanian, Bulgarian and other migrant workers.
3. To initiate a short statement setting out this position and circulate it around Britain and Europe for signatories.
4. To produce articles, pamphlets and leaflets setting out this position ahead of the European election.

22 A - Amendment -West London

Completely delete (first) point 3 – i.e. delete

[3.That demanding withdrawal from the EU, or opposing British entry into the European single currency, is a British nationalist position which misidentifies the enemy as "Europe" rather than the ruling class".]

23. European Union Milton Keynes Left Unity and Sarah McDonald /Phil Kent

Left Unity opposes all programmes and demands for a British withdrawal from the European Union. By the same measure we oppose the EU of commissioners, corruption and capital. However, as the political, bureaucratic and economic elite has created the reality of a confederal EU, the working class should take it, not the narrow limits of the nation-state, as its decisive point of departure.

The constituent national parts of the EU exhibit a definite commonality due to geography, culture, history, economics and politics. Put another way, the EU is not an empire kept together by force. Nor is it just a trading bloc. Far from capitalism pushing through what is objectively necessary - the unity of Europe - on the contrary capitalism has held back European unification.

For the working class that necessitates organising at an EU level: campaigns, trade unions, cooperatives, for the levelling up of working conditions and wages across Europe to the best status quo currently in force, and the fight for extreme democracy.

Left Unity wants not a quasi-democratic, confederal EU, but a united Europe under the rule of the working class.

- Power to the European parliament. Replace the EU commission by an executive democratically responsible to the parliament. Abolish the Council of Ministers.
- For a democratically controlled European Central Bank.
- Towards indivisible European unity.
- For the free movement of people. Against all immigration controls

Naturally, to the degree the working class extends its power over the EU it will exercise attraction for the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such a bloc would be able to face down all threats and quickly spread the flame of universal liberation.

Section 4 – Electoral Strategy

24. Unity on the Left - Rugby Left Unity

We note, and welcome, the following section from the statement of aims for LU as in our agreed Constitution

“2) AIMS

The aims of Left Unity are:

a) to unite the diverse strands of radical and socialist politics in the UK including worker’s organisations and trade unions; ordinary people, grass root organisations and co-operatives rooted in our neighbourhoods and communities; individuals and communities facing poverty, discrimination and social oppression because of gender, ethnicity, age, disability, sexuality, unemployment or under-employment; environmental and green campaigners; campaigners for freedom and democracy; all those who seek to authentically voice and represent the interests of working people”

To start implementation of this aim, we would like to see Left Unity develop strategies which, in the long term, help contribute to there being One Party of the Left which can reach out to all the strands of radical and socialist politics in the UK. This will include initiating debate across the left about building One Party of the Left

25. Electoral strategy - West London Left Unity

Electoral support for a new left party will only advance to the extent that it is genuinely representative of working class communities, has no interests separate from theirs, and is an organic part of the campaigns and movements which they generate and support. It will engage electoral processes as appropriate, offering voters a left alternative, while understanding that elections are not the only arena or even the most important arena in which political struggles are fought.

Mindful of this, this conference calls upon the incoming leadership (or whatever term we are using for this) to establish a committee to be tasked with liaising with local Left Unity structures with a remit to, though not exclusively limited to:

1. Liaise with local structures in order to assess the viability of an electoral campaign in their area;
2. Identifying, in conjunction with the wider membership, possible key target constituencies;
3. Facilitate a discussion between the wider membership on which elections we should, in the short to medium term, engage in;
4. Assist local structures in building up their electoral capacity;
5. Take a national view of state of our organisation and made recommendations as to how local structures can assist and reinforce each other in terms of electoral work with a view to ensuring that we maximise our resources;
6. Carry out a skills audit of our membership with a view to identifying those who have prior experience of elections in order to facilitate the passing on of these skills to the wider membership through a co-ordinated training program;
7. Begin the process of drafting materials such as canvass sheets for national use.

This conference, furthermore, calls upon all local Left Unity structures to begin the process of building their electoral capacity. Such work may include, but not exclusively:

- Identifying possible target constituencies at Local Government level;
- Identifying potential election candidates;
- Building the public profile of Party activists;
- Beginning the process of obtaining electoral registers and other relevant data;
- Devising local campaigns which both raise our profile and ensure we remain rooted within, and relevant to, local communities.

This conference accepts that candidates should only be fielded where a political base of support exists within the community and where the human and financial resources exist to make a genuine and locally representative campaign viable.

25 A - Amendment - Rugby LU

Add at end:

[Where Left Unity does decide to stand in the 2014 Council elections, local LU branches can chose, in consultation with the National Council, under what left electoral label they stand as long as they can put out LU material and promote LU as part of the campaign]

26 Electoral Strategy - Bristol Left Unity

Left Unity calls on prospective Green and Labour candidates to join us in campaigning for

- a) a ban on bank bonuses & above-national average pay hikes
- b) a halt to NHS privatisation
- c) a renewed moratorium on fracking
- d) a massive expansion of green energy research & investment
- e) a massive expansion of public transport
- f) a statutory right to work
- g) equal pay for equal work
- h) a seven-hour working day.

We believe the statutory living wage supported in the Agenda for Hope should be set yearly by a TUC-CBI commission, and that the rents for the new housing stock it also calls for must be used for genuinely social purposes. To achieve accountable banks, our aim must be to put, first, bailed-out institutions under full public ownership & control, followed by those found to be involved in mis-selling & market or interest-rate manipulation.

Cheaper energy and public transport will also require the return of all privatised utilities to public ownership & control. This must, as the Agenda for Hope suggests, also be the model for the restoration of universal free healthcare & care for the elderly.

On fracking, our view is that a halt must be called at least until affected residents' associations agree it is safe. On the green agenda generally, we must press for a massive, state-funded expansion of green farming to tackle the linked problems of climate change, flooding, soil degradation and their accumulating health effects.

27 Electoral strategy - Pete McLaren & Dave Landau

Left Unity should open discussions with other left groups, coalitions and parties to avoid electoral clashes and move towards electoral pacts – with the initial aim of creating the largest ever left challenge in the 2015 General Election

Section 5 – Miscellaneous

28. Defend the Right to Protest - Northampton Left Unity

Whereas university students have staged occupations and organised other protests against:

1. the privatisation of university services which threaten the jobs of UNISON, UNITE and UCU members
2. the privatisation of student loans

to defend education against the government's spending cuts and exponential increase in tuition fees, and

to show their solidarity with Higher Education staff seeking just and affordable pay increase and to establish the living wage for all employees and workers in the Higher Education Sector;

Whereas the senior managements of Birmingham University, London University and Sussex University have victimised student protestors by obtaining court injunctions, suspending students or using the police to break up the protests; and

Whereas these universities have attempted to criminalise peaceful protest and thereby infringe on a fundamental civic right

We hereby call on Left Unity to support the right to protest by:

- asking members to write to their MPs to support the EDM 1065 tabled by John McDonnell
- circulating online petitions and urging members to sign
- sending emails in solidarity to student groups mobilising protest activities
- urging members to join protest marches, rallies and picket lines.

29. Edward Snowden - Glasgow Left Unity

This Founding Conference of Left Unity supports the actions of Edward Snowden and others in revealing the extent of efforts of the US NSA and GCHQ to monitor the online activities of much of the world's population.

This conference believes that the activity of GCHQ and the NSA is in effect a conspiracy to extract as much material as possible from internet traffic with the principle aim of acting against the working class and the oppressed throughout the world. The mouthpieces of the spooks use the catchall "terrorism" to justify their activities, but clearly the ruling class is far more worried about workers and others organising against repressive regimes and savage attacks on living standards.

This Conference resolves to send a message of support to Edward Snowden and to join the fight for him to be offered asylum and safe haven from the torturers and killers of the US military and security agencies.

This Conference also resolves to campaign for the closure of GCHQ as a dangerous anti-working class institution with a worldwide reach. In addition this Conference is in favour of GCHQ's archives being opened for public inspection and investigation.

Section 6 – Trade Union Strategy

30 – Trade Union Strategy - Sheffield - Composite (incl Birmingham and West London amendments)

Left Unity needs to clarify its relationship to organised labour, work within the grassroots of the trade union movement, and develop policies that links the crisis of working class representation to the development of a rank and file trade unionism.

Following Conference, we agree to call a national meeting of Left Unity trade union activists to help develop policies and strategies on how to organise and build trade unions and win support for Left Unity across trade unions, in workplaces and in branches.

Further we agree that national trade union fractions (meetings of Left Unity members in the different unions) should discuss and agree on building rank and file initiatives in the different unions. This could be achieved either through participation in existing initiatives or through the development of new ones, according to our trade union members views. We would agree also that this activity should be discussed in the branches where the promotion of local trade union work can be discussed, facilitated and supported.

30 A - Amendment – Lambeth Left Unity

To be inserted between paragraph 1 and 2.

“The [Left Unity] party orients to the rank and file of the trade unions above privileging any relationship with left wing officials, because we recognise that union leaders, lefts as well as right-wingers, are prone to compromise and call off action at the decisive moment. A working class party must always be free to criticise leaders when this happens and direct its agitation and advice directly to the union members under attack.

We will organise caucuses of [LU] party members in each union, in each region and nationally, to coordinate our activities. We will co-operate with union activists from other political traditions and none, who want to build a fighting and democratic organisation in the unions. We promote as the aims of such an organisation:

1. The revival of workplace organisation: regular meetings and bulletins, unionisation drives, recruitment of new stewards and convenors;
2. Workers’ control of all disputes: mass meetings and directly elected strike committees to decide on when to ballot and their wording, duration and frequency of strikes, negotiation stance and full and immediate reporting back on all talks;
3. Official action where possible, unofficial action where necessary: full official backing for all actions endorsed by the workforce, including actions that break the anti-union laws.
4. Transform the unions: stand in elections on a fighting programme of action but also a programme of democratic reforms: regular election and recallability of all officials, sovereignty of conference, average pay for all officials;
5. Political trade unionism: democratise the union link and fight for political strike action against austerity and to bring the government down.”

31. Trade Unions - West London Left Unity

Left Unity supports workers organisation and Trade Unions.

