

A paper of Marxist polemic and Marxist unity



weekly **worker**



**Supplement: Tony Greenstein's
submission to Labour's NCC
refuting anti-Semitism**

- Letters and debate
- LAW differences
- Marc Wadsworth
- Corbyn: 30 theses

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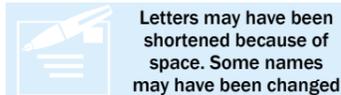
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May's Europe negotiations end in chaos



LETTERS



Letters may have been shortened because of space. Some names may have been changed

A process

On December 5 Jon Lansman, Momentum boss and candidate for Labour's national executive committee, was guest speaker at a public meeting organised jointly by Momentum groups in Hammersmith and Fulham, Chelsea and Fulham, and Kensington. Comrades from the neighbouring Ealing constituencies also shared experiences and reported the limited progress made so far, against resistance from the local Labour establishment - particularly anti-Corbyn councillors - in involving the mass intake of new members in the life of the party.

The Hammersmith and Fulham Momentum December newsletter highlighted the hypocrisy of the "broad church myth":

"However much the Labour centre and Labour right talk about the 'broad church that is Labour', they have been very determined to ensure that this is not reflected in the local organisation and leadership of at least two of the CLPs - Hammersmith, and Chelsea and Fulham. So far we have made limited progress in getting Labour members identified as Momentum, pro-Jeremy Corbyn or just generally 'too leftist' elected to posts or selected as candidates at CLP level - regardless of their experience, expertise or talent. However, across the three constituencies we have elected people who now need us to support them in their new roles."

Comrade Lansman spoke about the social crisis produced by austerity, affecting people across the social spectrum, and the need for a "transformative Labour government". The hundreds of thousands of new Labour members must "change the nature of the Labour Party", democratise it and put an end to the corruption that is all too common in constituencies.

In Haringey, councillor reselections were not brought about by a Momentum strategy, but by the local Labour leader's attempt to purge his critics, which roused "full-spectrum opposition". In Newham, all of the committee members overseeing the trigger ballot in the selection process for mayor were people appointed by the mayor.

In London, Lansman reported, there has been a significant shift in the last year, but, while the London Labour conference backed Jeremy Corbyn, it took an "enormous row" to force onto the agenda things which were then adopted almost unanimously. A Hammersmith delegate characterised the conference as a "grassroots revolt", which overcame "podium intransigence". And now the new London regional director is "better" than the one before - rightwing, politically motivated complaints against members are no longer automatically accepted.

Lansman recalled that 20 years ago the rightwingers running London Labour "tore up the rule book". Four years ago, he said, "we raised the absence of a rule book"; two years ago they accepted the need for one, but it took another year to produce it.

I received encouraging support when, as a founder member of Hammersmith and Fulham Momentum, I explained my expulsion from the party under the 'bureaucrat's dream': rule 2.1.4.B. I was told by an ex-NEC member in the know, "Don't worry - it's being taken care of." When I asked comrade Lansman whether my exclusion from Labour would also remove me from Momentum membership, he replied: "Momentum does not do auto-exclusions. We have a process."

This is in stark contrast to what has just happened in Sheffield: about a dozen members who had been expelled from Labour for political reasons were auto-excluded from standing in Momentum for any leadership positions and also barred from voting. This followed a narrow vote in favour of "abiding by the national constitution". Hopefully comrade Lansman will move swiftly to reverse this undemocratic decision.

As for Labour disciplinaries Lansman explained, "there is little we can do" at present, as we still "have not got control of the party bureaucracy".

Stan Keable

Hammersmith

Replace her

At time of writing, Tulip Siddiq has not had the whip removed by the Labour Party. *Channel 4 News* have targeted Siddiq for her hypocrisy in making political capital by campaigning for the release of her constituent, Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe, from an Iranian prison, while remaining silent about political prisoners in Bangladesh, where she had been an active supporter of the corrupt ruling Awami League party.

Siddiq has responded by effectively playing the race card, saying she was born in London and only cares about Hampstead, despite previously boasting on her own website that she supports the Awami League and has run social media campaigns for them in the past. She also claims not to have any influence over Bangladeshi politics - an absurd and indefensible position.

For me these events encapsulate many of the frustrations with remaining a member of the Labour Party. Yes, *Channel 4 News* is not a socialist outlet and perhaps for balance they should follow up this story by making the same challenges to Tory and Labour MPs who support Narendra Modi and by extension the Hindu nationalists of the Bharatiya Janata Party in India. But fundamentally it is astonishing hypocrisy from the Labour Party - led by supposedly internationalist working class socialists - to suspend the likes of Jared O'Mara for offensive comments made years ago, on the one hand, and, on the other, ignore MPs like Siddiq, who actively support bourgeois governments around the world which lock up opposition politicians and rig elections.

This is another example of the absolutely obvious need for a policy of mandatory reselection for Labour MPs as a basic democratic - not even uniquely leftwing - demand. If members had any sort of oversight over the behaviour of MPs, one would hope that bourgeois politicians like Siddiq would be swiftly replaced, along with many others.

Sean Carter

South London

Think on

If anyone knows about unelectability, then it is Roy Hattersley. A good writer, he was never a good politician, but he now expects a continuing political role even after having retired from the House of Lords. He lauds the supposed moderation of those who gave us the private finance initiative and the Iraq war. But PFI was the work of the former Militant, Alan Milburn, and of Militant's economic guru, the late Andrew Glyn.

If Momentum is now as dominant as Hattersley claims, then it is its enemies who are a party within the Labour Party. British politics has long been prey to entryism. Hattersley defends the nominally Labour Haringey council, whose social cleansing policies are denounced in George Osborne's *Evening Standard*. Thatcherism arose on the outermost individualist fringe of the tiny Liberal Party. New Labour arose on the

outermost Eurocommunist fringe of a Communist Party that had already dissolved itself.

But those in Margaret Thatcher's own party who have since produced Theresa May did eventually bring down Thatcher. Ostensibly, that was over a European policy that, as a policy rather than as a tone, did not change with her departure. But it was really because of the mass opposition to the poll tax, an opposition that had been organised by Militant. And Tony Blair was eventually removed by his own party. Can anyone remember the official reason? But the real reason was, of course, the mass opposition to the Iraq war - an opposition that had been organised by those to the left of Labour who are often now in it, and who are all very close to Jeremy Corbyn. Think on.

David Lindsay

Co Durham

Essentialism

Apropos Mike Macnair's reply to my article on post-structuralism and decline, he handicaps himself by being pedantic, yet is unclear on some points ('Historical inaccuracies and theoretical overkill', November 30). His view of 1968 echoes the French Communist Party's! Wearing spectacles cannot be compared with full transgenders. Marxism requires a clear historical overview and a theoretical approach. So I offer the following.

Although Marx's essentialism is derived from the ideas of Aristotle, he gives them a materialist form. Using Marx, as well as the work of Hillel Ticktin, Scott Meikle and Peter Dews, I have developed *five* related concepts:

(i) *Essence* of an entity or form, based on "the characteristics that make it the kind of thing it is, ... without which it could not exist or be what it is" (Meikle); a thing cannot possibly be explained in terms of its constituent matter (atoms), since that changes, while the entity retains its nature and identity over time. Can it change its nature, become something else? Sex and gender identity, for example, are influenced both by biological and social factors. But can the latter supersede the biological? Where does this end? Third gender, cloning, making sex and desire redundant? What is the relationship between natural/unnatural/artificial? Does this make us more human?

(ii) *Telos*: The final form to which an entity develops; unless this is interrupted by external accident or, in the case of a nature which contains a constitutive contradiction, by the way in which that contradiction develops. (iii) *Man is a species-being*: He looks upon himself as a universal free being, who "reproduces himself ... intellectually, in his consciousness, [as well as] actively and actually, [then] he can contemplate himself in a world he himself has created". On the other hand, "estranged labour tears man away from his species life, his true species activity, and transforms his advantage over animals into disadvantage, so that his inorganic body, nature, is taken from him". If he is to fulfil himself as a species-being, private property has to be superseded. Only then can man free himself from "one-sided consumption, of possession, of having". Then, his thinking, creating, loving, via all of his senses are for himself and his fellow man, which is its own end; only then does he become "a total [human being]" (K Marx *Economic and philosophic manuscripts*).

(iv) *Human society is also an entity*: As long as class society exists, since there is no guiding intelligence, man must take "conscious control, collectively, of social production and reproduction", whereby "the telos ... of the human species and the telos

of society are jointly realised"; then real history begins (Marx/Meikle). Capitalism is the final form of class society. But, the longer it continues, under private property relations, the "productive forces ... receive a one-sided development only, and for the majority they become destructive forces ... Thus [the] individuals must appropriate the existing totality of productive forces, not only to achieve self-activity, but also merely to safeguard their very existence" (K Marx, *F Engels The German ideology*). History also requires a subjective factor (revolutionary consciousness/organisation); otherwise society decays - accumulation of capital on one side; atomisation of the masses on the other, whilst capitalism degrades the environment.

(v) In the *epoch of capitalist decline*, the world revolution should have started in an advanced western country - which it would have done, if it hadn't been for the betrayal of German social democracy (1914). Yoked to imperialism, the Russian bourgeoisie could not carry out their own revolution. So, in 1917, the Bolsheviks had no choice but to lead their own proletariat on the path of social revolution, although this was contingent upon the revival of the world revolution, only to be dragged down by the yoke of the peasantry. A negative dialectic ensued. Imperialist counterrevolution from without - ie, a terrible civil war gave social democracy the opportunity to smash the German revolution (1918-21). Isolated, the infant soviet regime succumbed to bureaucratic centralism, which enabled the Stalinist counterrevolution from within. The utopian goal of 'socialism in one country' was undertaken by means of barbarism. Stalinism failed to stop fascism and a second imperialist world war. It smashed subsequent revolutions in 1936, 1944 and 1968. It opened the door to the rise of the United States as world hegemon, responsible for two atom bomb attacks, as well as more imperialist wars, resulting in the deaths of millions. It also perfected "the society of the spectacle": news/advertising/entertainment; the latter feeds off work fatigue and the need for distraction (whereas authentic art has almost gone); ie, a 'fifth impediment' to adequate consciousness. (Marx outlines the other *four* in his *Economic and philosophic manuscripts*: private property, alienation, division of labour, commodity fetishism.)

Post-1968, given Stalinism's *poisonous legacy*, the intelligentsia persists with poststructuralism, the "logics of disintegration", "the dismantling of stable conceptions of meaning, subjectivity and identity" (Dews), which extends across a wide variety of disciplines. Its *raison d'être* prevents the revival of totalising theories (ie, Marxism). Poststructuralism manifests itself as a *Zeitgeist*, via the mass media, in the interests of neoliberalism. The free market promises the 'liberation' of the few, but for the majority political correctness goes with falling living standards. Reformism is bankrupt.

Hence in America we see the rise of illiberal neoliberalism or the Trump phenomenon, supported by half the electorate. It exacerbates the old ideologies of sexism, racism, xenophobia and nationalism. (If there is another financial meltdown, it could move further to the right!) Now the "logics of disintegration" is echoed by social/political disintegration (identity politics, intersectionality, political correctness, etc). What next?

Rex Dunn

email

Murphy's law

Having endeavoured to correct Rex Dunn's misconceptions about the intellectual history of identity politics,

Mike Macnair falls victim to Murphy's law, which states that any correction will itself contain errors of the same sort it purports to correct.

So, onto the genealogy of poststructuralism and friends. Structuralism goes back not to "Claude Levi-Strauss's critique of materialism", but originates as an approach to linguistic research that proposed to bracket entirely the question of how words came to mean what they do, and instead focus on how utterances fit together into an overall system. The pioneer here was the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure. Levi-Strauss is one of the most influential inheritors of Saussure, to be sure, but many of the post-war French intellectuals were inspired directly by Saussure and his linguist followers, such as Roman Jakobson and Émile Benveniste.

Nor is it strictly correct that these ideas were brought into the left by Louis Althusser and co. Many of the 1950s structuralists were on the French left - Levi-Strauss himself was a fellow traveller of some sort; Roland Barthes could also be named in this connection. Of course, this strengthens the underlying point - that poststructuralism and so on have a longer and more seriously 'Marxist' history than would fit into Rex's 'disillusionment' narrative.

The moral of the story is perhaps that, while we may as a matter of criticism find that some set of ideas - pushed to its limits - has certain political consequences, the grubby reality of intellectual-political history tells us rather that ideas are not very often pushed to their limits in the minds of those who hold them. Mike wonders how any anti-foundationalist epistemology could ever provide a basis for a political project of general emancipation, but that certainly has not stopped people from trying. Certainly there is more to the rise of identitarianism than decades-old fads among French bohemian intellectuals.

Paul Demarty

London

Festschrift

In the recent past I have had the pleasure of being involved - as translator and language editor - in the production of a *Festschrift* - or collection of writings - for Marcel van der Linden, the theoretician of, and networker for, global labour history.

The anthology, edited by Karl Heinz Roth, provides a comprehensive and accessible overview of the state of the art of global labour history as a discipline, with field and case studies from Africa and Latin America, as well as from the Middle East and China. It is a must-read for those interested in the various fields of labour history and the breadth of its material is testament to the growing influence of global labour history, as well as to the international connections of the man to whom it is dedicated.

More details can be found at www.brill.com/products/book/road-global-labour-history. As you will see, the anthology is incredibly expensive. As such, I would urge those of you with library access to order copies for your local institution (please contact Brill directly about doing so - the information is on the web page). A paperback version, which will be much more affordable, will eventually appear, but this is unlikely to be available until the end of 2018.

Finally, should any of you be interested in reviewing this publication, please contact me directly.

Ben Lewis

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LAW

Step up the campaign

David Shearer of Labour Party Marxists reports on the latest plans and developments

A useful, but highly contentious, organising meeting of Labour Against the Witchhunt took place in London on December 2, attended by around 30 comrades. LAW was set up in October to campaign against the ongoing war of smears, suspensions and expulsions - which has as its ultimate aim the removal of all trace of the current Jeremy Corbyn leadership and returning the party into the safe hands of the pro-capitalist right.

The campaign has three basic demands:

- End 'auto-exclusion' from Labour and reinstate all those thus excluded.
- Abolish the compliance unit. Disciplinary action must be taken only by elected bodies.
- Define 'anti-Semitism' - the pretext used for a good proportion of the exclusions and suspensions - straightforwardly and clearly (and certainly not in accordance with pro-Zionist definition put out by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance).

Two comrades falsely accused of anti-Semitism and currently suspended from Labour addressed the meeting. The first was Tony Greenstein - a member of LAW's steering committee, who chaired the meeting - the second was Marc Wadsworth (see p4).