Left Unity members are very strongly encouraged to join a trade union. Trade union members are also encouraged to take part in Trades Councils.

We support the full participation of members in their trade unions and workers organisation in the workplace.

Left Unity vigorously opposes the anti-trade union legislation imposed by a series of Tory and Labour governments, by the European Union and by UK and European courts.

Section 7 – Environment

32. Tackling floods and climate chaos - Southwark Left Unity

Despite the devastating floods, storms, and tidal surges, that have been battering Britain in recent weeks the government continues to deny the basic cause of the problem: human induced climate change.

Nicholas Stern, the author of the 2006 report on the economics of climate change, was clear about this in the Guardian pointing out that a warmer atmosphere holds more water and will result in more rain and that four of the five wettest years recorded in Britain have occurred since the year 2000. He warns that if emissions are not cut there will be even more devastating consequences as the global average temperature is set to rise to by at least 4C by the end of the century.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report published last September also pointed to an increasing pattern of extreme weather since 1950 with more heatwaves, droughts, high winds, hurricanes and rainfall resulting from global warming.

Nor is it just Britain that is seeing climate chaos. Since 1997 the world has experienced the 13 warmest years on record. June 2012 marked the 328th consecutive month with a global temperature above the 20th century average. The Arctic sea ice is retreating.

In the US California is facing its worst drought in 100 years, while the East Coast has seen massive snowstorms and freezing temperatures. Australia has faced intense summer heat and droughts, and major bush fires. There has been extreme cold and snow in Japan. Typhoon Haiyan that devastated the Philippines last year was the strongest ever recorded. Argentina had one of its worst heatwaves in December and Brazil saw record rainfall resulting in floods and landslides.

Entire islands and some low-lying regions of the world—most of Bangladesh for example— are disappearing beneath rising seas. Millions of people have already been displaced.

Since the coalition came to office they have been cutting back every aspect of environmental spending. They slashed spending on flood defences as soon as they came to office. They have disregarded the Climate Change Act of 2008 that requires the government to ensure that Britain's carbon emissions are cut to 80% below the 1990 baseline by 2015.

Even the environmental agency responsible for flood protection has been the subject of cuts and redundancies. Both Osborne as Chancellor and Patterson as Minister for the Environment are leading deniers, and the Tory back benches are stacked out with them.

The coalition are cutting back on renewables whilst introducing a whole new generation of fossil fuel in the form of shale gas from fracking. Left Unity members and branches are rightly involved in campaigning against this.

The government are also introducing a new generation of nuclear power stations when we have seen disasters like those at Fukushima, the full implications of which will not be known for some considerable time, there is (still) no safe way of disposing with the waste they will generate and despite the military implications. Left Unity does not support the use of nuclear power –nor do we believe that climate change makes it necessary.

Miliband is right to warn that Britain is sleepwalking towards disaster on this. And he is right to warn that climate change has the ability not only to drive the economy into deeper crisis but to generate conflict between different regions of the world as its impact unfolds. We have to ask, however, where has he been on this since he became Labour leader, and what is he going to do about it. At the moment his proposals are limited to investment in flood defenses rather than tackling the cause of the problem—which is climate change.

The sight of well-heeled Tory voters along the Thames demanding more help from a state that they have long denounced as too big demonstrates the gulf between Tory ideology and political reality. It also demonstrates that free market economics has no answer to climate change and that we need a socialist solution.

Protection against extreme weather events requires action to strengthen the infrastructure. It also means, however, a completely new approach to planning and a curb on building on flood plains and in vulnerable areas. It means a whole new approach to water management with storage in the upland which could involve returning some farmed areas to woodland.

It means the construction of a completely new publicly owned energy infrastructure based on renewables that will protect the planet from global warming as well as providing the energy necessary. It means a serious approach to energy conservation.

We therefore propose the following 10 practical steps:

1. Make good the damage that has been done. Full compensation, where necessary, for the victims of these events, and those who have been refused insurance cover, particularly in the poorest areas.
2. Reverse staff cuts at the Environment Agency, increase its budget, and drop the requirement to consider economic growth in its spending plans.
3. Bring water back into public ownership.
4. For a nationalised integrated transport system.
5. For a sustainable, publicly owned, energy infrastructure based on wind, wave, and solar power to create millions of new green jobs in manufacture, construction and engineering. Bring the energy companies back into public ownership.
6. The insulation of housing and public buildings to conserve energy.

7. End all fracking for shale gas and other extreme energy initiatives.
8. No to nuclear power.
9. Improve flood protection and management in the vulnerable areas. Strengthen planning rules to prevent further development, and begin to roll back existing unsustainable development on flood plains. Ensure that developers prioritise and guarantee flood protection.
10. Rethink land management policy to encourage water storage in hinterland areas and increase the holding capacity on flood plains in both rural and urban areas.

This will involve:

- a) Directing landowners towards re-wetting some currently over-drained flood plains.
- b) The restoration and creation of hedgerows and woods in vulnerable farmed land.
- c) Reduction of grazing on vulnerable hinterland habitats.
- d) The planned reduction of all water-repelling hard urban surfaces including roads, car parks, gardens and shared open spaces.
- e) Making water conservation (and therefore flood protection) a condition of all farm subsidies.

33. Environment - Milton Keynes Left Unity

Nature is accorded no value by capital, which has but one interest - self-expansion. Capital has no intrinsic concern either for the worker or nature. Nature and the human being are nothing for capital except objects of exploitation.

Over the last 100 years, and increasingly so, the exploitation of nature has resulted in unprecedented destruction. Countless species of plants and animals have been driven to extinction. Many more are endangered. Deforestation, erosion of top soil, spread of deserts, overfishing of seas and oceans and anthropogenic air and water pollution have grown apace. In third-world cities that means deadly smog, chronic bronchitis, emphysema and asthma. Huge numbers have no proper sanitation facilities and no ready access to clean drinking water.

Instead of cherishing the resources of nature there is plunder, waste, depletion and irresponsibility. Oil is criminally squandered through the car economy, huge areas of land are given over for growing biofuels, air travel booms, while public transport is typically neglected, and nuclear power is presented as the solution to global warming and the danger of runaway climate change.

Working class power presents the only viable alternative to the destructive reproduction of capital. To begin with as a countervailing force within capitalism that pulls against the logic of capital. The political economy of the working class brings with it not only higher wages and shorter hours. It brings health services, social security systems, pensions, universal primary and secondary education ... and measures that protect the environment.

As well as being of capitalism, the working class is uniquely opposed to capitalism. The political economy of the working class more than challenges capital, it points beyond: to the total reorganisation of society and with that the ending of humanity's strained, brutalised and crisis-ridden relationship with nature.

Our aim is not only to put a stop to the destruction of nature and preserve what remains. For the sake of future generations we must restore and where possible enhance the riches of nature.

Against the destructive, wasteful and polluting logic of capital, Left Unity presents these immediate demands:

Free local and city-wide public transport. Nationalise the land. Tax polluters. Minimise carbon, methane and other such global warming gas outputs.

For sustainable development. For the re-establishment of an intimate connection between town and country, agriculture and industry, and a reversal of the trend to concentrate the population in London and south-east England. Work and domestic life should be brought closer together.

Concrete jungles, urban sprawl, huge farms and uninterrupted industrialised agriculture are profoundly alienating and inhuman. Towns and cities should be full of trees, roof gardens, planted walls, allotments, wild parks and little farms.

Inshore seas must include wide non-fishing areas. The aim should be to fully restore marine life and thus create a sustainable fishing industry.

Where feasible there should be the re-establishment of forests, natural floodplains, marshes, fens and heath land. Extensive wilderness areas should be created in the countryside, along with the reintroduction of the full array of native plants and animal species.

33A – Amendment – Michael Copestake and Robert Eagleton (originally a very similar motion apart from the points below)

Insert new paragraph (between paras. 3 and 4 above)

[Left Unity rejects the claim that workers create all wealth under capitalism. There is also the wealth that comes from the labour of peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and middle class strata. Above all that, there is nature too.]

33 B - Amendment – Lambeth LU

Remove paragraph 8, beginning [Concrete jungles...]

34. Composite Motion – Fracking - Stockport and Manchester

This conference notes:

1. That the government is committed to extreme energy, exposing 64% of UK territory to unconventional fossil fuel extraction. In the process it has cut subsidies for onshore wind, solar and efficiency measures which would reduce UK carbon emissions.
2. That Nottingham University conducted a survey illustrating unconventional energy extraction has no social licence in the UK with less than 1 in 4 supporting the plans.

3. That the government are cutting 80,000 pages of regulation and guidance; 74% of the rules governing the UK environment, in the face of Cuadrilla having legally disposed of two million gallons of radioactive waste into the Manchester Ship Canal.

This conference believes:

1. That hydraulic fracturing (fracking) and all other types of extreme energy extraction should be banned in the UK.
2. That a sustainable energy future depending on renewables (including tidal, wave, geothermal, solar and wind power) is achievable.
3. That environmental regulations and guidance protect the living spaces of the community, the health of workers and prevent the industrialisation of our countryside.

This conference resolves:

1. To support local communities opposed to fracking and other forms of extreme energy generation.
2. As a direct challenge to the austerity agenda, to campaign for the creation of one million climate jobs by calling for investment in renewable energy and energy efficiency.
3. To campaign for rescindment to all cuts in environmental regulation with the aim of protecting the environment, workers' health and living spaces of the community.

Section 8 – Anti-Racism and Internationalism/National Question

Anti-Racism

35. Towards a Left Unity Anti-Racism Policy - Anti-Racism Policy Group

Britain's new racism

1. There has been a dangerous upsurge in racism in Britain in approximately the last decade, most recently compounded by the Woolwich killing. This has included a rise in racist attacks on the Muslim community, the rise (and subsequent fall) of the English Defence League, the recent electoral breakthrough of UKIP, and a secular increase in the everyday, pernicious racism of name calling and street abuse that blights the daily lives of racially oppressed groups, despite all the progress that has been won through struggle over the last decades. This is all the more worrying given the longer-term trend towards a rise in fascist sentiment and support for xenophobic

parties across Europe. The British state has played a decisive role in the articulation of new forms of racism in Britain, whether with respect to immigration, or the disciplining of Muslim populations under the rubric of 'British values', 'British jobs for British workers', or Cameron's 'muscular liberalism'. The mainstream parties, working through the state, have both entrenched repressive policies such as greater surveillance and policing of Muslims, harsher controls of asylum and immigration and hard racialised crackdowns in the wake of the England riots, and simultaneously promoted the idea that racial minorities either represent a security threat, or are failing to 'integrate' into 'Britishness'. This has made life harder for those oppressed by racism, but it has also contributed to the danger represented by the far right, by validating their narratives and policy talking points. As austerity bites, hitting the racially oppressed much harder than others, the idea that the poorest and most oppressed only have themselves to blame for their situation is gaining currency, adding to the acceptability of racism.

2. Anti-migrant stances pervade our media and culture. In 2014 migrants and refugees are facing a sustained offensive against them, which began under the last Labour government but has further intensified with the Tory-led coalition. There is a campaign of vilification by politicians across the mainstream, which has fuelled the rise of the racist right, intersecting with right-wing media scare stories about Romanians and Bulgarians "flooding into Britain". There is a campaign against their ability to live in the UK removing or restricting rights to benefits, housing, health, work, and legal representation. An ever-widening number of professionals and landlords are expected to act as "immigration spies", legally obliged to check the immigration status of their clients. There are also moves to set caps on non-EU immigration and talk by the government of re-negotiating Britain's relationship with Europe to bring an end to the freedom of movement. Many of these measures are contained in the proposed Immigration Bill and some proposals are even being rushed in ahead of the Bill becoming law. Raids on migrants at home, in places of employment, cafes, social events continue and are being carried out more publicly, sometimes with imbedded media coverage, in order to spread fear into migrant communities. These measures have are not only racist, but have a clear class significance. They constitute an attack on the free movement of labour, in an era when the mobility of capital is actively championed. They also, as we have seen with the 3cosas campaign by migrant cleaners in Senate House, work to divide labour, weaken its bargaining power and reduce its cost to employers.
3. Racism against Muslims has deep roots in British history, extending into the colonial era. Its most recent manifestations can be traced to the period after the 'Rushdie affair' when Muslims were increasingly identified as a 'security' problem, and a menace to national 'values'. Following the riots in northern cities, the government extended this attack to British Asians in general, alleging that they were 'self-segregating'. In the context of the 'war on terror', these discourses about British Asians were focused on Muslims in particular, and a neo-Powellite argument took hold that 'multiculturalism' had failed. Politicians and media outlets claimed that by allowing diverse 'cultures' to 'do their own thing', Britain had tolerated islands of extremism in its midst. This counterinsurgency narrative validated a series of high profile attacks on the rights of Muslims, such as the Forest Gate raids in 2006 or the long-term imprisonment without charge and subsequent deportation of Babar Ahmad and Talha Ahsan - only the most severe examples of the day-to-day state repression and racism experienced by the Muslim community. The language of this 'new racism' blames racially oppressed groups themselves for failing to 'integrate' or 'confront extremism'. In so doing, it both validates racist repression and simultaneously instils fear and discourages resistance to racism. The fact that it is culture and creed, rather than colour and breed, which is the ideological focus of these measures,

allows politicians to pretend that they are not racist. Yet, there is a long history of 'cultural racism', which has become especially dominant in the aftermath of Britain's colonial era. Even the most biologicistic forms of racism have always been supplemented by essentialising cultural stereotypes. The representation of Muslims as a monolithic bloc embodying the most hateful characteristics belongs to this tradition.

4. Racism, national chauvinism and imperialism have been tied to capitalism from its beginning. The slave trade and the colonization of India went hand in hand with the industrial revolution and were justified through racism and national chauvinism. The struggles against imperialism and the struggles against racism in the countries of the core have inspired and stood in solidarity with one and other; the slogans of the American civil rights movement were used in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Ireland. It is imperialist aggression, the hardships of capitalism in the 'periphery', and nature of the global division of labour that has driven immigration to the 'core' countries in the West. We recognise that we cannot fight racism without fighting imperialism, and we cannot fight imperialism without fighting racism.
5. In electoral politics, the most immediate threat is represented by UKIP, particularly as it gears up for the local authority elections in May. UKIP is an unstable alliance of traditional Conservative supporters, reactionary malcontents and the far right. Its racism emanates logically from its commitment to a 'Britishness' which is both xenophobic, and authoritarian. Defending Britain from the EU, as they see it, also means heavily controlled borders and a well-policed interior with racial minorities kept in their place. This is linked to the insecurity experienced by sections of the middle and working classes arising from the global economic downturn, and the desire to control its effects by disciplining the poor and fortifying the sovereignty and authority of the state. One of the major strategic objectives of UKIP is to shift parliamentary politics, and the wider media discourse, to the right. In this endeavour, it has had some success, as the Tory Right has felt emboldened to pressure Cameron on immigration while Farage's omnipresence in the media has given the party's talking points some public legitimacy. Neither of the mainstream parties can effectively act as a counterpoint to UKIP because they share certain fundamental assumptions with UKIP and have, themselves, been staking out a share of the same racist terrain.

Left Unity's anti-racist agenda

6. Left Unity entirely rejects all of the "received wisdoms" of the new racism about Muslims, ethnic minorities, migrants and migrants that have increasingly become socially acceptable. We also recognise that the fight against racism cannot be reduced to the anti-fascist struggle. The comforting fiction that 'we are all anti-racist except the fascists' leaves the mainstream infrastructure of racism upon which the far right thrives unchallenged. The everyday racism of the media and major parties provides legitimacy for the violent actions of groups like the EDL and BNP. A new anti-racist politics is therefore urgently needed. It is this common sense A new party of the left worthy of the name must go on a *general offensive* against racism, allying with the social forces already engaged in that work, particularly the racially oppressed and migrant groups.
7. We recognise in particular the importance of developing policies that are based on: (a) policies which attack the systematic and structural disadvantages and discrimination faced by racially oppressed groups; (b) opposition to all attempts to curtail or restrict the freedom of movement in Europe, and complete opposition to all immigration controls as divisive, racist, and anti-working class; (c) self-organisation – in line with Left Unity's commitment to liberation politics, we support the principle of self-

organisation, and believe black leadership of the movement is key to defeating racism.

8. Widespread racism about migrants does not simply arise on the basis of myths and falsehoods, but it is particularly effective when such falsehoods can be insinuated into the daily experiences and existing ideology of ordinary people. In order to challenge anti-migrant racism, therefore, it will be necessary to challenge myths with facts and alternative arguments. However, that will not be sufficient – we also need to present a positive agenda on immigration, linked to a wider anti-racist politics. Left Unity believes that immigration controls are inherently unjust and racist. They are part of the global management of labour along racist lines which inevitably brutalise the poorest workers while in fact weakening the collective interests and bargaining power of workers. As such, we are opposed to immigration control, as we are opposed to any laws which make people illegal because of who they are, where they or their parents were born, the colour of their skin, or what language they speak. And we insist that it is in the interests of the working class as a whole, migrant and non-migrant, in Britain and internationally, to have equal rights to move across borders, to settle in other countries, and to bring their families with them if they choose to do so. Insofar as these rights exist, however imperfectly, in the EU states as a result of binding international agreements, we defend them trenchantly and without equivocation.
9. Structural oppression is felt differently by intersecting groups, so women in BME communities face increased sexism as a result of racist policies. This means our policy in Left Unity should recognise the particular affect policies targeting refugees have had on women. We should support a new generation of grassroots campaigns by forging links with black led organisations, such as Women for Women Refugees, who are fighting to put an end to the detention of women and girls. The majority of women claiming asylum are survivors of sexual violence. Women in BME communities experience racism and sexism, so we need to fight to defend specialist services offering support for survivors of sexual violence. We recognise that women are the primary carers of children, and we must fight to put an end to policy that does not take account of where women have networks and have established themselves in communities, when granting refugee and discretionary leave status to women. Women claiming asylum must not be separated from their friends and their communities. However, whilst we fight to ensure women have the support of their own networks, in terms of looking after children, we must also insist on childcare provision at every level of organisation within Left Unity.
10. For all the negatives in the British situation, there are grounds for optimism. Popular views on immigration and race are actually far more complex and ambivalent than opinion polls would suggest. The ambiguities of popular opinion are, moreover, not a concluded fact but raw material which can be worked with by those seeking to draw out the best instinctive responses of ordinary people. Anti-racism actually forms part of the common sense of millions of working class people who, thanks to decades of large-scale immigration, experience a ‘lived multicultural’ that is remote from the stereotypes of ‘failed multiculturalism’. A left political articulation that operates on such lived experience, linking a popular anti-racist politics to a wider critique of class injustice, can begin to shift the balance, and offer a counterpoint to the racist Right which the mainstream parties cannot.
11. In this situation Left Unity is presented with important duties.
 - a. Left Unity commits itself to working with the new generation of grassroots

campaigns from these communities. Black led organisations like women for women refugees, agitation like that against police brutality and racist prison practices, community self defence initiatives like those against fascists and chauvinists, should be supported. Left Unity should be a natural home for the people active in these. A black led group of members should be elected to bridge the gap between left unity and these campaigns. Left Unity is committed to supporting the black and oppressed led campaign against racism and chauvinism.