Comrade Greenstein gave an update on his case, informing comrades that his disciplinary hearing in front of Labour's national constitutional committee for alleged 'anti-Semitism' is set for December 11. However, he has been given insufficient time to prepare his case and is seeking an injunction in the high court - which will be considered on December 7 - to force Labour to postpone the hearing. Comrade Greenstein said he would welcome the attendance of other comrades at the high court.

In the meantime, LAW is organising what it hopes will be a public launch meeting on January 29. Ken Loach has already agreed to speak and a number of others such as Tariq Ali and Ken Livingstone have been invited. However, the room provisionally booked (in Conway Hall, central London) has a relatively small capacity and the meeting agreed that we should try to get something larger - perhaps a trade union might help secure a venue. It was also agreed that it was essential that we get the unions on board.

A number of local reports were heard, including from Birmingham and Oxford. Although no-one was present from Sheffield, we heard that the local Momentum group had voted narrowly to exclude from voting or standing for officer posts anyone suspended or expelled from the Labour Party. In other words, if you have been targeted by the Labour right, Momentum will go along with that and exclude you from membership too. It was agreed that anyone taking this position could not be a member of LAW.

In similar vein, the meeting agreed that Ann Black should in future not be included on any NEC slates supported by the left - comrade Greenstein pointed out that she had been responsible for the suspension of both Wallasey and Brighton and Hove Constituency Labour Parties.

It was also agreed that we should take a more proactive position in relation to Labour's democracy review. We should ignore the review's prescribed limits, and make submissions which challenge the present disciplinary regime in the party from top to bottom. We will provide a model motion encouraging them, while comrade Greenstein will incorporate the most useful recommendations of the Chakrabarti report into a draft LAW submission.

Although comrade Pete Firmin has



There ain't no witches

resigned from the steering committee, following Saturday's meeting the SC is now larger than before. We agreed that both Steve Price and comrade Deborah Hobson of the Grassroots Black Left (GBL) should join the committee alongside Jackie Walker (chair), Tony Greenstein (vice-chair) and Stan Keable (secretary/treasurer) - the officer posts being determined by the SC itself.

The meeting further agreed a model motion against unjust suspensions and expulsions, which had originally been adopted by the GBL, but has subsequently been accepted by at least two CLPs that are not particularly renowned for their leftwing composition. The motion (see below) should be sent to Iain McNicol for discussion by the NEC if it is agreed by Labour CLPs and union branches.

Socialist Fight

The meeting included a discussion on the participation within LAW of Socialist Fight. The steering committee had taken the decision to exclude SF from the campaign because of the group's position on Jews, which can only be described as anti-Semitic.

SF declares that Jewish "overrepresentation" amongst the bourgeoisie is a major factor explaining imperialist backing for Israel. At the meeting itself SF's Ian Donovan stated that, while this "overrepresentation" "doesn't determine everything", it "determines quite a lot". He also talked about the undue influence of "Jewish communalist politics", while the SF leaflet handed out at the meeting stated that "Jews" today have become "an oppressor people".

The SC sought approval from the meeting for its decision to exclude SF from LAW - on the basis that a campaign which places a large emphasis on its opposition to the disgraceful, knowingly false accusations of 'anti-Semitism' wielded by the right against principled anti-racists should not itself tolerate individuals whose public pronouncements are clearly anti-Semitic. To do otherwise opens us up to claims that we cannot be taken seriously when we say the right's accusations are nothing but smears - after all, it would then appear that we ourselves cannot tell the difference between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

Labour Party Marxists put forward a motion, directed against not only Socialist Fight, but also the social-imperialist Alliance for Workers' Liberty:

LAW does not wish to be associated with those who excuse the ongoing witch-hunt in the Labour Party: ie, support the expulsion of Ken Livingstone. Nor do we wish to associate with those who advocate anti-Semitism: ie, those who explain US and other imperialist countries' foreign policy on the basis of

the number of Jews in the ruling class.

Unfortunately neither this motion nor one from the steering committee, which called for its decision to exclude SF to be endorsed, was successful. Only nine comrades were in favour of endorsing the SC position, with 12 against, plus a number of abstentions; as for the LPM motion, there were 12 votes in favour and 12 against, and so it was not carried either.

One of the arguments that carried a good deal of weight amongst those who voted against was the claim that an organisation set up to oppose exclusions should not itself exclude people. SF's own motion quoted the official (but largely ignored) Labour Party position that "the mere holding or expression of beliefs and opinions" should not be grounds for exclusion.

This is at best a highly naive position. Should we welcome into LAW out-and-out reactionaries and open racists? (I am not, obviously, including SF in this category, whose comrades seem to sincerely believe that their line is *not* anti-Semitic!). There is also a difference between a specific campaign like LAW and a party like Labour, which today contains all manner of viewpoints, not least warmongers such as Tony Blair.

At least the SF motion - which not only favoured 'free expression' (including for anti-Semites) within LAW, but also called on the campaign to invite George Galloway to "play the role of our honorary president" - was also defeated. It received five votes, while eight comrades opposed it - the clear winners on this occasion were the abstainers.

While, of course, we in LPM accept LAW's right to make democratic decisions, the participation of Socialist Fight remains in our view a problem that might well have to be revisited.

But let that not detract from the useful role that LAW intends to play - now is the time to really step up the campaign.

Model motion

This branch/CLP notes the August 9 report by online political news journal *Skwawkbox* revealing the Information Commissioners Office ruling that Labour headquarters cannot trawl through members' social media accounts for disciplinary purposes, as this was a breach of the Data Protection Act, because, as a 'data controller' under the act, it does not have permission from the members to use their data for that purpose.

We recognise that in the past two years, particularly during the Labour leadership contests of 2015 and 2016, a number of Labour members were suspended, excluded or expelled from the party. There is a great deal of evidence that many of these members and applicants were treated as such for unclear and sometimes seemingly arbitrary reasons, and often without the transparent, time-limited process based on natural justice, recommended by Labour's Chakrabarti report into anti-Semitism and racism.

We deplore the malicious and vexatious accusations against Labour Party members and others that has resulted in their suspension from the party. And, while these accusations have sometimes been overturned, they caused a great deal of distress to the individuals involved and damaged their reputation and standing within the party and the wider community.

We call on the NEC to review the suspensions policy so that, except in exceptional circumstances of credible accusations of hate speech, violence or threats of violence or intimidation, all outstanding exclusions and suspensions should be lifted and this course of action publicly supported by the party leader ●

ACTION

London Communist Forum

Sunday December 10, 5pm: Weekly political report from CPGB Provisional Central Committee, followed by open discussion and reading group: study of August Nimitz's *Lenin's electoral strategy from Marx and Engels through the revolution of 1905*. This meeting: chapter 3, 'The "dress rehearsal" and the first duma' (continued).

Calthorpe Arms, 252 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

Organised by CPGB: www.cpgb.org.uk;

and Labour Party Marxists: www.labourpartymarxists.org.uk.

Radical Anthropology Group

Tuesday December 12, 6.45pm: Series of talks on human origins, Anthropology Building, 14 Taviton Street, off Gordon Square, London WC1. This meeting: 'Egalitarian self-government through polyphonic singing'. Speaker: Ingrid Lewis.

Organised by Radical Anthropology Group: <http://radicalanthropologygroup.org>.

Hands off Jerusalem

Friday December 8, 5.30pm: Emergency protest, US embassy, Grosvenor Square, London W1. Jerusalem is Palestine's, not Israel's capital. Organised by Palestine Solidarity Campaign: www.palestinecampaign.org.

Save the refugees

Friday December 8, 5pm: Send-off, Downing Street, London SW1. Stand Up To Racism and Care4Calais are working together to raise financial support for the refugees now scattered across northern France and Belgium after the closure of the 'Jungle' refugee camp in Calais. With Lord Alf Dubs, author of the Dubs amendment.

Organised by Stand Up To Racism:

www.standuptoracism.org.uk/stand-racism-care4calais-winter-refugee-appeal.

What is Marxism?

Friday December 8, 5pm: Platypus coffee break, Thirty-Five Café, Richard Hoggart building, Goldsmith's, Elborough Street, London SW18. This week: 'Class-consciousness'.

Organised by Platypus Affiliated Society: <https://platypus1917.org/london>.

Remember Helen John

Sunday December 10, 2pm: Memorial, Kirkgate Centre, Shipley, BD18. Remembering Helen John, co-founder of Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp.

Organised by Labour CND:

www.labourcnd.org.uk/2017/11/memorial-for-helen-john

Make work safe

Monday December 11, 12 noon to 3.45pm: Training day, Centre for Life, Times Square, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1. Come to the TUC's northern health and safety forum. Free entry.

Organised by TUC: https://healthandsafety_reps_at_40.eventbrite.co.uk.

No proxy war in Yemen

Monday December 11, 7.30pm: Public meeting, Brent Trades Hall (London Apollo Club), 375 High Road, London NW10.

Organised by Brent Stop the War Coalition: www.stopwar.org.uk.

War, racism and Islamophobia

Thursday January 11, 7pm: Public meeting, Dallow Learning Community Centre, 234 Dallow Road, Luton LU1.

Organised by Luton Stop the War Coalition:

www.facebook.com/events/132614697400854.

A great deal for Manchester?

wednesday December 20, 10am to 1pm: Conference, Mechanics Centre, 103 Princess Street, Manchester M1. How can we win a 'good employment charter'. Free entry for trade unionists.

Organised by TUC:

www.tuc.org.uk/events/great-jobs-and-good-employment-greater-manchester.

Discrimination and the law

Friday January 26, 8.45am to 4pm: Conference, Congress House, Great Russell Street, London WC1. For trade unions, law centres, etc.

Organised by TUC:

www.tuc.org.uk/events/tuceor-discrimination-law-conference-2018.

Palestine solidarity

Saturday January 27, 9.30am to 5pm: Palestine Solidarity Campaign AGM, London Irish Centre, 50-52 Camden Square, London NW1. Please register by January 20.

Organised by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign:

www.palestinecampaign.org/events/psc-annual-general-meeting-2018.

Labour Against the Witchhunt

Tuesday January 30, 7pm: Public meeting, committee room 3, Council House, Birmingham B1. Speakers: Jackie Walker (LAW), Naomi Wimborne Idressi (Jewish Voices for Labour), Moshé Machover (reinstated Labour member).

Organised by LAW: www.LabourAgainstWitchhunt.org.

Britain's housing crisis

Wednesday February 14, 7pm: Discussion, Marx Memorial Library, 37A Clerkenwell Green, London EC1. First in a three-part course. Waged: £15; unwaged: £9.

Organised by Marx Memorial Library: www.marx-memorial-library.org.

CPGB wills

Remember the CPGB and keep the struggle going. Put our party's name and address, together with the amount you wish to leave, in your will. If you need further help, do not hesitate to contact us.

LAW

Farcical and malicious

The December 2 Labour Against the Witchhunt meeting included an important contribution by black activist Marc Wadsworth. Alan Fox reports

Amongst the many truly pathetic examples of comrades being suspended or expelled from the Labour Party on trumped-up charges is that of Marc Wadsworth - lifelong Labour left, black activist and editor of "citizen journalism" website, *the-latest.com*.

Comrade Wadsworth, who describes Jeremy Corbyn as "my old comrade" (they had worked together politically for three decades), was summarily expelled by email on June 30 2016. He was informed that his membership had been "cancelled" within a couple of hours of criticising rightwing Labour MPs at the launch of the report by Shami Chakrabarti on alleged anti-Semitism and racism within the party.

That report had, of course, concluded: "The Labour Party is not overrun with anti-Semitism, Islamophobia or other forms of racism" - not exactly what the right had hoped to hear. And, as if to put two fingers up to Chakrabarti, the party machine decided to go for comrade Wadsworth. As media officer for Momentum Black Connexions - now superseded by Grassroots Black Left - he was handing out an MBC statement criticising the Parliamentary Labour Party right wing, which at that time was working hard on its attempted coup to oust Corbyn.

The *Daily Telegraph's* senior political correspondent, Kate McCann, requested a copy of the statement from comrade Wadsworth, who describes what happened next:

A woman in front of her ignored me and asked McCann for the release, which the reporter gave her. All I said to the woman were three words: "Who are you?" She replied: "Ruth Smeeth, Labour MP." I'd never heard of her.¹

Smeeth had just resigned from the shadow cabinet and was one of those calling on Corbyn - who was present at the launch alongside Chakrabarti - to step down.

During questions from the press that followed speeches from the platform, McCann challenged Corbyn about the leaflet a "Momentum member and Jeremy Corbyn supporter" had been handing out. She noted that Labour MPs who had resigned from the shadow cabinet to destabilise Corbyn were described in the leaflet as "traitors" and it called on their Constituency Labour Parties to consider deselection. Surely Corbyn should condemn this appalling behaviour? At this point, says comrade Wadsworth:

I put up my hand. But Chakrabarti treated me as if I was invisible and called other people instead. Only after I said, "Shami, you haven't called anyone black", did she say, "OK, you're next".

When I spoke I praised her report and the bravery she had shown recommending changes to Labour rules to make them fairer in the wake of a witch-hunt against alleged anti-Semites, including ex-MP Ken Livingstone.

I questioned why the journalist from the rightwing *Telegraph* had handed a copy of the news release to Smeeth and said it seemed they were working together against Corbyn.

'Anti-Semitic slurs'

It was at this point that Smeeth threw a tantrum - egged on by the former senior *Sun* political correspondent, Kevin Schofield, who was sitting next to her. She walked out and was rapidly followed



Jeremy Corbyn and Marc Wadsworth: you know your friends when you need them

by McCann and other journalists looking for an anti-Corbyn story. Several outlets reported that Smeeth was "in tears", but a video that has since been widely circulated on social media clearly showed that this was not the case.²

Incredibly Smeeth claimed that she had been "verbally attacked" by a "Jeremy Corbyn supporter who used traditional anti-Semitic slurs to attack me for being part of a 'media conspiracy.'" What comrade Wadsworth had actually said in his "verbal attack" was: "I saw that the *Telegraph* handed a copy of a press release to Ruth Smeeth MP, so you can see who's working hand in hand."

It was clear that he had not even known who Smeeth was before the launch, let alone that she was Jewish. But little matters like that are of no concern to the anti-Corbyn right - if you are on the left of the party and criticise someone who happens to be Jewish, then obviously you must be an anti-Semite. And, as comrade Wadsworth says, "Smeeth immediately put out a defamatory statement accusing me - a life-long campaigner against racism - of 'anti-Semitism'."

And, showing how rightwingers like Smeeth work hand in glove with general secretary Iain McNicol's office, within a couple of hours comrade Wadsworth had received that email "cancelling" his Labour membership - on the basis of "comments widely reported". However, after comrade Wadsworth's solicitor wrote to the compliance unit complaining about this "breach of natural justice", the cancellation of his membership was itself cancelled - instead he was informed that he was now suspended pending "an investigation".

Well, that was 18 months ago, but he is still out on a limb. On February 1

2017 the case was referred by Labour's national executive committee to the party's rightwing-dominated national constitutional committee for a hearing. Apparently only one of the six 'left' CLP representatives - Pete Willsman, of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy - was against this referral; two were in favour (Ann Black and Rhea Wolfson) and the other three abstained. But comrade Wadsworth has still not been contacted and offered a date for this hearing, despite the intervention of his union, Unite.

As if such a hearing were needed, when all you have to do is listen to what he actually said at the launch via social media. The widely viewed video shows that he did indeed refer briefly to Smeeth working "hand in hand" with the *Telegraph* and it is at this point that Smeeth is heard heckling, "How dare you? How absolutely dare you?" But comrade Wadsworth calmly moves on to point to the fact that very few Labour activists present at the Chakrabarti report launch were African, Caribbean or Asian and stated that the party needed to get its house in order. This accounted for the greater part of his intervention and Corbyn voiced his support for this point, agreeing that the party must do better.

I suppose some might criticise the comrade for making too much of the fact that Smeeth had asked McCann for a leaflet - not exactly clear proof of the two working "hand in hand". Nonetheless, it is worth noting that Ruth Smeeth is the former director of public affairs and campaigns at the pro-Zionist Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre (Bicom). And, among the many documents revealed by Wikileaks was a 2009 cable from the US embassy in London, which gave details of a conversation about

Labour Party affairs between embassy staff and Smeeth - who was described as an informant the US should "strictly protect".³

Everyone knows that, especially during the time of the Chakrabarti report launch in the summer of 2016, very many rightwing Labour MPs, including Smeeth, were regularly briefing against Corbyn. However, the main point is that the accusation from Smeeth is totally farcical - it is clearly malicious, since comrade Wadsworth said nothing at all about a "media conspiracy" and he most certainly did not mention anything that could be interpreted as relating in any way to Jews.

On the contrary, as he says, Smeeth's claims were "poisonous slander":

The media-manufactured incident made broadcast and newspaper headlines. Smeeth's unfounded accusation prompted a backlash online, including some vile racist abuse against me. But, overwhelmingly, thousands of people commenting at the end of newspaper stories - Jewish and non-Jewish - supported me and observed from the video I had said nothing anti-Semitic.⁴

On January 31 2017 *The Guardian* published a letter from 12 prominent people, including LAW chair Jackie Walker, which stated:

It is scandalous that Wadsworth was suspended by the general secretary, Iain McNicol, because he dared to challenge a Labour MP who was a high-profile opponent of the democratically elected Labour leader, and raise the issue of black political underrepresentation at the launch of the Shami Chakrabarti report into anti-Semitism and racism. Fortunately,

the moment when Wadsworth spoke out was captured on a video that has been widely publicised by the media. It clearly demonstrates he is not guilty of anti-Semitism.

It is essential that, following the successful campaign to reinstate Moshé Machover, pressure is maintained on Corbyn himself and shadow chancellor John McDonnell to intervene in the interests of party democracy. Comrade Wadsworth told Saturday's LAW meeting that both had expressed sympathy and disquiet about the injustice of his case soon after the initial move against him. But since then the Labour leadership seems to have thrown him under a bus. In the words of Suresh Grover, director of the civil rights Monitoring Group and a long-time supporter and close comrade of Corbyn and McDonnell:

I want to create a momentum to get Jackie Walker and Marc Wadsworth back into the Labour Party and not discriminated against because of their black politics. Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell have to publicly state their suspensions are wrong. That they need to be immediately reinstated, otherwise Jeremy and John are not leaders!⁵

Notes

1. www.voice-online.co.uk/article/activist-and-journalist-dispels-claims-he-anti-semitic.
2. www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/labour-activist-who-berated-mp-ruth-smeeth-says-he-did-not-know-she-was-jewish-and-denies-momentum-a7111366.html.
3. <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/asa-winstanley/media-concoct-firestorm-jeremy-corbyn-launches-anti-semitism-report>.
4. www.voice-online.co.uk/article/activist-and-journalist-dispels-claims-he-anti-semitic.
5. <http://the-latest.com/labour-leader-jeremy-corbyn-challenged-defend-his-black-allies>.

SUPPLEMENT

Anti-Semitism? It's Israel, stupid!

Tony Greenstein responds to the false accusations made against him as part of the rightwing-driven witch-hunt. This is an edited version of his submission to Labour's national constitutional committee

It is an outrage that I am facing a series of accusations by people whose identity has been kept hidden. It means that I am unable to question or cross-examine them. There is no court of law where this would be allowed. Charles I's Star Chamber was abolished in 1641. Its successor in the Labour Party is still sitting. It is contrary to all notions of natural justice that you do not know who your accusers are. Evidence against me is redacted. The fact that the national constitutional committee (NCC) is happy to go along with this charade demonstrates that it is too kind by half to call them a kangaroo court. The kangaroo is an inoffensive animal.

Despite having been suspended for 20 months - itself an outrage - and 17 months having elapsed since my investigation hearing, I was given just four weeks to prepare a response to a 189-page bundle, despite being notified by email whilst recovering in hospital. The practices of the NCC and its patsy of a chair who made these rulings demonstrate that the NCC is a rubber stamp. The NCC is too gutless even to reveal their own names!

I emailed back asking for further time in view of the long wait before being charged. Despite providing medical evidence and informing them that I had to care for a disabled son, my request for an adjournment was refused. No reason was given. The refusal of the chair of the NCC to agree to a postponement demonstrates that, for this miserable cipher for Iain McNicol, the hearing of these charges is a mere formality. A verdict has already been reached.

If anyone wants to understand what my expulsion from the Labour Party is about, they only need to note the fact that McNicol was the hero of the Labour Friends of Israel fringe meeting at conference. LFI's platform included Mark Regev, Israel's ambassador and a former spokesman for Netanyahu. In which role he was an apologist for war crimes, including the machine-gunning of four Palestinian children on the Gaza beach. This is what the fight against 'anti-Semitism' involves.

My proposed expulsion from the Labour Party has nothing to do with anti-Semitism and everything to do with anti-Zionism and opposition to Israel, the world's only apartheid state. When I first became politically active in 1970 it was in opposition to the campaign against the South African Springbok tour of Britain. It is ironic that I am now being penalised by the Labour Party for opposing the world's only remaining apartheid state.

On November 28 Mandla Mandela, the grandson of Nelson Mandela, after a visit to the West Bank was reported as saying that "Israel is the worst apartheid regime ... Palestinians are being subjected to the worst version of apartheid." It is in defence of this regime that the NEC is seeking to expel Jackie Walker and me, as it tried to do with professor Moshé Machover recently.

Jewish anti-Zionists are seen by Zionism in exactly the same way as white opponents of South African apartheid were seen: traitors to kith and kin. It is a matter of deep shame that the NEC has allowed Labour's unelected compliance unit under McNicol to do the bidding of Israel's racist supporters in the Jewish Labour Movement and LFI.

My expulsion is being proposed because I have criticised the JLM, which describes the Israeli Labor Party as its "sister party". Yet there is no difference between Likud and the ILP when it comes to anti-Arab racism. The ILP's previous leader, Isaac Herzog, declared



Binyamin Netanyahu and Donald Trump: on Israel's 'separation wall'

that his nightmare was waking up to find that Israel had a Palestinian prime minister and 61 Palestinian knesset members. Herzog also declared that he wanted to dispel the false impression that the ILP were "Arab lovers". Imagine if someone said that their nightmare was to wake up and find Britain had a Jewish prime minister or that the Labour Party was not a 'Jew lovers' party. These terms used to be part of the discourse of the National Front and British National Party.

Background

I was suspended on March 18 2016 for comments I was alleged to have made. No detail was provided as to the nature of these comments and my requests for information went unanswered. It is telling that none of the charges against me relate to comments made before I was suspended. In other words I was targeted first and then a search was made for evidence.

On April 2 *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* both ran stories concerning my suspension. Yet, when threatened with a libel action, both papers backed down - a point that the NCC might want

to consider!

There can be no doubt that the leaks came from the compliance unit. The *Telegraph* article spoke of "evidence compiled by Labour's compliance unit when Mr Greenstein attempted to join the party last summer, seen by *The Telegraph*."

When I complained, McNicol wrote back deploring the "unwarranted attack on a hardworking and diligent member of the compliance unit". Quite understandably he refused to investigate the leak because there is little point in investigating what you already know.

The Chakrabarti report which Jeremy Corbyn commissioned in April 2016 (and which has disappeared from the Labour Party's website) was quite explicit:

It is completely unfair, unacceptable and a breach of data protection law that anyone should have found out about being the subject to an investigation or their suspension by way of the media and indeed that leaks, briefing or other publicity should so often have accompanied a suspension pending investigation (p17).

Yet Jane Shaw, secretary to the NCC, had the gall to write to me: "The party never discusses matters relating to individual members with third parties" (email, November 22 2017). There is a culture of lying and dishonesty amongst Labour's bureaucracy. Like a fish, an organisation rots from the head down.

On May 30 I had an investigation hearing, where I was presented with a variety of clips, tweets, etc. What I was being interrogated about were my views on Israel and Zionism. I was accused, for example, of equating Israel's marriage laws to those of the Nuremberg Laws. This was deemed to be anti-Semitic. As I explained in a letter to *The Telegraph*, this comparison was first made by Hannah Arendt, herself a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany in her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. It is a fact that Jews and non-Jews cannot marry in Israel unless the Jewish person converts to another religion. In Israel there is, quite deliberately, no secular marriage because they want to prevent Jewish-Arab marriages. In a society based on racial supremacy, it is important to prevent such relationships, hence

why a book depicting the relationship between an Israeli Jewish and Arab teenager, *Borderlife*, was banned from the high-school syllabus by the education ministry.

I was also quizzed about having said that Israel was waiting for the survivors of the holocaust to die in order that it could save paying them welfare benefits. I pointed out to Harry Gregson (HG) that the Israeli paper *Ha'aretz* had printed an article, 'Israel is waiting for its holocaust survivors to die'.

This hearing is being held according to appendix 6 of the Labour Party's rules: 'Procedural guidelines in disciplinary cases brought before the NCC'. In an email of November 21 I explained that these rules are not binding (appendix 6 does not even form part of the party's rules). They are merely advisory and should be read alongside, for example, the Chakrabarti report (CR).

Section 6.D.i, of appendix 6, states that complaints about the process leading up to bringing charges will "not be entertained by the NCC or panel thereof unless it is material or relevant to the consideration of the evidence to be used by the presenter in support of the charges". My complaints of a 17-month delay are clearly material and relevant to the consideration of the evidence, especially in the light of Chakrabarti's recommendations.

In an email of November 20 Ms Shaw accepted that the bundle and papers were only "technically sent" within the guideline at appendix 6.5.B.i, and she also admitted that I was "given less than a full six weeks' notice of the hearing". Having accepted that I was given less than the requisite time, it is outrageous that my request for a postponement has been refused. Clearly it raises the question of bias.

Section 5 of the CR notes "a lack of clarity and confidence in current disciplinary procedures from all sides of the party, including on the part of those who have complained and been complained against". Is it any wonder?

Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is the pretext for the charges. Accusations of 'anti-Semitism' are the stock-in-trade of the Zionist movement and Israel's supporters. Understandably it is difficult to defend the demolition of Palestinian homes and houses, ongoing colonisation, the routine use of torture, including against children. It is much easier to cry 'anti-Semitism'.

For most of my adult life I have been an active anti-fascist. I was a founder member of Brighton and Hove Anti-fascist Committee, Secretary of the local Anti-Nazi League, an executive committee member of Anti-Fascist Action nationally and I've written the only book published on the fight against fascism in Brighton and the south coast.

My crime is that I am not prepared to turn a blind eye to the racism of Zionism and Israeli apartheid. If you are an anti-racist you cannot excuse Israel's racism simply because it is carried out in the name of Jewish people. It is those who have brought these accusations and charges who are the racists. The NCC's chair has already demonstrated that they are in full agreement with those who have launched Labour's witch-hunt.

HG asked me about my assertion that there was collaboration between the Zionist movement and the Nazis and that the Zionist movement was hostile to rescuing Jews to places other than Palestine. I cited the memo of David Ben Gurion, Israel's first prime minister. It can be found for example in Ben Gurion's official biography by Shabtai

SUPPLEMENT

Teveth, *The burning ground 1886-1948*:

If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael, then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the people of Israel (p855).

This was Zionism's racist logic. The Jewish state is of greater importance than the Jews. HG chose not to pursue this and I notice that it has been entirely dropped from the charges. Despite the hue and cry about Ken Livingstone's 'anti-Semitism', the compliance unit is unwilling to pursue the matter because it is well documented that, *unlike the vast majority of Jews*, the Zionist movement *did* collaborate willingly and not when it was under duress.

Of course, the victors in any war write its history and Zionism has attempted to rewrite its history erasing its role as a movement of collaboration. The facts, however, have a habit of asserting themselves regardless. As Yigal Elam, an Israeli historian observed,

From the very first moment [Zionism] gave up all considerations connected with the situation of the Jewish people in the diaspora, except in so far as they contributed to the Zionist enterprise ... when the demonstrations and protest actions against the Nazi regime of terror reached their climax, the voice of Zionism was not to be heard.¹

It is quite understandable that the NCC does not seek to pursue these questions with me!

HG also asked me about my remark that Zionism is a form of Jewish anti-Semitism. This charge too has disappeared from the charge sheet and again it is not difficult to understand why. I cited as an example the quotation from Israel's first justice minister, Pinhas Rosenbluth, that "Palestine is an institute for the fumigation of Jewish vermin." A comment which, if you did not know the author, you would assume came from a Nazi.²

There are those misguided souls in the Labour Party who genuinely believe that Zionism stands opposed to anti-Semitism, that its concern is genuine rather than a pretext for wielding it as a weapon against their opponents. I hate to disabuse such innocents. Zionism began from the belief that anti-Semitism was inherent in non-Jewish society. Indeed it held it to be justified because it was the Jewish situation that was anomalous. *Zionism had no principled disagreement with racial nationalism*. Hence why, today, Israel refuses to accept African refugees, since they threaten Israel's Jewish identity. As Yigal Elam wrote,

Zionism did not consider anti-Semitism an abnormal, absurd, perverse or marginal phenomenon. Zionism considered anti-Semitism a fact of nature, a standard constant, the norm in the relationship of the non-Jews to the presence of Jews in their midst ... Zionism considered anti-Semitism a normal, almost rational reaction of the gentiles to the abnormal, absurd and perverse situation of the Jewish people in the diaspora.³

Theodor Herzl, the founding father of political Zionism, wrote at the time of the Dreyfus affair:

In Paris ... I achieved a freer attitude towards anti-Semitism, which I now began to understand historically and to pardon. Above all, I recognise the emptiness and futility of trying to 'combat' anti-Semitism.⁴

Today the Zionist movement everywhere is in an alliance with the right and the far right. Labour Zionism only exists in any strength today *outside* Israel. In Israel itself, as it moves ever further to the right, it is a marginal movement.