- b. Anti-cuts activism. The major political battles in Britain in the coming years will be about the brutal paring down of public service and welfare, and the redistribution of resources to the rich. Whether it affects housing, healthcare, labour rights or municipal services, this will harm women and the racially oppressed more, and the accompanying ideological headwinds will make solidarity between those suffering its effects more difficult to achieve. Not only that, but the beneficiaries of austerity, primarily the capitalist class and its political allies, will tend to defend their gains by arguing that the real threat to services comes from 'foreigners' taking over the resources of 'indigenous people'. Any anti-austerity movement with any chance of success must therefore be persuaded to foreground the issue of anti-racism, to argue that working class people, of whatever background, are indeed all in it together and have a shared interest in defeating the racists.
- c. Union campaigns. Trade unions are essential to any effective movement against racism. This is because of their ability to unite workers in their shared interests, regardless of background, because they can offer protection and solidarity to the most vulnerable workers who often happen to be migrant workers, and because they are part of a wider labour movement that takes an interest in opposing racism. Left Unity should support and participate in the Unite-sponsored march against racism, but also build support within unions for migrant workers' struggles such as the 3cosas campaign.
- d. Support campaign(s) to stop the Immigration Bill.
- e. Elections. Where Left Unity chooses to stand, it must be a strong pro-migrant voice. Candidates must make it a priority to challenge the reactionary line that is coming from the other parties, to articulate the principled anti-racist line that most other parties cannot or will not. Where we don't stand candidates, we can and should produce pro-migrant materials and distribute these, taking our arguments to hustings and local newspapers.
- f. Defiance not Compliance. The government proposals and existing controls can only work if professionals comply with them. Already we have seen the opposition by health professionals to it is being proposed. Left Unity needs to campaign for the trade unions not only to oppose these proposals but support workers in refusing to carry them out.
- g. No to privatisation. The Government is outsourcing immigration controls to organisations such as G4S who have an appalling track record on human rights including the death of Jimmy Mubenga who they were trying to deport. However, this does not mean that these things should be "in house". We are opposed to the whole immigration "service". The state should not be able to absolve themselves of their dirty work by handing over the provision of racist controls to the private sector.

- h. Racists view on the left. Left Unity must challenge racist ideas in the labour movement, and even sections of the socialist movement. Some openly support or implicitly endorse the idea of “British Jobs for British Workers” – the supposed need for greater and “tougher” immigration controls to defend worker's rights. Left Unity must contest this wherever it appears.

Internationalism/National Question

36. Internationalism - Glasgow Left Unity

1. Left Unity is committed to maintaining and deepening the unity of the working class in Britain.
2. Left Unity welcomes its growing membership in Scotland and Wales. Left Unity will do everything it can to encourage members in Scotland and Wales to play a full part in building a party based on the principles of class solidarity, socialism, internationalism and human freedom.
3. Left Unity will not support Scottish or Welsh nationalism, nor will it content itself with the United Kingdom and the quasi-democratic status quo. However, individual members will be free to campaign both for and against Scottish independence in advance of the 2014 referendum.
4. Left Unity recognizes that to effectively fight back against the austerity Tory-Lib Dem government and a crisis-ridden capitalism requires an international strategy that takes the European Union as its starting point.
5. Left Unity will support and seek to take a lead in all moves towards organising the working class on an all-EU basis.

36 A - Amendment - Cardiff Left Unity

Paragraph 3: Delete from [Left Unity....However] and re-punctuate.

Paragraph 3 will then read “Individual members will be free to campaign both for and against Scottish independence in advance of the 2014 referendum.”

36 B - Amendment - West London Left Unity

Delete paragraph 3

In paragraph 4, delete [that takes the European Union as its starting point.]

In paragraph 5, delete [on an all EU basis] and replace with [in Europe and internationally.]

37. On Scotland - Steve Freeman & Russell Caplan (supported by Southwark and Worcester)

- This conference recognises the right of the Scottish people to national self-determination.
- We note the long, close and mutually supportive relations between the working class movements in Scotland and in England and the rest of the UK.
- Regardless of whether Scotland becomes independent or not, we will do what we can to bring the working class movements into closer unity and solidarity.
- We note that the British ruling class through the current Cameron government supported by the Liberal Democrats and Labour has threatened to ban the Scottish people using the pound sterling in a currency union. This constitutes a declaration of war by means of economic sabotage. We note that the British ruling class has used its influence with the EU bureaucracy to threaten to exclude Scotland from the EU and deny access to European markets and any rights held since 1976.
- We note that the Cameron government will face a serious political crisis and the Cameron led Coalition may come to an end if it fails to win a No vote in the September referendum.

Therefore this conference resolves to:

- Counter Cameron's appeal to the people of England, Northern Ireland and Wales by making a case for a Yes vote in the trade union and socialist movements in the rest of the UK
- Explain why a sovereign democratic secular and social republic would not only be in the interests of the Scottish people but would encourage similar democratic movements in England, Wales and Ireland.
- Recognise the importance of the Radical Independence Conference as an organising centre for a republican and internationalist approach to the question of Scotland's democracy.
- Help establish a "Hands Off the People of Scotland" campaign to counter the threats and bullying tactics of the Unionist coalition of Tory, Liberal Democrat and Labour politicians.

38. The national question - Ben Lewis & Justin Constantinou

1. As a general rule socialists do not want to see countries broken up into small nation-states. Ours is the revolutionary call for humanity to shed the flag-waving, imagined community of the nation-state.
2. Socialists are the most consistent internationalists and unreservedly denounce any tactical pandering to, let alone attempts to exacerbate, national tensions.
3. Socialists want a positive solution to the national question in the interests of the working class: that is, the merging of nations. That can only be achieved through democracy and the right of all to fully develop their own culture.
4. Where national questions exist, Left Unity will fight to secure the right of nations to

self-determination. Historically constituted peoples should be able to freely decide their own destiny. They can separate if they so wish. Thereby they can also elect to come together or stay together with others.

5. The British nation evolved from the gradual bonding of the English, Welsh and Scottish. Drawn together over centuries by common political and economic experience, they now in the main possess a common language, culture and psychology.

6. The birth of the British nation was a progressive development objectively. Nevertheless, because it was carried out under the aegis of a brutal absolutism it was accompanied by countless acts of violence and discrimination.

7. As post-boom British imperialism was forced to turn inwards, and in the absence of a viable proletarian alternative, resistance in Scotland and Wales often took a national form. A mythologised past was deployed by nationalists, opportunists and Labourites alike to serve their nefarious purposes.

8. Left Unity stands opposed to every form of Scottish and Welsh national narrow-mindedness. Equally we oppose every form of British/English national chauvinism. Ideas of exclusiveness or superiority, national oppression itself, obscure the fundamental antagonism between labour and capital, and divert attention from the need to unite against the common enemy – the British capitalist state.

9. While socialists defend the right of Scotland and Wales to secede, we do not want separation. Socialists want the closest union circumstances allow. That is why we stand for a federal republic of England, Scotland and Wales.

10. It is the proletarian-internationalist duty of socialists in Scotland and Wales to defend the right of the Scots and Welsh to remain with and achieve an even higher degree of unity with the English. Correspondingly socialists in England must be the best defenders of the right of Scotland and Wales to separate. That in no way contradicts the duty to advocate unity.

11. Ireland is Britain's oldest colony. In 1921 Ireland was dissected – a sectarian Six County statelet was created in order to permanently divide the Irish working class and perpetuate British domination over the whole island of Ireland.

12. We socialists in Britain unconditionally support the right of the people of Ireland to reunite. Working class opposition to British imperialism in Ireland is a necessary condition for our own liberation – a nation that oppresses another can never itself be free. The struggle for socialism in Britain and national liberation in Ireland are closely linked.

13. Socialists in Ireland likewise have internationalist duties. They must fight for the friendship between workers in Britain and Ireland and their speediest coming together. They must be resolute opponents of nationalism.

Section 9 – Foreign Policy, war, nuclear disarmament etc

39. Report from Foreign Policy Commission

We believe that if Left Unity is to be successful, its foreign (and other) policies must meet three conditions.

First, we must recognise, amplify and seek to direct **a widespread popular dissatisfaction with today's politics**. In foreign policy particularly, however, we have

responsibilities, not only towards the peoples of the UK, but also to work for a world in which everyone has access to their basic human rights.

Second, against the pressure of conventional thinking about 'Defence', our policies must be **consistent with the values that inform our party's foundation**. It is our duty to stay true to our democratic, socialist values as global citizens who strive for peace. There is also, however, a task of adapting them, in concept, in language and in detailed application, to take account of the constant contemporary changes and the larger historical shifts.

Third, our policies must be **realistic in recognising the conditions of power in the world and the means needed to pursue and defend our gains**. We cohabit a threatened planet with powerful (but never all-powerful) hegemonic forces, where control is constantly struggled over, and access to basic necessities such as water, food and energy is fundamentally unequal.

In this report our stress is **on possibilities** of successful policy building, on **hope rather than critique**. Following the template sketched above, we start with possibilities and end with policies.

The People Do Dissent

Contemporary anti-war movements have been the sharpest expression of popular dissent against Blairite, neo-Conservative and Coalition foreign policies. They have assumed an unprecedented scale and taken many different forms: from demonstrations of an unparalleled scale, (Iraq and Afghanistan) to smaller focused protests against nuclear weapons, drone wars, and the trade in arms. Most recently they have resisted the threat of adding to the grievous sufferings of the Syrian people attacks from NATO, however carefully targeted.

'Not in Our Name', however, has been part of a very much wider mood of war-weariness and of skepticism about costly military adventures, especially while people are made to go hungry and homeless at home. War is not a political asset any more. Falklands/Malvinas bolstered an unpopular Thatcher government and enabled the assault on the miners; Iraq destroyed the political career of Tony Blair and helped dissolve New Labour.

Of course, this wide unease is ambiguous. This is why we must offer it new and believable directions. Disgust with politicians can issue in rightwing responses: little England, anti-foreigner, re-workings of the old nationalisms and racisms. Though migration is the key issue, contemporary war commemoration is also pertinent. Remembrance can recognise the destruction and human loss of war and can work for future peace; or it can glorify heroism, sacrifice and a narrow national pride. It is up to Left Unity to promote the 'No Glory' meanings in popular mourning and develop policies to make wars less likely.

Global Power Shifts

The shifts and tensions in popular culture correspond to material shifts in global power, the harder kernel of strategic calculation. We disbelieve in recent policies because they don't match current realities any more. They speak an older Cold War language - of

'nuclear deterrence' for instance. They harbour ambitions 'to reorder the world around us' (Blair) that we should not aspire to and simply can't afford. They assume that the USA is still the only super power and that its influence, and the economic system it exemplifies, are necessarily positive. The recent costs of this 'special relationship' to us and to others are very clear. In truth, power in the world is shifting and unstable, much more multi-polar than before, with no single hegemon, several rising powers, and many intermediate ones. Since foreign policies also construct national identity at home, we note that many of our people are also now mourning for an older Britain or England, which many contemporary developments have pulled apart. We need to deliver our people from vengeful, closed, self-defeating responses to this sense of loss by offering a new view of our place in the world. In this way, and in others, our foreign policies should be post-nationalist.