Virtually every far-right party in Europe sees Israel as a bulwark against Islam and Muslims. France's Le Pen, Geert Wilders in The Netherlands, Herr Strache's Freedom Party in Austria, Alternatives for Germany (AfD) and, of course, our own BNP, Britain First and English Defence League. In the USA the white supremacists around *Breitbart* are enthusiastic about Israel and their CEO, Steve Bannon, was the guest of honour at the recent gala dinner of the Zionist Organisation of America! The idea that socialists have anything in common with Zionism is a sign of the political and ideological decay of social democracy - a decay which the NCC represents. It is a legacy of the New Labour and Blair era.

The charges are divided into three parts, but I will take them in specific categories. Bearing in mind that because of the lack of time I have been afforded I can only respond to a selection.

Social media posts and Twitter

The monitoring of these by the compliance unit and their acolytes is not a neutral exercise. It became notorious when Jeremy Corbyn was challenged by Owen Smith and Labour Party staff proactively searched the Twitter feeds of thousands of members in order to deprive them of a vote. This exercise was conducted exclusively against supporters of Jeremy Corbyn. Some of the more notorious cases included Ronnie Draper, president of the Bakers Union, and a woman suspended for saying that she liked the 'fucking Foo Fighters'.

This exercise was wholly corrupt and if this had been a local authority election Iain McNicol would have been arrested for corrupt electoral practices.

This legacy still persists. Abusive posts by supporters of the right and Progress are routinely ignored. I have three times made a complaint to McNicol about a comment on the Facebook page of Warren Morgan, leader of Brighton and Hove Council. In other words, the indignation over social media posts is highly selective and partisan.

I am not going to spend any time over what are considered offensive social media posts, for a number of reasons:

1. Social media comments are here today and gone tomorrow. There are no posts of mine which are in any way anti-Semitic. Any suggestion to the contrary is a lie and defamatory. Being abusive to those who are abusive to me is no business of the compliance unit. Abusive posts by the right, however, are routinely ignored.
2. The information commissioner has already ruled that the use by Labour's Torquemadas of people's social media postings breaches the Data Protection Act.
3. Many of the posts are untraceable and it is therefore impossible to discern the context.
4. I have, like many others, been the subject of quite vile and abusive tweets. To highlight my response without the initial tweets is plainly dishonest. I enclose a sheet consisting of 6 pages of such tweets, including those wishing I and my family had died in Auschwitz.
5. Some tweets are in response to Labour councillors, who publicly announced they had joined the JLM. I therefore posted to them reminders about things like the demolition of Bedouin villages in Israel or the fact that the ILP supports the deportation of asylum-seekers. This is part of a vigorous political debate. Supporters of racism rarely like to be called out.
6. The comment, from the non-Jewish councillor, Caroline 'Poison' Penn - "Do you have a problem with Jewish people, Tony?" - is an example of the abuse I refer to. If the compliance unit doesn't understand why this is racist they are even more stupid than I've given them credit for.
7. The compliance unit seems to have a problem with my pointing out that Israel's culture minister, Miri Regev, called refugees "cancer" before apologising

to cancer victims for comparing them with refugees. What is the objection of the compliance racists to this?

8. There is a larger point to be made. What kind of party allows its unelected paid staff to monitor its membership? If there is evidence of overt racism, including anti-Semitism, that should be dealt with (although disciplinary measures should be a last resort), but that was not the point of such monitoring. It has been a factional tool used by the desiccated bureaucrats of Southside.

The question of 'Zio'

Points 5-9, 16 and possibly other paragraphs are taken up with the question of 'Zio'. I have used this on Twitter as a shorthand for 'Zionist', given its previous 140-character limit.

However, I defend the use of this term. It is not a "racist epithet" or in any way racist. Yes, it is used pejoratively and why not? Zionism is a racist, settler colonial movement. Far from 'Zio' being anti-Semitic, it is those who assert it is racist who are being anti-Semitic. 'Zio' is short for Zionist in exactly the same way as 'fash' is short for 'fascist' or 'commie' is short for 'communist', etc. They may all be used in a pejorative sense, but they are not racist. 'Zio' is only racist if 'Zionist' and 'Jew' are synonymous. Now, to fascists and anti-Semites 'Jew' and 'Zionist' are interchangeable. To Zionists they are also interchangeable, but historically most Jews were not Zionists and most Zionists were not Jewish. Many anti-Semites were and are Zionists - for example, Arthur Balfour and Richard Spencer - because if you believe Jews should not live in the diaspora you are either an anti-Semite or a Zionist.

In the USA the largest number of Zionists are Christian fundamentalists like pastor John Hagee, who is a notorious anti-Semite. However, he is also president of Christians United for Israel. Hagee, who was defended by the Zionist movement in the US, became famous when John McCain was forced to disavow him in the presidential campaign against Obama because he preaches that Hitler was an agent of god, sent to drive the Jews to Israel. Yet another example of an anti-Semite who was also a Zionist.

Yes, Chakrabarti recommended that 'Zio' should not be used. However, it is noticeable that those who quote Chakrabarti over 'Zio' are content to ignore her recommendations concerning procedure. Hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue, so I am not surprised!

John Mann MP

According to Nos13-15, exception is taken to my description of John Mann as "addicted to murder and racism" on a public forum (I'm not sure which one, since whoever compiled the bundle has not come to terms with the concept of page-number referencing). This is not only "potentially defamatory but grossly detrimental and/or prejudicial to the party."

Utter nonsense. Mann has made a living out of 'anti-Semitism'. This is the same John Mann who staged a media confrontation with Ken Livingstone, accusing him of being a "Hitler supporter" on the basis of a factual statement about Nazi support for Zionism. It was Mann's behaviour that brought the Labour Party into disrepute.

Mann compared Naz Shah to Adolph Eichmann and in the middle of the first leadership election he penned an open letter to Jeremy Corbyn on child abuse, exploiting this serious issue for factional advantage. Nothing I could say about this disgusting rent-a-mouth could compare with what he himself says.

Mann's 'concern' with 'anti-Semitism' has more to do with his rightwing, pro-imperialist politics than racism. It is noticeable that Mann has never spoken out about asylum-seekers, refugees, deaths of black teenagers in prison or Islamophobia. What concerns

him is criticism of Israel. Mann has repeatedly stoked the fires of the false anti-Semitism campaign and it was this that damaged the Labour Party. This campaign has been directed almost exclusively against supporters of the Palestinians. Mann launched a vitriolic campaign against a 90-year old Jewish doctor from Gateshead, Dr Glatt, who had the temerity to criticise him. Mann was forced by my blog to take his lying Facebook posts down.

If what I said about Mann was defamatory then he has a very simple option. Sue me for libel, bearing in mind that the truth is an absolute defence and Mann might lose some of his ill-gotten gains. One thing is for certain: my comments are no business of McNicol's puppets.

As for the allegation that, using a public forum, I have caused gross detriment or prejudice to the party: prove it! This is another McCarthyite lie. An assortment of petty censors who, lacking any substantive argument, rely on the catch-all charge of a detriment which is impossible to prove or deny.

Louise Ellman MP

In numbers 24-26 I am taken to task for criticising the MP for Liverpool Riverside and Tel Aviv, Louise Ellman. Great exception is taken to my description of her, "on a public forum", as "a supporter of Israeli child abuse - night-time arrests, beatings and incarceration of Palestinian children". My accusers dare not say whether I am correct though. Instead these pathetic dissemblers revert to the old McCarthyite generalities of causing prejudice and "gross detriment to the party".

If telling the truth about the execrable Ellman has caused detriment, then the answer is to remove her and allow her constituency to find a socialist MP to replace her. If what I have written is true, then considerations of detriment, gross or otherwise, fall away.

On January 6 2016 there was a debate in the House of Commons on 'Child prisoners and detainees: occupied Palestinian territories', introduced by Sarah Champion. Champion described how, in June 2012, a delegation of British lawyers published a report on children held in Israeli military custody. The report found that Israel was in breach of six of its legal obligations under the UN convention on the rights of the child and two obligations under the 4th Geneva convention. The report concluded that if the allegations of abuse were true, Israel would also be in breach of the absolute prohibition against cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment - in other words, torture - against children, which is a war crime.

Ms Champion explained that eight months after the UK report was published, Unicef released its own assessment of the military detention system for children. After reviewing over 400 sworn affidavits from children detained in a system that allows the prosecution of 12-year-olds in military courts, Unicef concluded:

the ill-treatment of children who come in contact with the military detention system appears to be widespread, systematic and institutionalised throughout the process, from the moment of arrest until the child's prosecution and eventual conviction and sentencing.

In February 2015 Unicef updated its report and noted that allegations of "ill-treatment of children during arrest, transfer, interrogation and detention have not significantly decreased in 2013 and 2014". Amongst the issues that British officials raised, were "the use of painful plastic ties to restrain children, arresting children in the middle of the night in terrifying military raids, and the mandatory use of audiovisual recording of all interrogations".

Paula Sherriff, MP for Dewsbury, who had visited the West Bank with Ms

Champion in September 2015, asked a most relevant question:

Does my hon friend share my concern at the significant disparity between treatment of Palestinian and Israeli young people, including lack of legal representation and parental support, allegations of widespread abuse and having to sign confessions in Hebrew ...?

To put it bluntly, why are Jewish children and Palestinian children treated differently? This is quintessentially racist. Why do Jewish children from the settlements have a parent or legal advisor with them at all times? Why are Jewish children rarely, if ever, incarcerated? Why are Palestinian children forced to sign confessions in a language they do not understand?

Sara Champion responded: "The disparity between the two legal systems includes, for example, a maximum period of detention without charge of 40 days for an Israeli child and 188 days for a Palestinian child." The late Jo Cox MP also contributed to the debate:

I congratulate my hon friend on securing this debate. She will be aware that evidence from Military Court Watch suggests that 65% of children continue to report being arrested at night in what are described as terrifying raids by the military. Will she comment on that worrying fact?

Louise Ellman made three contributions on behalf of the Israeli military and the JLM, of which she is vice-president - Ellman (and Ian Austin) were determined to defend Israel's military. Every excuse for torture, the beating of children, the night-time arrest of children, who are blindfolded and handcuffed in painful plastic cuffs, was made by them.

Ellman repeated Israeli army propaganda - an army whose statements have repeatedly been shown to be fabricated, such that the Israeli human rights NGO, B'tselem, no longer cooperates with them. Its soldiers have brutally attacked cameramen, murdered wounded prisoners and physically attacked children in broad daylight. Ellman appears to be more the MP for Tel Aviv than for Liverpool Riverside. In her first contribution she stated:

the context in which these situations occur is an organised campaign conducted by the Palestinian authorities of incitement, to try to provoke young Palestinians to carry out acts of violence towards other civilians, some of which result in death, including the death of young children.

This is a lie. The Palestinian Authority is considered by most Palestinians to be a Quisling authority which works openly in coordination with Israel's army. But what Ellman was really saying is that the Palestinians would be perfectly happy living under military occupation but for the "incitement" of "young Palestinians". For Ellman it is not Israel's 50-year-long military occupation that causes Palestinian resistance, but "incitement". Presumably Palestinians just love seeing their land confiscated, their houses demolished and their economic prospects blighted. This is a colonial fiction. Would the French have been happy with the Nazi occupiers but for the resistance? The violence of the occupier is transferred by Ellman onto the Palestinians. Ellman continued:

I note my hon friend's comments that a child should not be detained, and I assume that she means in any circumstances. Suppose a child was involved in an act of violence that resulted in the deaths of other human beings. That is what has happened with young Palestinians throwing stones - people have been killed. In those circumstances, surely she thinks that there should be detention.

Ellman doesn't condemn Israel's military because in her eyes the occupation is

legitimate and the military are merely agents of law and order. In a third contribution Ellman asked:

Does my hon friend really believe that the solution to this horrendous conflict between two peoples - the Israeli and the Palestinian people - can be found by encouraging individual child Palestinians to commit acts of violence against other human beings?

Ellman's is the voice of the colonialist. For her Palestinian children are the guilty ones and Israel's military are innocent. Ellman's assertions lack even the slightest evidence. Ellman is an echo chamber for Israel's military. The torture and beatings by an army which refuses to record its interrogations, and which refuses access by lawyers or parents to their children, is acceptable. Nothing I could say about this wretch of a woman could be strong enough.

What the racists from the compliance unit mean when they speak of "the sensitivity of the subject matter", which means that "obvious care needs to be taken when discussing the issue", is that we should turn a blind eye to Israel's human rights abuses and not call out Israel's war crimes.

Of course, there are precedents. In the 1930s when the Jewish boycott of Nazi Germany was in full swing (the Zionists excepted), Lord Rothermere, owner of the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Mail*, wrote:

They have started a clamorous campaign of denunciation against what they call "Nazi atrocities", which, as anyone who visits Germany quickly discovers for himself, consists merely of a few isolated acts of violence.⁵

Israeli Labor Party

In points 28 and 29 my assertion that the JLM (not Labour Party members) were "holding hands with Israeli Labor ethnic cleansers" is deemed "not an acceptable way of engaging in political debate". In a repetition of the same stale formula (apparatchiks love repetitious formula, because it saves them from thinking) "doing so on a public forum has further prejudiced and/or caused gross detriment to the party". Telling the truth according to these mendacious pen-pushers is to cause detriment or prejudice.

It is a matter of fact that the ILP is and always has been a party of ethnic cleansing. From the 1920s, when it picketed out Jewish employers who employed Arabs, they called it 'Jewish Labor' to 1947-48, when it organised the expulsion of three quarters of a million Palestinians. Of course, in 1944 the Labor Party's own manifesto supported the "transfer" of the Palestinians - "let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in".

Ofer Aderet reported in *Ha'aretz* (November 17 2017 that the Israeli Labor prime minister at the time of the 1967 war, Levi Eshkol, stated, in respect of the newly conquered territory of Gaza: "Perhaps if we don't give them enough water they won't have a choice, because the orchards will yellow and wither." He also wrote that "I want them all to go, even if they go to the moon."

The JLM describes itself as the "sister party of the ILP". It is therefore perfectly reasonable to say that it is "holding hands with the ethnic cleansers of the ILP". Telling the truth to those who are prosecuting charges against me seems to be a crime!

In charge numbers 37 and 38 it appears to be an offence to call for the disaffiliation of the JLM and likewise for calling on Jeremy Corbyn to dissociate himself from LFI. No explanation is provided for why these are highlighted.

'Israel is a racist settler-colonial state'

No explanation is provided as to why objection is taken to this heading. (There

is also a subtitle to the post to which they take exception: 'Palestinian Israelis killed, as Bedouin village is destroyed to make way for a Jewish town'.) Perhaps the compliance McCarthyites think it is self-evident? Perhaps this is a form of postmodern racism, whereby, since everything is relative, the truth can also be a crime.

This is an excellent example of the contempt for critical and radical thought of Labour's small-minded apparatchiks. This showed itself in the (rescinded) expulsion of professor Moshé Machover. Free speech and open political debate are frowned upon unless confined within strict parameters and defined by acceptable clichés. You must not speak the truth, least of all to power.

Zionism is a settler-colonial movement. In its early years it openly called itself a colonising movement. It established (Jewish-only) settlements. Was it racist? Was there any colonial movement that was not racist?

The question is whether Israel is a settler colonial state today. If so, it must be racist. In January an 'unrecognised' Bedouin village in Israel's Negev desert was demolished at dawn with dozens of heavily armed Israeli police in attendance. They shot a Palestinian, a teacher, dead. No Jewish demonstrator, no matter how violent, has ever been killed nor have the police ever opened fire on a Jewish demonstration. Racism? Perish the thought.

Half the Arab villages in Israel are unrecognised - they have no right to be there. They are liable to instant demolition. They are not connected to water, electricity or sewerage, etc.

Umm al-Hiran was established in 1956. The Negev is 98% empty, but the Zionist authorities decided to build a Jewish-only town on top of the village, not besides it. No Jewish village has ever been demolished. No Jewish village is unrecognised. Not one new Arab village or town has been created since 1948, even though their population has increased tenfold.

So was the demolition of Umm al-Hiran the act of a racist, settler-colonial state? The answer should be obvious to all but the racists who are seeking to expel me.

Bizarre

Charges numbers 43-45 are truly bewildering and an example of the McCarthyite mentality. Free speech, open debate, critical thinking - all of these are anathema to the tiny, closed minds of compliance and those on the NCC panel who are willing to do their bidding.

In charge No43 I state that Gerald Kaufman's speech to the House of Commons on January 15 2009 "was unforgivable (to the Zionists) because we must not compare Israel to Nazi Germany. Only Zionists may use the holocaust to defend their bastard state of racial supremacy."

I stand by every word. What possible reason is there for this to form part of the disciplinary charges against me? Kaufman's speech will go down as one of the great parliamentary speeches. During Operation Cast Lead, which killed 1,400 Palestinian civilians, he declared:

My parents came to Britain as refugees from Poland. Most of their families were subsequently murdered by the Nazis in the holocaust. My grandmother was ill in bed when the Nazis came to her home town of Staszów. A German soldier shot her dead in her bed.

My grandmother did not die to provide cover for Israeli soldiers murdering Palestinian grandmothers in Gaza. The current Israeli government ruthlessly and cynically exploit the continuing guilt among gentiles over the slaughter of Jews in the holocaust as justification for their murder of Palestinians. The implication is that Jewish lives are precious, but the lives of Palestinians do not count.

Charge 44 says that on March 4 2017 I posted a blog entitled 'The abuse of anti-Semitism to silence free speech on Israel'. Yes, there has been an outrageous attempt to use 'anti-Semitism' as a means of silencing debate on Zionism and Palestine. This is what this hearing is about! That is what I believe. Is that *verboten*? Do the members of the NCC wish to see an internal equivalent of a police state regime? Do members of the NCC find it so difficult to comprehend that there has been a media campaign aimed at creating an atmosphere whereby it is taken for granted that anti-Semitism is prevalent in the Labour Party, despite the lack of any evidence? That, after all, is why the main targets of McNicol's witch-hunters are Jewish!

An interview with Avi Shlaim, an Israeli professor of international relations at St Anthony's College Oxford, is instructive:

Anti-Semitism is not a real phenomenon within the Labour Party or any of the other major political parties. There are anti-Semitic incidents, but they are usually related to Israel's behaviour, Israeli brutality. So every time there is an Israeli attack on Gaza - and there have been three in the last seven years - there is a rise in anti-Semitic episodes and incidents in Britain. Fundamentally Israel and the Israeli propaganda machine and Israel's friends in England and the Israel lobby in Britain deliberately confuse or conflate - and I stress they do it deliberately - anti-Semitism with anti-Zionism. Anti-Zionism is nothing to do with Jews. Anti-Semitism is hatred of the Jews as Jews. Anti-Zionism is opposition to Israel as a colonial power and as an exclusive Jewish state.

That should be clear, even to the dimmest member of compliance or the NCC.

In charge 45 exception is taken to my statement: "What we have seen is an exercise in state-sponsored destabilisation of the party and we are also witnessing wholesale attack on the Palestine solidarity movement using the weapon of 'anti-Semitism'."

I should have added what we are also seeing is a wholesale attack on free speech in the Labour Party by 'police-state democrats' (as the supporters of Hubert Humphrey were termed). At the behest of the Israel lobby, the compliance unit and McNicol have given warning that debate in the Labour Party is only allowed within strict confines. They wish to import the censorship and 'gag orders' so beloved of the Israeli state. It will be for others to decide whether or not they will be allowed to get away with it, as I have no illusions in the NCC's tame lapdogs.

IHRA definition

Throughout the bundle there are references to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of anti-Semitism. The way it is presented in the charges against me, it is as if this definition was unproblematic. The impression given is that this is a consensual definition, whereas nothing could be further from the truth.

Those who drew up the bundle cannot but have been aware of the controversies surrounding the IHRA. If they were not their ignorance is astounding. To make no reference to these controversies or the fact that the Labour Party has only adopted the short 38-word introduction to the IHRA is symptomatic of the dishonesty and deceit of my accusers.

The IHRA definition of anti-Semitism was adopted by the governments of 31 countries, including the anti-Semitic governments of Poland and Hungary, in May 2016. The government of Poland has just welcomed the 60,000-strong march of fascists and racists in Warsaw. According to interior minister Mariusz Błaszczak, "It was a beautiful sight." Relations between Poland's far-right

Law and Justice government and the Israeli government are extremely strong, because Israel is admired by the right for its hostility to Muslim and Arabs. The assembled gathered under a banner, "Pray for Islamic holocaust", whilst the crowd chanted "Remove Jewry from power" (not that there are many Jews left in Poland).

The government of Hungary is, if anything, even more anti-Semitic than that of Poland. Prime minister Viktor Orbán, a notorious racist in his own right, waged over the summer an anti-Semitic campaign against George Soros, seen as the archetypal Jewish financier. Orbán and his Fidesz party have sought to rehabilitate admiral Miklós Horthy, Hungary's fascist ruler between 1920 and 1944 and the author of Hungary's war-time alliance with Nazi Germany. Horthy was quite open about the fact that he was an anti-Semite:

Just before Netanyahu set out for Hungary in July, the Israeli ambassador in Budapest, Yossi Amrani, in response to pressure from the Hungarian Jewish community, criticised Orbán for his anti-Semitic campaign against Soros. Netanyahu immediately instructed him to retract his criticism. Soros, who is not a Zionist, had grown up in Hungary as a child and he survived the Nazi dragnet and deportation to Auschwitz. Soros's major crime in the eyes of Zionism is helping to fund Israeli human rights groups. Soros also funds the liberal Free University in Budapest, which has been the subject of a concerted campaign by Orbán to close it down.

But the anti-Semitic nature of the Hungarian regime has not prevented it from adopting the IHRA definition of anti-Semitism.

According to the IHRA, anti-Semitism "could, taking into account the overall context, include ... drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis". The IHRA definition of anti-Semitism is almost identical to the EUMC Working Definition on Anti-Semitism, which was dropped by the EU's Fundamental Rights Agency in 2013.

Theresa May adopted this "non-legally binding definition" of anti-Semitism in December 2016. Jeremy Corbyn and Labour subsequently adopted it, but without its 11 examples, seven of which refer to Israel, as was confirmed by the Party's 'Race and faith' manifesto.

The IHRA definition was severely criticised by Hugh Tomlinson QC for being "unclear and confusing". Sir Stephen Sedley, a Jewish former court of appeal judge, was scathing about the IHRA in 'Defining anti-Semitism'.⁶ It "fails the first test of any definition: it is indefinite." Sedley characterised the purpose of the IHRA as being to "permit perceptions of Jews which fall short of expressions of racial hostility to be stigmatised as anti-Semitic".

The purpose of the IHRA is to conflate anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. That is why Corbyn did *not* adopt the 11 examples of anti-Semitism, but simply the short introduction, which is still open-ended. To not explain this and to pretend that the whole IHRA had been adopted by the Labour Party is another example of the duplicity and dishonesty of my accusers.

Sense of humour failure

Ella Rose is a free transfer from the Israeli Embassy to the Jewish Labour Movement, where she is now director. She played a starring role in the Al Jazeera undercover programme, *The lobby*. She came across as a petulant, foul-mouthed, potentially violent young woman. In the course of her musings Ms Rose stated: "I'm a Zionist - shoot me." To which I responded that it was tempting.

Quite amazingly my comments are subject to charges - numbers 19 and 20:

19: On January 15 2017, in response to a Labour Party member being reported as saying "so shoot me", Mr Greenstein stated on Facebook: "Yes it is rather tempting. At least if someone does it they can say there was an open invitation."

20. On January 17 2017, in response to a Labour Party member being reported as saying "so shoot me", Mr Greenstein stated: "Ella Rose, racist director of @JewishLabour, invites us to shoot her - it is tempting, but ..."

Clearly the humourless scoundrel who inserted these charges did not read the last "but": it was not a threat to murder her, but a humorous commentary on this spoilt brat's idea of herself as some kind of martyr.

Under charge 3, I am accused of the most heinous all crimes: trivialisation of the holocaust and belittling the experience of the holocaust victims:

Charge 3: On May 3 2016, Mr Greenstein sent an email to the general secretary of the party, Iain McNicol, in which he proposed a "rule change" which would require that "all membership applications and nominations for party office or for Labour candidacies should first be submitted for approval to the Israeli embassy". In that email he uses language reflecting the Nazi plan under Adolf Hitler to exterminate Jewish people: "If passed, it would provide a final - I mean, complete - solution".

....
48. In an email to Mr McNicol on May 3 2016, Mr Greenstein trivialised the very serious issue of anti-Semitism - thereby trivialising and belittling the suffering of those who experience anti-Semitism. In doing so, Mr Greenstein acted in a way which is prejudicial and/or grossly detrimental to the party.

49. In addition, the references to a "final solution" used language connected with the atrocities committed against Jewish people in and by Nazi Germany in the 1930s and 40s, which is deeply offensive, provocative and highly insensitive.

On May 3, shortly after having been suspended and in contemplation of a situation whereby I had not been given any reason, I decided to send a humorous email to McNicol. I freely admit that I made a terrible error in assuming that he or any of the misfits he surrounds himself with had a sense of humour. Whether that should be the subject of Labour's disciplinary process is for the NCC to decide. Perhaps this is the one real error of judgement I have made, though whether it is an expulsion offence is doubtful.

McNicol, who seems to make a virtue out of stupidity, failed to understand that what I wrote was an example of parody - a spoof or send-up designed to demonstrate not only the absurdity of the false anti-Semitism witch-hunt, but the manipulative and sordid way in which the holocaust is portrayed for political purposes. It is an example of irony and is completely lost on these humourless bastards.

I am, of course, at fault for not realising that when you are engaged in the business of ferreting out deviance, dissent or dissidence in Labour's ranks, when your priority is to defend the world's only apartheid state and with it the American alliance, then humour is a luxury you cannot afford. My crime is akin to imagining that there was anything humorous in the activities of Joe McCarthy or the House of UnAmerican Activities Committee. Although the compliance unit is restricted in the penalties it can impose (it cannot imprison me for the contempt I have for them), it operates on exactly the same ideological wave length and with the same thought processes. Anti-Semitism is the new anti-communism. Anti-Zionists are

SUPPLEMENT

the reds under the bed that the scum are looking for.

If anyone is fooled by the Zionist assertion that being Jewish and Zionist are synonymous and is thereby tricked into making an anti-Semitic comment by virtue of associating Jews with Israel's war crimes, then the full force of McNicol's enforcers will be felt.

It is, when you think about it, quite a clever trick. The JLM and LFI do their utmost to pretend that Israel and Jews are the same and when people criticise or attack Jews for what Israel does then they are called anti-Semitic. It is, however, a trick with sometimes lethal consequences.

The World Zionist Organisation's Jerusalem programme makes it absolutely clear that Jews are a nation whose bonds with Israel are indivisible. The foundations of Zionism are: "The unity of the Jewish people, its bond to its historic homeland *Eretz Yisrael*, and the centrality of the state of Israel and Jerusalem, its capital, in the life of the nation."

Israel is the embodiment of the 'Jewish nation'. As chief rabbi Ephraim Mirvis explained,

Zionism is a belief in the right to Jewish self-determination in a land that has been at the centre of the Jewish world for more than 3,000 years. One can no more separate [Zionism] from Judaism than separate the city of London from Great Britain.

The IHRA definition of anti-Semitism makes it clear that Israel is a symbol of Jewish nationhood and that "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination - eg, by claiming that the existence of a state of Israel is a racist endeavour" - is anti-Semitic. Now this phrasing is a classic example of a non-sequitur and an example of the shallowness of the IHRA definition. It is useless as a means of combating anti-Semitism.

According to the IHRA, Israel is the visible embodiment of the non-existent Jewish nation's right to self-determination. However, if you take the IHRA at its word and start blaming Jews for what the Israeli state does, having been told the two are one and the same, then you are guilty of anti-Semitism, because "Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel" is also anti-Semitic! Thus heads you lose and tails the Zionists win.

Whatever you do, you are anti-Semitic - unless, of course, you are actually an anti-Semite but you support the state of Israel. So a genuine neo-Nazi like the leader of the alt-right, Richard Spencer, who declares he is a white Zionist, or a 24-carat anti-Semite like Steve Bannon of *Breitbart*, who told his wife that he did not want his daughters going to the Archer School for Girls because they had too many Jewish students who were "whiny brats", are OK.