We Have a Vision

As a broad left party we might thank David Cameron (with our tongues firmly in our cheeks) for encouraging us to recall the socialist, internationalist and anti-war movements of the decades before and after World War 1. This was the Spring Time of modern socialism, communism, feminism and anarchism and it sounded the key notes of oppositional foreign policies: on the one side the solidarity of oppressed groups and classes, over-riding those of nation or empire; on the other the commitment to peace-making, to treaties, to international institutions and conscientious objections to war. These broad principles are the common ground of our political heritage (rather than the many differences) so should underpin our approach to foreign policy. Though policy-making for a new party is exciting work, we never start from scratch but from a history.

At the same time, Left Unity cannot abandon the need for security or for defence – in a more authentic sense. Any major challenge in Britain to the juggernaut of neo-liberal capitalist development at home or abroad will meet major opposition from global elites, financial interests, large corporations and those international organisations that are under the sway of conventional economic thinking. For some of these interests, war is not at all an adverse outcome. We have to have the means to defend our own advances as well as to promote our visions.

It is our view, however, that the weight of thinking and policy about 'security' should shift away from military solutions and towards cultural influence, alliances, the development of appropriate international institutions and the creation of support in a wider world for our nation and its new government as a force for global betterment. We should be known not for our military adventures and our creation of new enemies by a perpetuated 'war on terror', but for our role in diplomacy, peacemaking, human development, greener adaptations, protection of the planet and its species, and the promotion of greater economic justice.

Selected Policies

Defence and Foreign policy covers a huge area and we have discussed many particular issues in this Commission. We have also sought consensus, so sometimes our recommendations are not exactly in line with personal preferences. We have selected a few broad areas where agreement was in reach and we can to recommend specific policies and campaigns.

1. Defence & Security

Nuclear Weapons. Replacing Trident, in effect modernising it, is simply incompatible with pursuing nuclear disarmament, nationally and internationally, the wish of everyone on this Commission. We recommend that Left Unity should oppose replacement in any form and support all campaigns – those of CND and ICAN for instance, to this end. However, there is a debate to be had – or continued – about whether to scrap the existing nuclear weapon system (said to be inoperable by 2024) in one step, or disarm in a series of steps to foster the movement towards universal abolition. In either case, nuclear disarmament is a hugely symbolic aspect of the larger military and diplomatic transition we seek. It should have a high priority. Unlike the Coalition, in power and as a party, we should attend international conferences, honour promises to disarm (at NPT and UN), and ally with non-nuclear weapon states and NGOs in moving towards a nuclear weapon free world.

Military Matters. We must intervene strongly in the current chaos around the purposes and capacities of our military forces. They should be reconfigured for authentic defence needs, humanitarian projects and peacekeeping missions under UN mandates. Climate change, the networks of violence created by past policy, and cyber subversion are much greater threats to our security than military attacks from individual states or blocks.

First Steps We recommend that we should launch our own Strategic and Defence Review to coincide with the next official one (2015) specifying the practical implications of our aims in more detail. In the meantime we should campaign now to end the RAF drone attacks in Afghanistan and to withdraw support from the CIA's illegal drone attacks in Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen, counter-productive because they heap up hate for 'the West'. We will push for an international framework of law to control the production and use of drones and seek a complete ban on the production, trading and use of cluster bombs, uranium weapons, and pre-programmed robotic war machines. We should support immediately campaigns against the sale of arms to oppressive regimes.

2. Economic Aspects

Real Security Dividends

Apart from the £100bn saved on Trident replacement, we would expect a 'real security dividend' from giving up ambitions to 'police the world' in co-imperial adventures with USA or NATO or France. Some savings should be used to support skilled workers in converting from arms manufacture to socially useful engineering. This could include remedying the damage caused by the nuclear industries and speeding the halting development of green alternatives with public investment.

Aid policies

Reducing military intervention does not mean withdrawing from our still considerable influence in the world. We need to embed ourselves in alliances, trading relations, and reciprocal projects for our own security and to pursue the aim of greater global justice. Our aid policies should be addressed towards the betterment of aided populations, not towards our own narrow strategic or business interests. We should aid the development of education, the creation of functioning democratic institutions, the honouring of human

rights and the provision of basic services especially in fragile states and societies. We should use our diplomatic influence and alliances to secure a greater say for developing countries in international organisations like the IMF and World Bank.

3. Alliances and International Organisations

UN and other International Institutions

As a party and potentially as a government, we should push hard for the UN and the Security Council to properly represent all sovereign states on Earth. Initially, we might aim for the existing Security Council to include other existing or emerging powers such as Germany, India, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico. Eventually, it might be possible to establish a system of regional representation, through regional groupings, which in principle we favour. We should push to abolish the veto powers of members of the Council. We should seek to strengthen the International Criminal Court and the International Court for Justice.

Alliances: USA

We should seek to move away from our current subordination to the foreign policies and alliances, centred on the United States and its continued hegemonic ambitions. We should seek greater autonomy by recognising the multi-polar nature of power in the modern world, constructing multiple relationships and alliances in Europe, but more especially outside.

Alliances: EU

We debated Britain's relation to the EU in some detail but with quite polarised views. The balance of opinion in the Commission is that we should stay in the EU and join with other Left parties in Europe in changing the neo-liberal policies and reforming the very undemocratic institutions of Commission and Parliament.

Alternative States, Parties, Civil Society

Our alliances, as party and as government, will especially be with those rising states, parties, social movements and NGOs that embrace alternative policies to neo-liberal development, especially to marketisation and the privatization of public services, and which seek to curtail the largely unhampered power of international finance and global corporations.

Who Are the Enemies?

We should reconsider the orthodox map of potential 'enemies' according to our understanding of how 'Us' and 'Others' are made, and craft appropriate policies. We should recognise for instance the historic concern of the ruling party in China to better their own population and the historic fear of Russia about the encirclement by 'Western' power. Everywhere, we will foster relationships with civil society institutions and social movements that seek to serve the human development of their local populations, including indigenous and displaced peoples, and nations, like the Palestinians and the Kurds, that still have no state.

Cultural Understanding and Dialogue as International Relations

Our alliances, from our local branches and networks, to our formal policies, will involve cultural dialogue and exchange as well as mutual security. A major purpose will be to address humanitarian and environmental issues, in particular the underlying causes and the growing consequences of man-made climate change.

In further developing our policies we will need to attend not only to our membership – organized and articulate in different ways - but also the expertise of NGOs and researchers working on similar lines.

Policy and Campaign Points Summarised

NB We have added this section to our draft report to aid discussion at Conference, but wish our whole report to be available there. If agreement can be reached on general orientations and fundamental values, more particular policies will be easier to agree on. Below, we distinguish current campaigning from longer-term policies.

1. Don't replace Trident. Scrap existing system, possibly in stages, linked to initiating multi-lateral moves, providing alternative jobs for Trident-related workers and Scottish developments around Faslane. **Campaign** with CND and ICAN and Alternative Agenda States for a nuclear weapons free world.
2. Form a Commission, with appropriate expertise, to plan the re-configuration of UK military and emergency forces (e.g. a 'Peace Corps?') around authentic defence and security needs and a capacity for international humanitarian work, under UN mandates. Issue a report to coincide with the official Security and Defence Review (2015). **Campaign**, with Drone Campaign Network, Stop the War and others, to end UK drones strikes in Afghanistan, withdraw support from illegal CIA drone strikes in Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen, create a system of international law on unmanned military vehicles and ban pre-programmed military vehicles altogether. **Campaign** with CAAT and others to ban arms sales to oppressive regimes and control arms sales generally.
3. Use 'real security dividend' to ease transition to greener economy with less stress on arms production as part of an alternative economic strategy. **Campaign** with Trade Unions on this Armaments-to- Green transition programme in the context of broader economic strategy.
4. Reconfigure aid policies away from immediate business and military concerns and towards education, democratic institutions, human rights and the provision of basic services especially in fragile states and societies.
Link with appropriate campaigning groups on more detailed campaigns– e.g. World Development Movement, War on Want.
5. Develop our own detailed plans for the reshaping of the UN and its agencies, the International Criminal Court and the International Court for Justice, drawing on appropriate expertise and the NGOs active in these areas.
Campaign for ending Security Council vetoes and creating a more representative UN.

Redraw patterns of alliances. Broad lines of development: pursue greater autonomy from USA and its alliances, stay in Europe but ally with parties and movements that seek alternative policies and institutional reform, ally with states, parties and movements worldwide according to political criteria developed from humanitarian and planetary concerns, alternative to neo-liberal

economic development, and mutual defence. As campaigning priorities (a) establish relations and cultural dialogue with aligned parties and movements (b) work culturally to break down established patterns of Othering with states and peoples, especially those subordinated in the world system.

39 A - Procedural motion: Reference Back/remittance of the whole document moved by: Crouch End, Cardiff, & Hackney

39 B - Amendment - Crouch End Branch

Crouch End Left Unity thanks the FPC, recognising the extent of its work, and moves reference back of the report to the FPC for further work, drawing on the principles of anti-imperialism, internationalism and solidarity agreed at the founding conference.

Crouch End Left Unity proposes the following amendments to the points below.

In the section called [Policy and Campaign Points Summarised] – make amendments as outlined below

1. Don't replace Trident. Scrap existing system possibly in stages, linked to initiating multi-lateral moves, providing alternative jobs for Trident-related workers and Scottish developments around Faslane. Campaign with CND and ICAN and Alternative Agenda States for a nuclear weapons free world.