I completely reject the assertion in charge 3 that my email to McNicol was anti-Semitic because I used "language reflecting the Nazi plan under Adolf Hitler to exterminate Jewish people" and stated that "If passed, it would provide a final - I mean, complete - solution".

This is the email in question:

A good comrade of mine (pardon the unBlairish language) has suggested that the following rule change should be submitted to the next party conference. If passed it would enable a final - I mean, complete - solution - sorry, satisfactory outcome - to be reached in regard to the present impasse regarding anti-Semitism.

I realise that it will probably involve a severe reduction in the number of Muslims allowed into the party, because we all know that they are the root cause of our problems, but I hope that you will agree that allowing the Israeli embassy to vet

all applications to the party, both current, future and past, would resolve all our problems.

Rule change proposal re membership applications to Labour Party

"To avoid any further unpleasantness Labour should agree a rule change that all membership applications and all nominations for party office or for Labour candidacies should first be submitted for approval to the Israeli embassy ..."

Any objections can be disregarded as obviously coming from anti-Semites. Have we not been told that the Macpherson report means that racism can only be defined by the victims, and that Israel is the nation state of the Jewish people, so that attacking Israel's legitimacy is necessarily anti-Semitic? Then who better to define anti-Semitism than the government of the Jewish nation? Those who doubt this have by definition outed themselves as anti-Semites.

All tweets and Facebook comments of party members should be scrutinised so that the party can be cleansed of those who during the siege of Gaza may have been guilty of hate speech by denouncing Comrade Regev ... in such anti-Semitic terms as 'two face lying Zio hack', 'Israel's answer to Comical Ali', 'a shameless apologist for mass murder', 'PR man for war criminals' and other vulgar abuse unbecoming a responsible party of government.

Yours in solidarity
Tony Greenstein

I reject the mentality that associates the genocide of European Jews with a fetishisation of words. It is indeed a way of trivialising the holocaust. The holocaust is not a phrase that causes offence. It is also noticeable that the pen-pushers of Southside elide the holocaust into genocide of the Jews only, as if it did not also encompass the disabled and the Gypsies/Roma.

When Naz Shah MP was attacked and pilloried for posting a light-hearted joke about how much better it would be if Israel was relocated within the borders of its best friend, the United States (the cartoon actually came from the Jewish Virtual Library), Norman Finkelstein, both of whose parents were in concentration camps, wrote:

It's doubtful these holocaust-mongers have a clue what the deportations were, or of the horrors that attended them. I remember my late mother describing her deportation. She was in the Warsaw ghetto. The survivors of the ghetto uprising - about 30,000 Jews - were deported to Majdanek concentration camp. They were herded into railroad cars. My mother was sitting in the railroad car next to a woman who had her child. And the woman - I know it will shock you - the woman suffocated her infant child to death in front of my mother. She suffocated her child, rather than take her to where they were going. That's what it meant to be deported.

To compare that to someone posting a light-hearted, innocuous cartoon making a little joke about how Israel is in thrall to the US or vice versa ... it's sick. What are they doing? Don't they have any respect for the dead? All these desiccated Labour apparatchiks, dragging the Nazi holocaust through the mud for the sake of their petty jostling for power and position. Have they no shame?

These sentiments are entirely mine. The people who should hang their heads are those who brought these charges and who are willing partners in the exploitation of the holocaust for the purpose of defending Israel's policies of segregation and ethnic cleansing.

My email highlighted the sacralisation of words as part of the process of emptying them of their meaning. What I am protesting against is the use of the

holocaust as a means of defending the racist and apartheid practices of a state that terms itself Jewish.

Zionisation

I was drawing attention to the Zionisation of the holocaust, which destroys any attempt to draw meaningful lessons from it. How is it that Theresa May, who has adopted the IHRA definition of anti-Semitism *in toto* and who condemns Jeremy Corbyn's 'anti-Semitism', is at the same time facilitating genocide in the Yemen through her sales of arms to the Saudi Arabian regime? How is it that no-one has the temerity to point this out? She condemns the holocaust, yet enables a genocide? How is this done? Because of hypocritical bastards like McNicol, Stolliday and the compliance unit. That is my response to this ridiculous charge.

How is it that Israel is actively helping Saudi Arabia in the Yemen and is the best friend today of Saudi Arabia, whilst it uses a holocaust propaganda museum, Yad Vashem, as a staging post for far-right politicians? Difficult questions for the holocaust-mongers and the petty party functionaries, whose goal it is to 'cleanse' Labour of its genuine anti-racists.

What are the lessons of the holocaust? Quite obviously that racism and fascism are human constructs that should be opposed wherever and whenever they occur. That should be a given for a socialist party. 'Never again' means exactly that. Never again should any people be singled out for annihilation because of their 'race'. The holocaust has become Zionism's primary ideological weapon against its adversaries. We had Netanyahu try to put the blame for the holocaust on the mufti of Jerusalem a year ago and in the process absolve Hitler.

Zionism has reduced the holocaust to a gauche sentimentality, devoid of any progressive political meaning. Indeed it is worse. Because of Israel's ruthless use of the memory of the holocaust victims - victims whom the Zionist movement abandoned during the holocaust - the phenomenon of holocaust denial has grown up.

There was a time when holocaust denial was confined to a fringe, neo-Nazi element that denied that which they wanted to repeat. It is clear today, on social media and elsewhere, that holocaust denial extends far beyond a neo-Nazi fringe. Why? Because Israel uses the holocaust as a means of legitimisation and to justify its war crimes. Some fools believe that if they deny the holocaust then they have removed Israel's legitimacy. What they do not understand is that Israel's illegitimacy arises from its existence as a racist, settler-colonial state independently of the holocaust. Since the holocaust is a fact, denying it merely reinforces and strengthens the Israeli state. To paraphrase August Bebel, it is the anti-Zionism of fools. But the primary responsibility for the spread of holocaust-denial ideas rests with not only Zionism, but the processes of sanctification and instrumentalisation of the holocaust - of which McNicol, the compliance unit and the NCC are a part.

Each year, Israel takes thousands of schoolchildren to Auschwitz. Not to imbue them with the values of anti-racism and anti-fascism, not in order that they better understand what happens when 'the other' is demonised and rendered inhuman, but in order to cement and reinforce the values of nationalism. 'Never again' to Zionism means 'Never again to the Jews'. It has no anti-racist meaning. After all, how can a society in which segregation is rigidly enforced, where Arabs cannot live in 93% of the land, where education is segregated, where there is an ongoing fear of miscegenation - ie, intermarriage between Jew and non-Jew - be considered to have absorbed the lessons of the holocaust?

In the words of professor Idith Zertal, a historian at Jerusalem's Hebrew University:

By means of Auschwitz ... Israel rendered itself immune to criticism and impervious to a rational dialogue with the world around her ... Israel, because of its wholesale and out-of-context use of the holocaust, became a prime example of devaluation of the meaning and enormity of the holocaust.⁷

I realise that both the NCC and my accusers are unlikely to understand the above. For imperialism and the Labour right, the holocaust is a simple tale, depoliticised with a fairy-story ending of the founding of Israel. That is the myth that Zionism propagates and people like me are here to undermine.

It is not my parody of the fetishisation of words associated with the holocaust, such as 'final solution', 'transportation', etc, which are anti-Semitic: it is the use of the holocaust in order to justify a regime of racial segregation, discrimination and ethnic cleansing, combined with a vicious regime of military law. It is that which makes a mockery of the holocaust victims and it is my accusers who are the real anti-Semites: *J'accuse*.

This is not just my view or even that of a distinguished scholar, such as Edith Zertal. In Israel there is a growing recognition, amongst an enlightened minority, of the racist and nationalist use to which the holocaust is put. There has been a move by the more liberal Israeli schools, which cater for the richest Israeli students, to stop these trips to Auschwitz. As *Time* magazine reported,

a prestigious and historic Israeli school, the Herzliya Hebrew Gymnasium ... announced it is breaking with the tradition ...

The school's principal, Zeev Dagani, says he has stopped the trips because of their cost and a concern that it exacerbates nationalistic sentiments in youths, months before the students embark on compulsory service in the Israeli military.

"In recent years, the journey has increasingly overlapped with the current regime and atmosphere in Israel, which revolves around fear and hatred for the other," Dagani told Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*. He warned that "the popular atmosphere here today is all about the delegitimisation of the other and nationalistic sentiments" - and that such trips can then "serve these trends".⁸

Of course, to McNicol and his cohorts, the crimes committed against the Palestinians are illusory. Israel is the equivalent of Reagan's 'shining city on the hill'. It can do no wrong - after all, it is the only democracy in the Middle East. Every time it commits another series of war crimes or mass murder it is in 'self-defence'. The laughable proposition that a nuclear superpower, armed to the teeth with American weaponry, is somehow fearful for its existence is itself a product of the siege mentality common to all settler-colonial states.

I stand by my email 100%. Its purpose was to bring the issue of how Zionism and Israel use and manipulate the holocaust for ideological political purposes. Israel's use of the holocaust as an ideological weapon is inverse proportion to its concern for the actual victims of the holocaust. This does not sit easily with the Labour right's adoration of Israel. Israel is - as the Prince of Darkness, Peter Mandelson, and others have said - a political litmus test for New Labour. Why? Because Israel is the embodiment of the special relationship with the United States.

Campaign against anti-Semitism

The charge sheet against me also quotes from the far-right Campaign Against Anti-Semitism and its bogus polls. These polls by the CAA have about as much validity as the polls which McNicol and co were relying on before June 8, which said that Jeremy Corbyn would lose votes for Labour. One might have hoped

that even the more stupid members of the compliance unit would have learnt something.

The CAA is viciously hostile to the Labour Party. A search on their website for "racist Labour" turns up 64 results. A search on "Jeremy Corbyn" produces 107 results, none of them flattering. Indeed they made a complaint to McNicol that Corbyn was anti-Semitic!

But what about their polls? Even if they are a nasty, far-right, Zionist organisation, determined to tarnish any form of Palestine solidarity with the brush of 'anti-Semitism', perhaps their polls are sound? Unfortunately not. They are a highly political organisation, determined to stir up discord between Jews and Muslims, and whose primary purpose is to create the impression of a wave of anti-Semitism in Britain as part of the Zionist agenda of promoting *aliyah* (emigration of Jews to Israel).

Jonathan Boyd, executive director of the respected Institute for Jewish Policy Research (IJPR), dismissed the CAA's survey of British Jewish opinion as having "little, if any, methodological credibility".⁹ He also characterised the CAA's presentation of the YouGov poll as "deeply flawed". In a detailed critique, the IJPR found the CAA's survey to be "littered with flaws" and "irresponsible". Coming from the IJPR, these are very strong criticisms. Due to "quite basic methodological flaws and weaknesses", its poll of British Jews had "very limited capacity" to assess the representativeness of its sample. In its poll it had absurdly claimed that "Almost half of Britons hold anti-Semitic view, poll suggests".¹⁰

It is no surprise that those seeking to expel me are attracted to the CAA like a dog to its own vomit. A cursory glance at their site demonstrates they are a viciously racist, Islamophobic organisation. I have posted on my blog extensive articles on the CAA and so, given the attention paid to my blog, it must be assumed that those who decided to quote from the CAA did so knowingly. This is another example of my accusers' racism. It is they, not me, who should be expelled from the Labour Party. Or is the only focus on bogus 'anti-Semitism'?

Still, I guess that McNicol's racist sleuths have done better than Harry Gregson. During his investigation he quoted from one Paul Bogdanor's attack on me. A vicious anti-communist, Bogdanor is a contributor to David Horowitz's *Frontpagemag.com*. This delightful site is on the list of the Southern Poverty Law Centre as a hate organisation. It boasts Robert Spencer's *Jihad Watch* as well as the virulent racist Trump supporter, Pamela Geller. Both Spencer and Geller are banned from entering Britain, but that did not stop Gregson including them in the witch-hunter's family. When you swim in a sewer, you cannot but help getting covered in shit.

Pleasant reading

If this response is rushed and it does not cover all the allegations, it is because the chair of the NCC decided in his wisdom that I should not have adequate time to respond to a bundle of documents and charges that had accumulated over 17 months.

I hope that members have pleasant reading! ●

Notes

1. Y Elam *Introduction to Zionist history* Tel Aviv 1972, pp113, 122 (Hebrew).
2. P Rosenbluth, 'Classic Zionism and modern anti-Semitism: parallels and influences (1883-1914)' *Studies in Zionism* No4, autumn 1983.
3. *Ot*, organ of the Israeli Labor Party, No2, 1967.
4. R Patai (ed) *Diaries* p6.
5. 'Nazi youth in control' *Daily News* September 4 1933.
6. www.lrb.co.uk/v39/n09/stephen-sedley/defining-anti-semitism.
7. I Zertal *Israel's holocaust and the politics of nationhood* Cambridge 2011.
8. http://time.com/4285002/herzilya-gymnasium-cancels-camp-trips.
9. www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Analysis-UK-Jewry-and-a-feeling-of-insecurity-387785.
10. *The Guardian* January 14 2015.

EUROPE



Theresa May - as seen in Germany

Negotiations end in chaos

Even if Theresa May manages to strong-arm Brexit negotiations to their next phase, there is a long way to go. Paul Demarty asks if she has the staying power

So the levee has burst at last. With Brexit negotiations no longer delayable, Theresa May's attempts to break the deadlock without being hung for a traitor by her own backbenchers has - despite having come agonisingly close to some kind of success - collapsed.

We were not the only ones surprised to discover that, for all Boris Johnson's bluster on the question, a substantial 'divorce bill' payment did not prove to be the starting gun for a Brexiteer rebellion. With that out of the way, May might have believed that she was over the line; that, when it came to it, her braying back-bench tormentors were all mouth and no trousers. Perhaps it was confidence with regard to them that led to complacency in the face of the Democratic Unionist Party, which threw a wobbly when the details of an agreement over the status of the Irish border was leaked to the Dublin press. Arlene Foster, the DUP's swivel-eyed chief, noisily objected to the content of the deal - which would seem to exempt the Six Counties from most Brexit provisions for the time being - as well as to the fact that she had not been consulted on it. The Tory true believers rapidly regained the spirit of Agincourt, and between them reduced the tentative agreements to tatters.

In some respects, we feel obliged to offer May some grudging words of admiration. For we have to place things in stark reality - a crisis of this type was quite inevitable from the very moment she popped round to see Her Maj to renew her premiership of the country, in spite of her astonishing humiliation in June. Even when the DUP finally decided that they had been offered

enough of the fruit of the magic money tree to prop up her government, it was clear that their support was not based on the history of friendly cooperation referred to by Foster and May in their press conference bromides, but naked self-interest, and was therefore highly conditional. It is thus some kind of achievement that May lasted close to six months without a lurch into the sort of chaos that greeted her on the morning of December 4. She managed to walk about three-fifths of the tightrope before looking down.