In line 1: delete [possibly in stages]; line 4: delete [Alternative Agenda States] and insert [the majority of states]

2. Form a Commission, with appropriate expertise, to plan the re-configuration of UK military and emergency forces (e.g. a 'Peace Corps?') around authentic defence and security needs and a capacity for international humanitarian work, under UN mandates. Issue a report to coincide with the official Security and Defence Review (2015). Campaign, with Drone Campaign Network, Stop the War and others, to end UK drones strikes in Afghanistan, withdraw support from illegal CIA drone strikes in Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen, create a system of international law on unmanned military vehicles and ban pre-programmed military vehicles altogether. Campaign with CAAT and others to ban arms sales to oppressive regimes and control arms sales generally.

In line 3: insert [aid] between [humanitarian] and [work]. Insert a full stop. Delete: [under UN mandates];

line 9: delete [ban arms sales to oppressive regimes and control arms sales generally] and insert; [end the arms trade]

3. Use 'real security dividend' to ease transition to greener economy with less stress on arms production as part of an alternative economic strategy. Campaign with Trade Unions on this Armaments-to-Green transition programme in the context of broader economic strategy.

In lines 1-2: delete: [less stress on arms production] and insert: [strong emphasis on arms conversion]

5 Develop our own detailed plans for the reshaping of the UN and its agencies, the International Criminal Court and the International Court for Justice, drawing on appropriate expertise and the NGOs active in these areas. Campaign for ending Security Council vetoes and creating a more representative UN.

In line 1: delete: [reshaping] and insert [fundamental reform and restructuring];

line 2: after [Justice] insert:[ending victors' justice and the domination of imperialist states.]

6 Redraw patterns of alliances. Broad lines of development: pursue greater autonomy from USA and its alliances, stay in Europe but ally with parties and movements that seek alternative policies and institutional reform, ally with states, parties and movements worldwide according to political criteria developed from humanitarian and planetary concerns, alternative to neo-liberal economic development, and mutual defence. As campaigning priorities (a) establish relations and cultural dialogue with aligned parties and movements (b) work culturally to break down

established patterns of Othering with states and peoples, especially those subordinated in the world system.

In line 1: delete [greater autonomy] and insert: [independence];

line 2: after [alliances] insert: [leaving NATO, cancelling the US/UK Mutual Defence Agreement and withdrawing from the US/NATO Missile Defence system];

line 7: delete: [aligned] and insert: [like-minded];

lines 8-10: delete all of section (b) and insert: [work to establish equal social, political, economic and cultural relations with all states and peoples.]

Insert new point 7:

[7. Work with like-minded parties in Europe against imperialist war, drawing on the lessons of World War1 and noting the alarming rise of tensions between the great powers today. Approach anti-war organisations and socialist parties in Europe, with a view to organising an international anti-war conference in 2015, drawing on the lessons of the Zimmerwald Conference in 1915.]

39 C - Amendment - Hackney Left Unity branch

This conference proposes that the whole document be remitted (and the commission expanded) in order to produce a rewritten set of proposals integrated with those of the commission which has yet to report on solidarity with workers and movements of the oppressed (such as the Palestinians) in other countries.

In particular such a rewrite should seek to eliminate the vague generalities and equivocations which litter the current draft and highlight specific proposals such as

1. A commitment to immediate and unilateral nuclear disarmament.
2. Withdrawal from NATO and associated alliances and military commitments
3. An end to all military interventions in other countries (humanitarian interventions could be managed with non-militarised volunteer forces)
4. Withdrawal from and non-cooperation with the Bretton Woods institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, which act as agencies on behalf of global capital and finance.
5. An end to Britain's participation in the arms trade (whilst ensuring that workers in related industries are redeployed to more useful activities)

39 D - Amendment - LU Nottingham branch.

- 1) Remove paragraph 2 (Military matters) from Sub-section 1) Defence & Security
- 2) Replace with

[If British forces withdraw from Afghanistan by the end of 2014, the year 2015 will be the first year since at least 1914 that this country has not been at war. This shameful and bloody reality reflects Britain's long colonial and imperial history. It is also reflective of a view that said the sun SHOULD never set over the British Empire and that British armed forces somehow had a 'right' to engage in wars not only throughout the Empire, but across the globe. Many areas became, bluntly, British military killing fields. In particular, British armed forces were repeatedly directed by

their political masters in both Conservative and Labour governments to prevent many nations, especially in the global South, from winning their political independence from that Empire. Ultimately Britain failed in this mission; it was --- and is --- a failure we wholeheartedly support.

Today, Britain remains an imperialist country. Often in concert with other imperialist countries, principally France and the United States of America, successive British governments, again both Labour and Conservative, have in recent years have had little hesitation to intervene militarily, on some pretext or other, outside the UK. (The George W. Bushism of 'fighting the war on terror' is most popular pretext of our current century.) To take but two obvious examples, the Blair government sent British troops to Iraq and Afghanistan, despite widespread public opposition and protest. In the former war, an estimated 500,000 Iraqi civilians were killed between 2003 and the end of 2011.

Starting in the year 2015, we demand that British forces NOT be allowed, by law, to fight on or in the territories or skies or seas of other countries OR on territories acquired through colonialism, such as the Falkland Islands/the Malvinas. The sole purpose of British armed forces should be a defensive one, namely providing military protection in the event of an attack on the land area of this country, the United Kingdom.

All foreign military bases on British territory should also be closed.

The main enemy is at home.]

3) OTHER SECTIONS of the Foreign Policy Commission report should be extensively rewritten to reflect, where relevant, the orientation of this amendment concerning 'military matters.'

39E - Amendment to Foreign Policy Commission Lambeth LU

Delete all and replace with the following:

[For Left Unity to successfully grow, our policy towards international affairs must be consistent with socialist and anti-imperialist politics.

1. NO TO IMPERIALIST WAR!

Under modern capitalism, the world is divided under the control of a handful of economically powerful and militarily superior robber nations, like the UK, USA and EU in the West, and China and Russia in the East. Whether conducted under the auspices of the United Nations or not, whether popularly deemed to be a humanitarian issue or not, Left Unity will oppose and campaign against all imperialist wars. We are for the defeat of all imperialism in all wars, whether from the East or West, and we support the right of people to resist imperialist aggression, and fight for national liberation.

2. SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIANS!

Recognising the historic betrayal of the Palestinians by the 'world community' and hypocritical Arab state leaders, the violation of international law by Israel and the apartheid basis of Israeli society, we reject any attempt to negotiate a solution unless it has the popular support of Palestinians. We support the right of return for refugees and their descendants. We further support all efforts that promote equal democratic and

social rights for all irrespective of nationality, ethnicity or religious beliefs. There can be no liberation while there is occupation.

3. SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION!

From Palestine to Kurdistan and beyond, self-determination is fundamental to our international politics. Left Unity will support the right of all nations to establish an independent state - even if we believe that right should not be exercised.

4. NO TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS!

In a world plighted by war, nuclear weapons pose an increasingly dangerous threat to populations that lasts generations. We support the efforts of those that campaign for a nuclear free world. As an environmentalist party, we recognise the danger that nuclear weapons use pose to the environment to which we depend. As a socialist party, we recognise that it is working-class and poor populations that primarily suffer from nuclear weapons use.

5. INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!

As a socialist party, we reject divisions based on nationality, race, religion or culture, and stand in solidarity with the struggles of working class people around the world. We will support these struggles with all means at our disposal.]

40. Motion in Relation to the Foreign Policy Commission Report - Leicester Left Unity

That Left Unity has a dynamic programme of international exchange for young people that (1) nurtures worldwide friendships and solidarity, (2) promotes peace, and (3) develops a commitment to sustainable environments.

41. Nuclear Weapons - Leicester Left Unity

Left Unity branch welcomes of the first draft of LU Foreign Policy Commission Report and especially the policy of not replacing Trident. We regret however, that there is no clear commitment to scrapping the existing Trident system or only in 'stages'. We propose that Left Unity joins CND in campaigning for Britain to become a Non-Nuclear-Weapon State.

42. Syrian Civil War - Manchester Left Unity

The popular movement that sought to remove Bashar Al-Assad and the Ba'athist regime began in March 2011 and has, because of the regime's violence, turned into a bloody civil war with international and regional powers aiding in the destruction of Syria. The left and the trade union movement in Britain have a long tradition of supporting those fighting oppression from tyrannical regimes, reactionary movements and the imperialist powers.

Left Unity conference notes:

1. The civil war has so far claimed the lives of over 140,000 people and displaced nearly 2.5 million. The steady stream of arms and training to both sides coupled with the diplomatic deadlock is ensuring the conflict grinds on with catastrophic

- consequences for the people of Syria and its infrastructure.
2. The terror of the regime against democratic and other opposition forces must not be understated with around 50,000 held in detention as well as mass executions. The bombing of civilian areas under the control of opposition forces is commonplace reducing large parts of cities such as Homs, Aleppo and Deir el-Zour to rubble.
 3. The crimes committed by the opposition, especially by the Islamist forces has helped push the civil war down a sectarian route along religious and ethnic lines. As the war has dragged on the popular movement has become increasingly fragmented with the Islamist forces, organised in Al-Nusra and Liwa Al-Tahwid, ascending to be the spear tip of the opposition forces.
 4. The urgent need for aid and support for refugees and those trapped by the fighting and recognise the efforts of many UK activists to get more aid to Syria and the refugee camps.

Left Unity resolves to:

1. Oppose all foreign intervention in the Syrian civil war and campaign against the sales of arms and training by regional and world powers which is only fuelling the slaughter.
2. Support the democratic and working class organisations fighting the Ba'athist regime, the reactionaries within the opposition and opposing intervention from regional and world powers.
3. Support efforts to send grassroots aid to Syria whilst campaigning for aid organisations and the government to do more such as welcoming Syrian refugees fleeing the war.
4. Support the right of national self-determination for the Kurdish population within Syria and their right to defend their communities from government and opposition forces.

42 A - Amendment - Sheffield Branch

In the section 'Left Unity resolves to:' point 1 delete the text that reads

[.....and campaign against the sales of arms and training by regional and world powers which are only fuelling the slaughter].

Point 1 to now read 'Oppose all foreign intervention in the Syrian civil war.'

43. Composite resolution - Palestine and the BDS campaign – Waltham Forest LU, Glasgow LU and York LU

Left Unity stands in solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle for freedom, justice and equality, in accordance with international law and universal principles of human rights.