Alas, very much of her 'strategy' - if you can call the endless series of minor acts of self-preservation that have characterised her calamitous second term a strategy - relied on delaying the inevitable, and delays will only take you so far. The Europeans have been perfectly clear all along what their preconditions for negotiations were - divorce bill, Irish border, EU citizens' rights in Britain. All three must be agreed to the satisfaction of the remaining member-states.

All were difficult to swallow for the Brexit-bonkers Tory right. Feeding this evil empire billions of pounds of *Danegeld* rather stuck in the craw, and in his various bids for the sort of glory that goes out in blazes, Boris Johnson put May in a difficult position by repeatedly denying that it was necessary to pay a penny. An open border with Europe was hardly the sort of thing anyone had in mind, even if it was with Ireland; the same goes for the people who are already over here, in our jobs. The DUP's schizophrenic attitude to the question of the Irish border - economically dependent on trade with the 26 counties, but

irreconcilably opposed to union with a continent so riddled with republicans and Papists - complicates matters further.

The story is still developing. David Davis - once a mercilessly professional ultra-Thatcherite irritant to a series of Tory leaders, but now looking more and more out of his depth with the Brexit portfolio - moved on December 5 to claim that the proposals for Northern Ireland's future with respect to Europe were in fact proposals for the whole of the United Kingdom, which might have some chance of neutralising the complaint from Scotland (and London, in the form of the ever-opportunistic Sadiq Khan) that what is good for Ulster might equally well be extended to the strongly-remainer Scottish National Party and the capital itself.

So far as the DUP is concerned, it is not a great help - if one is being escorted to the gallows, one is unlikely to be reassured to be told that the rest of the family will also be making the jump.

Leadership challenge?

If May manages to get out of this crisis, there are unfortunately (for her) many more to follow afterwards. There is a great deal of commentary in the British press - some gloating, from the 'remoaners', and some ecstatic in their fury, from their enemies - touching on the undeniable reality that the Europeans hold most of the cards in this particular game. David Davis may tell us otherwise, but if the Europeans were genuinely concerned that hard Brexit was unsurvivable, then they would surely have tried harder to avoid it, rather than sticking hard to

their red lines.

That is not to say that they are *insouciant* about the debacle this is turning into, in whose fairground mirror they must necessarily find some aspect of their reflection. If one feels some sympathy for May, in spite of everything, spare also a thought for Jean-Claude Juncker, Michel Barnier and friends, who must feel sometimes that they are not negotiating with a government, but the entire cast of a Noel Coward play. One such despairing Eurocrat told *The Guardian*:

We cannot go on like this, with no idea what the UK wants. She just has to have the conversation with her own cabinet, and if that upsets someone, or someone resigns, so be it. She has to say what kind of trading relationship she is seeking. We cannot do it for her, and she cannot defer forever.

But what else can she do? There are the usual anonymous whispers to the effect that May faces a leadership challenge if she cannot sort this out by the end of the week; but a new leader will inherit basically the same mess. He or she will equally have to walk that tightrope (if she is not replaced with someone like the self-satirising recusant, Jacob Rees-Mogg, who would merely cry, 'God for Harry, Meghan, England and St George', and dive off into the abyss). Depending on what wing of the Tories a putative usurper comes from, the parliamentary arithmetic might look a little different, but the broad outline is the same - there are people who *know* that they are the representatives of capital, which despises Brexit, and people who

think that they are representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, which (so conceived) adores it, but not enough of either to command an effective majority in parliament.

A new leader means a fresh election, or it means the same old problems. Yet that looks alarmingly risky at the moment. Theresa May's great achievement is the scotching of the myth (believed by me as much as anyone else) that, all things being equal, a Jeremy Corbyn government was as remote a possibility as the emergence of a Zoroastrian theocracy in Hertfordshire. But having caught up enough on the campaign trail to humiliate May, Labour - with *that man* at the helm - is holding a small but steady lead in the polls.

Corbyn has allowed Kier Starmer and his Europhile *confrères* to set the agenda when it comes to Brexit, with the presumed intention of telegraphing to wider society, 'We are ready to sort this mess out - give us a majority.' For now, that is not working - the proof being that May still has a job. The *Financial Times* continues to insist that a Corbyn government would be worse than any conceivable version of Brexit. It is just possible that a Tory Party without May at the helm would be able to win a thumping enough victory to remove the need for support from the DUP. Yet May herself was supposed to be able to see off this opposition.

Nobody is taking any chances - and so this absurd, paralysed parliament is likely to continue, whether or not May sticks it out herself ●

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AGGREGATE

Three scenarios to ponder

The left must expect the unexpected after the next general election. Peter Manson reports

The December 3 joint aggregate of CPGB and Labour Party Marxists comrades endorsed an important set of theses on the 'Prospects of a Corbyn government'. As we will see, these were not so much concerned with the likelihood of Labour defeating the Tories as with the various possibilities that would open up in that event.

Introducing the theses, Jack Conrad of the CPGB Provisional Central Committee admitted that he had previously believed that the chances of a Corbyn government were roughly the same as "a huge meteorite hitting the Earth". However, the June 8 general election had changed all that. As we know, Theresa May's campaign badly malfunctioned, on top of which there was the sudden Jeremy Corbyn surge.

In addition there is the small matter of Brexit. The 2016 defeat in the European Union referendum might have been manageable with Hillary Clinton as US president, but with the election of Donald Trump we are now faced with "two huge meteorites"!

Now, of course, we can genuinely talk about the 'prospects of a Labour government' - a prospect that is "deeply worrying" for the capitalist class, continued comrade Conrad. According to the *Financial Times*, a Corbyn government would be more dangerous to business interests than a bad Brexit deal. After the next general election, however, the Parliamentary Labour Party will in all likelihood remain dominated by the right. In the face of press agitation, rightwing Labour MPs could be amongst those urging the monarch to choose someone other than Corbyn as prime minister. We could also see a repeat of 1931 and the formation of a national government.

While such a 'constitutional coup' is possible, no-one should discount the possibility of even more drastic action. For example, when Harold Wilson headed Labour and the party won the 1974 general election, there was talk of Britain becoming ungovernable and of the military stepping in. We have, of course, heard the same sort of thing in relation to Corbyn - by and large considered much more problematic for the bourgeoisie than Wilson.

But it is not just about Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell themselves. A government under their leadership might well provoke a "crisis of expectations", in the belief that they are more radical than they actually are. We could see trade unionists taking strike action and the homeless occupying the palatial houses of the mega-rich.

However, a possibility is that of a Corbyn administration acting like a "normal Labour government". After all, Corbyn has been keeping his mouth shut over the purging of the Labour left, which actually makes him complicit. He could continue to compromise in the name of 'keeping the party united'.

But what if the left began to enjoy more and more success - winning the automatic reselection of Labour MPs, and replacing the pro-capitalist right with Corbyn supporters or those more radical? This could bring about the possibility of a genuinely radical Corbyn government, when the possibility of "destabilisation" would be even greater.

Comrade Conrad ended by discussing the reason why the CPGB Provisional Central Committee felt it so important to draw up the theses - it was essential to persuade the left to focus on the period after the next election. Corbyn and McDonnell do not talk about dismantling the secret state and there is, of course, the distinct likelihood that Iain McNicol has "close contacts" with MI5. The threat is real enough.



Jeremy Corbyn: radical past, uncertain future

All this means that the left must urgently take up the need to campaign for a democratic republic. We are against the monarchy, not just the right of the queen to appoint the prime minister. Irrespective of what the formerly leftwing Paul Mason says, the demand to abolish the standing army and the secret state is essential - and it is a demand that is immediately pertinent.

Debate

In the debate that followed, Mike Macnair referred to an opinion poll published that day, which gave Labour an 8% lead, and he linked this to the fact that the government is in serious trouble over Brexit. He agreed that a Corbyn administration could provoke a response from the military. There was, of course, no actual coup following Wilson's election in 1974 - he proved himself safe and put the lid on industrial action. But today there is also the international factor - the Brexit vote and Trump's victory were symptoms of the mood against the status quo in many countries. Nationalism is on the rise and this might find reflection within the military.

For her part, Yassamine Mather considered the imposition of a non-Corbyn government following his election victory the least likely scenario. It was more probable that, through a combination of threats and enticements, Corbyn would be tamed - or eventually removed. She stressed, however, that some among the bourgeoisie hold out hope that Corbyn could do a better job than the Tories in relation to Brexit - perhaps even reversing it.

But right now, although the ruling class was concerned, there was "no real panic". Why should there be? We had not yet seen a real move to win reselection, so Corbyn would still be the prisoner of the PLP. And even some opponents of Corbyn are now joining Momentum, she said, so there are many unpredictable factors.

Stan Keable of Labour Party Marxists, a recently expelled member of Labour, talked about the possibility of the secret state operating in the workers' movement. But, in any case, Corbyn seemed to be supporting moves to suppress 'divisive' discussions within Labour. However, there was a possibility that the new national executive committee could call a halt to the witch-hunt.

For his part, Ben Carter agreed with

comrade Mather that a 'normal Labour government' seemed the most likely among the PCC's three alternative scenarios. He had "reservations" about the type of working class reaction comrade Conrad had talked about leading to a crisis of expectations - who would organise such a mass movement?

In response to this I pointed out that we were talking about a largely spontaneous movement, of a type which in certain circumstances might still be able to win substantial concessions - although obviously the question of leadership would still be posed.

Vernon Price stated that a Corbyn government would still be a "hostage to the right". But this would create disillusionment and divide the pro-Corbyn movement - we could see the unions being forced to strike *against* a Corbyn government. He agreed with comrade Conrad that it was important to discuss what happens *after* the election of a Corbyn government. All that the Labour left seems to be talking about is how to defeat the Tories and win the subsequent election. Paul Demarty agreed with this, and pointed out that Momentum was training its supporters to "worship the man on a white horse" rather than preparing for a totally changed situation following the election.

Sarah Murray was another who thought we should "err on the side of a 'normal Labour government'": Corbyn, she said, was "an appeaser" and was therefore likely to capitulate - nevertheless he was still regarded as a threat. She thought that any spontaneous movement would be "short-lived", but Simon Wells pointed out that many Labour activists are already bypassing official structures - and it only takes "a few committed people to get things going".

In response to the debate, comrade Conrad stressed once again the possibility of spontaneous action being taken by workers who believe they are simply acting in anticipation and in support of Corbyn's policies. He pointed to France 1936, when the Parti Communiste Français actually attempted to hold back the spontaneous movement aroused by the election of a Popular Front government. Then there was the 'winter of discontent' of 1978-79, when workers took strike action against the wishes of union bureaucrats. But comrade Carter had pointed to the challenge facing comrades both within and outside the Labour Party - how to

ensure that a spontaneous movement was won to conscious organisation under a principled leadership.

Comrade Conrad also talked about the possibility of divisions being opened up amongst the Labour left, with some Corbynites ending up in the camp of the party right. But he ended by warning that the ruling class was not relaxed about the situation.

He concluded by stating that the theses were not an attempt at "punditry": the main point, as comrade Price had said, was to get Labour comrades thinking, 'What then?'

Despite the various differing emphases the theses were carried unanimously.

Middle East

The second part of the aggregate - a discussion on the situation in the Middle East - aroused rather less contentious debate. We were fortunate to have two authoritative speakers in the shape of our own Yassamine Mather and comrade Moshé Machover - recently suspended from Labour and then rapidly reinstated

following the outrage that caused.

First off was comrade Mather, who talked about the "very turbulent times" exacerbated by the election of Donald Trump. There was also the "previously unheard of" alliance between Israel and Saudi Arabia, directed mainly against Iran. While the Saudis had recently suffered a setback in Lebanon with the 'non-resignation' of Saad Hariri, it has been more successful in Yemen.

For its part, Iran was now a powerful influence in Syria, following the expulsion of Islamic State from its strongholds - although IS is still very much a force to be reckoned with. While the main site of Saudi-Iranian conflict is now in Lebanon, other important areas of instability were Yemen and also Bahrain. "Major changes" were looming on the horizon, predicted comrade Mather.

For his part comrade Machover pointed out that with Israel "there was always the possibility of war". The strengthening of Hezbollah was unacceptable to it - he reminded comrades that the Israeli invasion in 1982 had resulted in Hezbollah becoming a "formidable guerrilla force". In addition, the increasing influence of Iran is seen as undermining Israel's claim to regional hegemony (under US sponsorship).

At this point comrade Machover reminded the meeting that Israel would regard any military conflict, including with Iran, as an opportunity - a "smokescreen" - for the ethnic cleansing of the West Bank through the expulsion of the Palestinians and its full incorporation into Israel proper. A war with Iran would also serve Binyamin Netanyahu well in the short term - embroiled as he is in accusations of corruption.

But the alliance for such a war is currently not secure, he said. While, for example, the Saudis can bomb Yemen, they have no real ground forces. Also Trump, who has his own arrangements with Vladimir Putin, cannot be counted on to support such a war right now.

Comrade Machover concluded by stating that, while an immediate war was unlikely, it was definitely on the cards in the medium term ●

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Fighting fund

Not a clue

Thanks to all comrades who contributed to November's fighting fund, whose final total was a fantastic £2,368 - a brilliant £618 over and above our monthly target! On the final day we received standing order donations for £10 each from VP and RL, plus cheques from BW (£20) and JP (£5), both of which were added to their subscription payment.

And December's fund has got off to the usual good start - it's all those regular standing orders that land in our account right at the beginning of each month. In the first few days there were 18 of them, varying from a modest £5 to a generous £40 and totalling £342. Thank you, comrades DI, EO, DL, MS, BG, EW, GW, MM, MT, YM, PBS, TM, TG, BL, SW, AC, CG and ST!

Then there were two PayPal donations (from among the 2,810 online readers last week), of which comrade ET's is the most

interesting. Explaining the reason for his £25 gift, he says it is in appreciation of the contributions of Tony Greenstein, Moshé Machover and Rex Dunn - but "not for the editor and Labour Party Marxists, who don't have a clue"! Ah well, you can't please everybody. The other £15 was from regular US donor PM, who may or may not have a different point of view.

Anyway, whether you think the editor and LPM are clueless or not, we'd really appreciate your help in reaching our target this month - December is notoriously bad because of that little thing called Christmas, which tends to interfere with many comrades' routine!