We recognise that Palestinian oppression and dispossession is the result of a settler-colonial project that could not have been launched without the protection and support of the British Government, from 1917 onwards. Today Israel's role as the regional nuclear superpower, its violence and threats of violence towards its neighbours, are made

possible by its strategic alliance with the USA and its privileged economic and diplomatic relationship with the EU and European governments including the UK.

Left Unity supports, and will work to promote, the call by scores of Palestinian organisations, including all Palestinian trade unions, for a campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it complies with its obligations under international law by:

- withdrawing from all territories occupied in the 1967 war
- enabling the return of Palestinians exiled and dispersed since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948
- repealing all discriminatory legislation.

Left Unity will work at local and national level with Palestine solidarity, twinning and friendship organisations, as well as within trade unions and other anti-racist, pro-justice organisations, to promote the above principles.

In trade unions, we will work towards establishing links with Palestinian trade unions and cutting links with Israeli trade unions which do not act in support of Palestinian rights. We will oppose propaganda efforts to falsely present Israel as a model for human or democratic rights.

LU rejects attempts to smear opponents of Zionism and supporters of Palestinian rights as anti-semites. We recognise Zionism as a racist ideology and Israel as a state guilty of implementing apartheid policies against non-Jews. We resolutely oppose any expressions of Islamophobia, anti-semitism or any other form of racism, within or outside the solidarity movement.

In embracing the campaign for justice for Palestine we are motivated by principles of international solidarity, working towards a future without violence and discrimination for all in the region.

44. War and peace - Milton Keynes Left Unity

War is the continuation of politics by other, violent, means. War is a sustained conflict on an extended scale. War is the product of class society. War, and the potential for war, will only end with the ending of class society itself.

Capitalism goes hand in hand with uneven development. Hence the constant pressure for a redivision of spoils. Rising 'have not' powers challenge the existing imperialist hierarchy and seek to offset their own problems at the expense of foreign rivals. When diplomacy and trade wars fail, military force decides. Trade blocs become military blocs. So imperialism means preparation for war. Peace is only a period of ceasefire. It is only the freezing of the division of spoils arrived at through war.

After 1945 imperialism normalised high levels of production of the means of destruction. Popular support for military Keynesianism was garnered through anti-communism and competition with the Soviet Union. The cold war became a system of social control east and west.

Capitalism now possesses weapons capable of destroying human life across the whole planet. The struggle to end the danger of war by the working class is therefore a struggle

for the survival of the human species.

British imperialism has an unparalleled history of war and aggression in virtually every corner of the world. Though no longer the power it once was, large, well equipped armed forces are maintained in order to serve the interests of British capitalism abroad and at home.

British capitalism is one of the world's main weapons manufacturers and exporters. It has a vested interest in promoting militarism. Socialists stress, however, that the struggle against the military-industrial complex cannot be separated from the struggle against the profit system as a whole.

Left Unity oppose all imperialist wars, military alliances and occupations. We also reject nuclear, biological and other such weapons of mass destruction as inherently inhuman.

With global socialism the word 'war' will become redundant. So will the word 'peace'. The absence of war will gradually render obsolete its opposite, as humanity leaves behind its pre-history.

Socialists are not pacifists. Everywhere we support just wars, above all revolutionary civil wars for socialism. Left Unity will therefore strive to expose the war preparations of the capitalist class, the lies of social imperialists and illusions fostered by social pacifism.

44A – Amendment – Yassamine Mather and Mike Macnair (Originally a very similar motion apart from the point below)

Add extra paragraph between para 7 (starting [Left unity oppose...]) and para. 8 starting [With global socialism...]

[Peace cannot come courtesy of bodies such as the United Nations – an assembly of exploiters and murderers. It is the duty of socialists to connect the popular desire for peace with the aims of revolution. Only by disarming the bourgeoisie and through the victory of international socialism can the danger of war be eliminated.]

45. The standing army and the people's militia Mark Fischer & David Isaacson

Left Unity is against the standing army and for the armed people. This principle will never be realised voluntarily by the capitalist state. It has to be won, in the first place by the working class developing its own militia.

Such a body grows out of the class struggle itself: defending picket lines, mass demonstrations, workplace occupations, fending off fascists, etc.

As the class struggle intensifies, conditions are created for the workers to arm themselves and win over sections of the military forces of the capitalist state. Every opportunity must be used to take even tentative steps towards this goal. As circumstances allow, the working class must equip itself with all weaponry necessary to bring about revolution.

To facilitate this we demand:

1. Rank and file personnel in the state's armed bodies must be protected from bullying, humiliating treatment and being used against the working class.

2. There must be full trade union and democratic rights, including the right to form bodies such as soldiers' councils.
3. The privileges of the officer caste must be abolished. Officers must be elected. Workers in uniform must become the allies of the masses in struggle.
4. The people have the right to bear arms and defend themselves.
5. The dissolution of the standing army and the formation of a popular militia under democratic control.

Motions not given timed priority and which therefore may not be reached

46. Art and Culture - Leicester Left Unity

Left Unity re-affirms its commitment to linking our politics with artistic creativity of all kinds and to nurture popular access to and participation in the arts.

We recommend that each LU Branch or region approaches sympathetic artists to work with them in campaigns and festivals. Where possible, a more permanent relation could be formed through a Peoples Arts Collective, a parallel but separate grouping, linked to the local branch or region, and charged with organising events, recognising diversity and empowering local people to participate.

47. Sex Workers - Nottinghamshire Left Unity

Amnesty International is a charity that ostensibly works to end violations of human rights. Yet, Amnesty International UK are proposing to adopt a policy position which advocates for the decriminalisation of punters and pimps across the world. This policy flies in the face of extensive research indicating that areas where prostitution has been fully legalized have led to more violence and an increase in trafficking. For example, after legalisation in Australia, the percentage of illegal brothels increased 300%. In New Zealand, legalization expanded the illegal sector to make up 80% of the sex trade industry. In Germany, the safety of women within the sex industry was not improved through full legalization. Furthermore, both human trafficking and organized crime increase in areas where prostitution is decriminalized.

Amnesty has chosen to ignore all of this information and instead decided that the rights of johns and pimps who wish to exploit and use women are more important than the human rights of women to live free from this exploitation.

We condemn Amnesty's proposed prostitution policy and instead call on Amnesty to support the Nordic Model which decriminalizes women in prostitution but criminalizes the johns and pimps. This has been shown to decrease violence against prostituted women, dramatically decrease the number of prostituted persons, and to provide a way out of prostitution for those who wish to leave.

47A - Amendment - Richard Farnos & Terry Stuart & Joseph Healy, On behalf

of the Left Unity LGBTI caucus

Paragraph 1 - In the first sentence delete [ostensibly].

Delete the second sentence and insert:

[Amnesty International is currently in the process of considering a global policy on sex work and Amnesty UK members will vote to decide their position at their Annual General Meeting on 12-13 April 2014. Amnesty International Secretariat has undertaken research of the issue and has proposed a draft policy for consultation. The draft policy proposes the decriminalisation of activities relating to the buying or selling of consensual sex between adults.]

Insert a paragraph break. In the former third sentence beginning [This policy flies in the face...] delete [This] and replace with [Some people argued that this]

In the former third sentence after [For Example] insert [it is argued that]

In the subsequent two sentences beginning [In New Zealand...], reorder the punctuation to read as a list, including inserting [and] before [in Germany.]

in the final sentence of paragraph 1 after [Furthermore,] insert: [it is argued that]

Paragraph 2 - delete the former second paragraph beginning [Amnesty has chosen...] and replace with:

[However virtually all self-organised sex workers support the position proposed by the Amnesty International Secretariat for legalisation sex work, they question the validity of the evidence of the opponents and arguing that far increasing risks to themselves legalisation, if properly handled reduces it and allow the Police to focus on sex trafficking. Indeed many sex worker question the claims made for the 'Nordic Model' which decriminalises the selling of sex while criminalising it purchases. Far from empowering them it only added to their stigmatisation and forces sex work into the criminal underworld.]

Paragraph 3 – after [We] delete all and insert: [believe

- that these issues are complex and opinion is polarised:
- that proponents of different policy responses all invoke core human rights principles in justifying their positions;
- that while Left Unity needs to have a position on this crucial issue, we would like far more information before reaching a decision on such a complex and contentious issue.

Given this, conference resolves:

- a) to establish a Policy Commission to explore this issue to report back to the next policy conference.
- b) that given the contentious nature of this issue conference does not expect the commission to agree. Rather, it needs to come up with a report that clarifies the arguments and come to two or more alternative resolutions to be guaranteed to be discussed and voted upon at the next policy conference.
- c) that given the contentiousness of the issue, the commission needs to be made up of around 12 members, with around half supporting legalisation and half supporting the Nordic model, although positions should be given to alternative positions.
- d) that gender balance should be ensured in line with the constitution but also ensure the involvement of transgendered people and those who reject gender labels.

- e) that the commission needs to give emphasis to the views and opinions of sex workers and their self-organised groups.
- f) to ask the LGBTQ and Women's caucuses to co-ordinate and take the lead in establishing the commission, and that at least one member of the commission should come from the Nottingham Branch.

The substantive motion would then read:

[Amnesty International is a charity that works to end violations of human rights. Amnesty International is currently in the process of considering a global policy on sex work and that Amnesty UK members will vote to decide their position at their Annual General Meeting on 12-13 April 2014. Amnesty International Secretariat has undertaken research of the issue and has proposed a draft policy for consultation. The draft policy proposes the decriminalisation of activities relating to the buying or selling of consensual sex between adults.

Some people argue that this policy flies in the face of extensive research indicating that areas where prostitution has been fully legalized have led to more violence and an increase in trafficking. For example, it is argued that: after legalization, in Australia, the percentage of illegal brothels increased 300%; in New Zealand, legalization expanded the illegal sector to make up 80% of the sex trade industry; and in Germany, the safety of women within the sex industry was not improved through full legalization. Furthermore, it is claimed, both human trafficking and organized crime increase in areas where prostitution is decriminalized.

However virtually all self-organised sex workers support the position proposed by the Amnesty International Secretariat for legalisation sex work, they question the validity of the evidence of the opponents and arguing that far increasing risks to themselves legalisation, if properly handled reduces it and allow the Police to focus on sex trafficking. Indeed many sex worker question the claims made for the 'Nordic Model' which decriminalises the selling of sex while criminalising it purchases. Far from empowering them it only added to their stigmatisation and forces sex work into the criminal underworld.

We believe

- that these issues are complex and opinion is polarised:
- that proponents of different policy responses all invoke core human rights principles in justifying their positions;
- that while Left Unity needs to have a position on this crucial issue, we would like far more information before reaching a decision on such a complex and contentious issue.

Given this, conference resolves:

1. to establish a policy commission to explore this issue to report back to the next policy conference.
2. that given the contentious nature of this issue conference does not expect the commission to agree. Rather it needs to come up with a report that clarifies the arguments and come of two or more alternative resolutions to be guaranteed to be discussed and vote upon at the next policy conference.
3. that given the contentious of the issue that the commission needs to be made up of around 12 members with around half supporting legalisation and half supporting the Nordic model, although positions should be given to alternative positions.
4. that gender balance should be ensured in line with the constitution but

also ensure the involvement of transgendered people and those you reject gender labels.

5. that the commission needs to give emphasis to the views and opinions of sex workers and their self-organised groups.

6. To ask the LGBTQ and Women's caucuses to co-ordinate and take the lead in establishing the commission, and that at least one member of the commission should come from the Nottingham Branch.]

48. Listening Campaign - Birmingham Left Unity

Left Unity needs a method of kick-starting itself, and boosting its profile to one of national prominence. One good way to do this would be through a "Listening Campaign". This would involve local groups holding meetings, and doing surveys and other types of conspicuous data collection in targeted areas, as well as online; asking people questions such as "If you could change one thing about your area, what would it be?" This would be highly advantageous to Left Unity for three reasons:

- It differentiates us from other parties. It shows we are willing to listen to people's concerns, and mould our policies as a result. This contrasts with other mainstream parties, which are rightly commonly perceived as telling people what to think.
- It adds a much-needed injection of populism into our politics. It would allow us to add policies and campaigns to our usual list which would be guaranteed to be popular, and which may not have been thought of by us previously; which may help us carry through our more technical and inaccessible policies.
- It would also help us get our finger more closely on the pulse of society, and allow us to phrase our traditional left-wing policies in new appealing language.

49. Monarchy - Norwich Branch

Left Unity proposes we work urgently for a classless society.

This will never be whilst we have a Monarchy, and a unelected second chamber House of Lords ennobling every anti-democratic thought and belief one can ever think of. Hereditary public office goes against every democratic principle. And because we can't hold the Queen, her family to account at the ballot box, there's nothing to stop them abusing their privilege, misusing their influence or simply wasting our money.

Meanwhile, the monarchy gives vast unchecked power to the government, shutting out the people from major decisions that affect the national interest.

The monarchy is a broken institution. A head of state that's chosen by the people could really represent our hopes and aspirations - and stop politicians exceeding their powers.

The monarchy and House of Lords have to go!

50. Tactics - Nottinghamshire Left Unity

In times of severe government cutbacks and serious attacks on the economic rights/living standards of the working class, the disabled, women and others, it is quite understandable and politically defensible that the national campaigns and agitational

material of Left Unity put particular emphasis on economic issues. And for the foreseeable future, this emphasis should continue.

But in coming months and years, Left Unity should give increased emphasis to campaigning around more political issues, whether 'old' issues or 'newer' ones. It should apply a critical socialist, feminist, environmentalist AND anti-discrimination analysis, whenever possible, to policy and campaign development.

These leading issues should include racism (e.g. demonising of immigrants), sexism and opposition to feminism (no shortage of examples), militarism (e.g. the use of drones), state surveillance of all types (e.g. those exposed by Edward Snowden), other abuses of state power, the selling of private medical information to corporations, international solidarity (e.g. invite the Palestinian women's football team here for a tour; watch Greece very closely and assist if we can), cultural and consumption issues, the meaningless and alienation of much work carried out under capitalism, and similar issues.

When opening up such fronts, working with other groups on these and other political issues, and reaching out to new sectors, especially younger people, we should: a) strive to put forward a critical socialist (NOT liberal) analysis; b) experiment with and develop more creative/catchy political tactics than traditional 'pass-out-a-leaflet-and-hold-a-meeting-with-a-speaker' campaigns.

51. Crime - Ian Donovan & Simon Wells

Crime can only be understood in relationship to society. In class society crime is a product of alienation, want or resistance. Under capitalism the criminal justice system is anti-working class, irrational and inhuman. Property is considered primary; the person merely a form of property.

Against this Left Unity demands:

1. The codification of criminal law. Judges cannot be allowed to 'rediscover' old offences or invent new ones.
2. All judges and magistrates must be subject to election and recall.
3. Defend and extend the jury system. Anyone charged with an offence that carries the possibility of a prison sentence can elect for a jury trial.
4. Fines to be proportionate to income.
5. Prison should always be considered a last resort. There must be workers' supervision of prisons. Prisoners must be allowed the maximum opportunity to develop themselves as human beings. People should only be imprisoned within a short distance of their home locality – if not, families must be given full cost of travel for visits.
6. Prison life must be made as near normal as possible. The aim of prison should be rehabilitation, not punishment.
7. Prisoners should have the right to vote in parliamentary and other such elections and to stand for election. Votes from prisoners to count within the constituency where they actually live, not where they happen to originate.

52. Robert Eagleton's campaign to become elected to the National Union of Students' National Executive Council - Robert Eagleton & Lucy Stoneley

Conference Notes that:

- 1) As a party which strives to model itself on radical working class politics, Left Unity recognises that links with the labour movement are vital for our party to become a success.
- 2) Left Unity further acknowledges that any credible working class party must not focus solely on electioneering but must also endeavour to secure influence within the unions and the wider labour movement.

To this end Conference resolves to:

Officially endorse Robert Eagleton's campaign to become elected to the National Union of Students' National Executive Council.

53. Winning the battle for democracy - Tina Becker & Peter Manson

Capitalism creates the necessity amongst workers to engage in constant struggle. Even without the leadership of socialists class battles will occur, albeit at an elemental level. However, to liberate themselves workers must fight for the positive resolution of all social contradictions, first and foremost by winning the battle for democracy.

Under capitalism democracy exhibits two sides. There is mystification, whereby the masses are reconciled to their exploitation and fooled into imagining themselves to be the sovereign power in society. On the other hand, there is the struggle to give democratic forms a new, substantive, content. This can only be achieved by the working class taking the lead in the fight to ensure popular control over all aspects of society.

Hence, Left Unity does not counterpose democracy to socialism. Democracy is much more than voting every four or five years. Democracy is the rule of the people, for the people, by the people. To make that aspiration real necessarily means removing all judicial, structural and socio-economic restraints on, or distortions of, popular control from below.

Left Unity stands for republican democracy. That means demanding:

- * Abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, and a single-chamber parliament with proportional representation, annual elections and MPs' salaries set at the level of a skilled worker.
- * No to the presidential prime minister. End prime ministerial appointment of ministers and all other forms of prime ministerial patronage.
- * Disband MI5, MI6, special branch and the entire secret state apparatus.
- * For local democracy. Service provision, planning, tax raising, law enforcement and funding allocation to be radically devolved downwards as far as possible and appropriate: to ward, borough, city and county levels.

54. Freedom of information - Emily Offord & James Turley

Knowledge is power. The British bourgeois state has always shrouded its affairs in secrecy. Real class interests and imperialist plans and ambitions are thus kept from the eyes of the working class. Simultaneously there is a close relationship between the state

and the owners and controllers of the mass media. The press, radio, TV and the internet are highly monopolised and not only serve as a means of generating huge profits, but constantly reinforce bourgeois values.

The working class needs openness in state, business, scientific and cultural matters, not least as a preparation for running its own state.

Left Unity therefore demands:

1. Abolish the 30-year rule and all other forms of secrecy. Public access to all state files, cabinet papers, diplomatic agreements, etc.
2. Democratise the state-sponsored mass media. The controllers and top management of the BBC should be elected and recallable. For the free communication of ideas. End all forms of censorship, legislative, commercial and institutional.
3. Abolish copyright laws and other so-called intellectual property rights.
4. Unrestricted freedom of the internet should be considered an integral part of freedom of information.

55. Governmental power - Moshé Machover & Steve Cooke

Left Unity aims to win political power to end capitalism, not to manage it. It will not participate in governmental coalitions with capitalist parties at national or local level. Nor will it aim to administer the existing capitalist state alone or in coalition with reformists, in the manner of either old or new Labour.

The elevation of Left Unity to government either alone or as part of a working class bloc must be generally understood as heralding the abolition of the core of the capitalist state - centrally the police, the officer caste of the armed forces, the capitalist judiciary and prison system, and the command structure of the civil service, etc. The creation of such a workers' government must therefore be accompanied by the existence of independent, armed working class organisations, capable of successfully defending the government and its working class base against the disintegrating capitalist state forces.

It must be clearly understood that without such conditions being in place, no working class government can be formed.

Motions that are not campaigning policy motions – to be referred to National Council

56. Campaign Materials - Northampton Left Unity

When Left Unity nationally adopts a campaign all branches should be given (or have access to) the necessary materials in order to carry out the campaign in their location.

57. Childcare - Nottinghamshire Left Unity

Left Unity supports the inclusion of women and carers at all levels of organising and strategy development.

In recognition of this, Left Unity will provide free, on site crèche facilities for those members who book places ten days in advance of national meetings.

58. Branch Activity - West London Left Unity

- Left Unity Branches are encouraged to produce regular newsletters for distribution to less active members and the public.
- Branches are encouraged to hold periodic public or open meetings
- Branch meetings are encouraged to take regular reports and discussion on local campaigns and encouraging members to get involved.

58 A - Amendment – Lambeth Branch

Add: "Branches are encouraged to hold monthly public awareness stalls, to promote LU, gain local views on issues, and engage with and promote developing local campaigns, thus engaging the public and growing the LU contacts base."