We have £382 towards our £1,750 target ●

Robbie Rix

Fill in a standing order form (back page), donate via our website, or send cheques, payable to *Weekly Worker*

THESES

Prospects of a Corbyn government

1. Former MI5 director general Stella Rimington told the Cheltenham Literature Festival that those - ie, the "Communist Party of Great Britain and various Trotskyite organisations" - who her spies were "looking at" during the 1980s are now ensconced deep inside the Labour Party. In point of fact, Jeremy Corbyn, who was himself targeted by MI5 - as were other prominent individuals, such as Tony Benn, Arthur Scargill and Derek Robinson - nowadays not only leads the Labour Party: he is, of course, now widely tipped as the prime minister in waiting.

2. What once constituted a remote possibility has become a real possibility. Why such an amazing about-turn? Ten related reasons: (i) the continuation of austerity, falling living standards and the growth of inequality; (ii) the Brexit vote in June 2016; (iii) the election of Donald Trump in November 2016; (iv) Theresa May's dreadful June 2017 'presidential' election campaign; (v) the successful Corbyn campaign; (vi) the endemic weaknesses and growing divisions of May's government; (vii) the impasse of Brexit negotiations; (viii) the hopes and aspirations amongst many Labour voters, which are far to the left of the *For the many, not the few* election manifesto; (ix) Labour's mass membership and the Labour Party's rapid shift to the left; (x) the growth of anti-capitalist sentiments.

3. Opinion polls consistently give Labour a clear lead over the Tories. A Corbyn-led Labour Party gaining the biggest bloc of MPs, or even a House of Commons majority, is therefore palpably real. However, that should not be imagined as automatically translating into putting Jeremy Corbyn into No10 Downing Street and John McDonnell into No11 Downing Street.

4. Under the provisions of the royal prerogative it is the monarch who appoints the prime minister - not the House of Commons and definitely not the membership of this or that party. It might well be a constitutional convention that the monarch calls upon the leader of the biggest party to form a government. It is certainly the case that the new prime minister must be able to command a House of Commons majority and be able to form a cabinet. Yet when the leadership of a party is in doubt the role of the monarch becomes decisive.

5. A couple of notable examples. When in 1894 William Gladstone stepped down, Queen Victoria passed over what were widely considered the superior claims of Sir William Harcourt. She invited Lord Rosebery to become prime minister. Similarly, when the Conservative prime minister, Bonar Law, resigned in 1923, George V opted for Stanley Baldwin, not Lord Curzon, who had previously served as deputy prime minister.

6. More significantly, in terms of relevance to our times, there are the actions of George V in August 1931. The Labour cabinet, which held office thanks to Liberal Party support, faced an unprecedented economic crisis. Not only was there the closure of industrial plants and soaring unemployment: there was a runaway fall in the pound sterling. The banks, treasury officials and international creditors demanded a programme of savage austerity. Specifically reductions in the pay of government employees, including the military, and cuts to the already meagre dole payments made available to the unemployed.

7. The Labour cabinet found itself irretrievably split and agreed that the prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, should tender his resignation to the king. MacDonald duly went to the palace. The general expectation was that the Tories under Baldwin would form a government with Liberal support. However, at the suggestion of the Liberal leader, Sir Herbert Samuel, the king invited MacDonald to continue in office, but now as head of a grand coalition with the Tories and Liberals. The new government would, of course, force through the necessary economies and rescue the country.

8. In the Labour cabinet only Philip Snowden and JH Thomas agreed to enter the new government. They and other supporters of MacDonald formed the National Labour Organisation. After initial shilly-shallying the Labour Party itself denounced the whole project, but went on, in the October 1931 general election, to suffer a crushing defeat - the biggest landslide in British history. Parties supporting the national government won 556 seats - a 500 majority. Labour slumped from 287 seats to a mere 52. The lessons for our times are surely obvious.

9. Under conditions of a possible 'cliff-edge' Brexit crisis, and maybe even another global financial crisis - a 'Minsky moment' is widely predicted - the idea of the British establishment looking to Jeremy Corbyn as a saviour cannot be ruled out. Yet, given his past serial rebellions against draconian laws, his leftwing advisors such as Seumas Milne and Jon Lansman, his support for the Stop the War Coalition, the Palestinian cause, etc, the monarch will perhaps be advised to choose another candidate for prime minister.

10. Obviously it all depends on parliamentary arithmetic, international developments and the class struggle - crucially inside the Labour Party. In terms of prediction things are very uncertain. That said, we can talk about three possible scenarios: scenario one, a 'normal' Labour government with Corbyn as prime minister; scenario two, a national government, or a coalition, government, with a programme of 'saving the nation'; scenario three, a Labour government with Corbyn as prime minister that triggers a crisis of expectations and unconstitutional moves by the deep state.

11. It is quite conceivable that Corbyn would be invited to form a government by the monarch and that his government would proceed to act in the horrible tradition of all previous Labour governments. Scenario one: held prisoner by the Parliamentary Labour Party and the right wing, Corbyn would preside over Trident renewal, continued Nato membership, maintaining the bulk of the Tory anti-trade union laws ... and endless austerity. The examples of Syriza in Greece and before that Mitterrand in France should act as a warning of what might happen.

12. There is, though, a good chance that the monarch would pass over the present leader of the Labour Party and instead seek out a prime minister who can command a majority of Labour MPs. Scenario two: today, even after the June 8 2017 general election, Corbyn would be hard-pressed to secure the solid support of 40 Labour MPs. On the other hand, a Sir Kier Starmer, an Emily Thornberry would be much more acceptable as prime minister to the majority of Labour MPs. Conceivably, if the monarch passed over Corbyn and chose another leading figure, that would split the Parliamentary Labour Party and necessitate a coalition, or some kind of national government. Britain could thereby be saved from the Brexit disaster ... and - as far as some are concerned, worse - from Corbyn and his "warmed-up version of socialism in one country" (*Financial Times*).

13. Such outcomes might cause debilitating demoralisation amongst Labour's rank and file, or it might enrage them, motivate them, propel them further to the left. As far as the CPGB is concerned, the heavy question mark that hangs over the prospect of a Corbyn-led government ought to act as a spur for taking up demands for the automatic reselection of MPs and the thoroughgoing democratisation of the Labour Party, its transformation into a permanent united front of all trade unions and working class organisations. Programmatically, we envisage refounding the Labour Party on the basis of a new, Marxist, clause four.

14. But if Corbyn stays true to his stated beliefs, if he spurns those siren voices calling upon him to save capitalism from itself, if he attempts to implement a

"warmed-up version of socialism in one country", then we can be sure that the forces of the deep state would put their already well rehearsed contingency plans into operation: scenario three.

15. Imagine that, having deselected the vast majority of sitting Labour MPs, having replaced them with good left reformists - and even a few communists - Corbyn wins a resounding general election majority in 2020 (it is, note, conceivable that Theresa May, or a replacement, hangs on till then). Because of the Human Rights Act, the creation of a supreme court and the armed forces and security services being "acutely aware" of the "constraints on their activities" imposed by the rule of law, are we really expected to believe that there is "zero chance of an extra-judicial reaction" (Paul Mason)?

16. Any such suggestion amounts to the purest parliamentary cretinism - a disease that infects reformists of every stripe with the debilitating conviction that the main thing in politics is parliamentary votes.

17. By 2020 a Corbyn-led Labour Party - if Marxists have scored any substantive successes - will be fully committed to *immediately* making up for the loss of income caused by the Osborne-Hammond austerity regime, *immediately* sweeping away all the anti-trade union laws, *immediately* renationalising all privatised industries and concerns, *immediately* ending British involvement with Nato, *immediately* decommissioning Trident, *immediately* abolishing the standing army and *immediately* establishing a citizen militia.

18. Even without such a bold programme of reform, we can certainly imagine a crisis of expectations. The prospect of a Labour government, certainly the actual election of a Labour government, could quite conceivably - probably would - set workers into motion as a *class* force.

19. Through their own collective efforts they would seek to put into practice what they think a Corbyn-led government really stands for: defy the hated anti-trade union laws and win substantial pay increases; withhold rent payments to grasping landlords; prevent water, electricity and gas companies cutting off supplies; occupy empty properties and solve the housing crisis at a stroke; march into the giant supermarket chains in order to feed the hungry; arm themselves with rudimentary weapons to prevent police attacks.

20. Any such a scenario would inevitably provoke a frothing reaction. It is not so much that the ruling class cannot tolerate a Corbyn-led government and its *present-day* programme of renationalising the rails when franchises run out, reviewing PFI contracts, introducing some form of rent controls, repealing the latest, 2016 round of Tory anti-trade union legislation and establishing a people's investment bank. Tinkering, safe and, in fact, amongst Keynesian economists perfectly reasonable.

21. No, it is the enthusiastic reception of Marxist ideas, the rejection of capitalism by Labour members, the recently established dominant position of the left in Labour Party branch and constituency organisations, along with the distinct possibility of a yanking further shift to the left and consequent mass self-activity, that causes ruling class fears. And, have no doubt, fearful they are.

22. Put together failed negotiations with the EU 27, a no-deal Brexit and, consequently, a severe economic downturn ... and a Corbyn-led government. Such is the stuff that bourgeois nightmares are made of. Under such circumstances, we should expect other - illegal or semi-legal - methods to come to the fore. Fake news, artificially generated scandals, a US-organised run on the pound, civil service sabotage, bomb outrages aided and abetted by the secret state, even a coup of some kind.

23. If a Corbyn-led government stupidly decides to leave MI5, MI6, the police and the standing army intact, that would present an open door for a British version of general Augusto Pinochet.

24. In Chile thousands of leftwingers were tortured, were killed, and who knows how many, including US citizens, disappeared. The September 11 1973 army coup overthrew the Socialist Party-Communist Party Popular Unity reformist government under president Salvador Allende. That despite its studiously moderate programme and repeated concessions to the right. CIA fingerprints were, of course, all over the Pinochet coup.

25. Note: already Tony Blair denounces the idea of a Corbyn government as "a dangerous experiment". Sir Richard Dearlove, former head of MI6, condemns Corbyn as a "danger to this nation" who "wouldn't clear the security vetting". The *Financial Times* ominously warns that Corbyn's leadership damages Britain's "public life". The *Economist* lambasts Corbyn as a member of the "loony left" and "dangerous" to Britain. Sir Nicholas Houghton, outgoing chief of the defence staff, publicly "worried" on BBC1's *Andrew Marr show* about a Corbyn government. There were carefully placed accompanying press rumours of unnamed members of the army high command being prepared to take "direct action".

26. The armed forces are, of course, an agent of counterrevolution, almost by definition. Failure to understand that elementary fact represents a failure to understand the lessons of history. Legally, culturally, structurally, the British army relies on inculcating an "unthinking obedience" amongst the lower ranks. And it is run and directed, as we all know, by an officer caste, which is trained from birth to hand out orders to the state school grunts.

27. Of course, the British army no longer has vexatious conscripts to deal with. Instead recruits join voluntarily seeking "travel and adventure" - followed by "pay and benefit, with job security". Yet, because they live on bases, frequently move and stick closely together socially, members of the armed forces are unhealthily cut off from the wider civilian population and the recent growth of progressive and socialist ideas. Indeed far-right views appear to be all too common - eg, see Army Rumour Service comments about that "anti-British, not very educated, ageing communist-agitating class war zealot", Jeremy Corbyn.

28. Still the best known exponent of deploying the army against internal "subversives" is brigadier Frank Kitson in his *Low intensity operations* (1971). The left, trade unionists and strikers - they are "the enemy", even if their actions are intended to back up an elected government. Legally, the "perfect vehicle for such an intervention" would be an order in council. After consulting the unelected privy council the monarch would call a state of emergency and invite the army to restore law and order.

29. Remember, army personnel swear an oath that they "will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, her heirs and successors", and that they will "defend Her Majesty ... against all enemies". And, as made crystal clear by Michael Clarke, director of the United Services Institute, this is no mere feudal relic. "The armed forces don't belong to the government - they belong to the monarch," he insists. "And they take this very seriously. When [the Tory] Liam Fox was defence secretary a few years ago, for his first couple of weeks he referred to 'my forces' rather than Her Majesty's forces - as a joke, I think. It really ruffled the military behind the scenes. I heard it from senior people in the army. They told me, 'We don't work for him. We work for the Queen.'"

30. If Corbyn actually makes it into Number 10, there is every reason to believe that threats of "direct action" coming from the high command will take material form. That is why we say, put no trust in the thoroughly authoritarian standing army. No, instead, let us put our trust in a "well regulated militia" and the "right of the people to keep and bear arms" (second amendment to the US constitution) ●

What we fight for

- Without organisation the working class is nothing; with the highest form of organisation it is everything.
- There exists no real Communist Party today. There are many so-called 'parties' on the left. In reality they are confessional sects. Members who disagree with the prescribed 'line' are expected to gag themselves in public. Either that or face expulsion.
- Communists operate according to the principles of democratic centralism. Through ongoing debate we seek to achieve unity in action and a common world outlook. As long as they support agreed actions, members should have the right to speak openly and form temporary or permanent factions.
- Communists oppose all imperialist wars and occupations but constantly strive to bring to the fore the fundamental question—ending war is bound up with ending capitalism.
- Communists are internationalists. Everywhere we strive for the closest unity and agreement of working class and progressive parties of all countries. We oppose every manifestation of national sectionalism. It is an internationalist duty to uphold the principle, 'One state, one party'.
- The working class must be organised globally. Without a global Communist Party, a Communist International, the struggle against capital is weakened and lacks coordination.
- Communists have no interest apart from the working class as a whole. They differ only in recognising the importance of Marxism as a guide to practice. That theory is no dogma, but must be constantly added to and enriched.
- Capitalism in its ceaseless search for profit puts the future of humanity at risk. Capitalism is synonymous with war, pollution, exploitation and crisis. As a global system capitalism can only be superseded globally.
- The capitalist class will never willingly allow their wealth and power to be taken away by a parliamentary vote.
- We will use the most militant methods objective circumstances allow to achieve a federal republic of England, Scotland and Wales, a united, federal Ireland and a United States of Europe.
- Communists favour industrial unions. Bureaucracy and class compromise must be fought and the trade unions transformed into schools for communism.
- Communists are champions of the oppressed. Women's oppression, combating racism and chauvinism, and the struggle for peace and ecological sustainability are just as much working class questions as pay, trade union rights and demands for high-quality health, housing and education.
- Socialism represents victory in the battle for democracy. It is the rule of the working class. Socialism is either democratic or, as with Stalin's Soviet Union, it turns into its opposite.
- Socialism is the first stage of the worldwide transition to communism—a system which knows neither wars, exploitation, money, classes, states nor nations. Communism is general freedom and the real beginning of human history.

weekly worker

**NHS is
being
privatised
by stealth**

Planning the final assault

The introduction of 'accountable care organisations' could be the beginning of the end for the NHS, writes **James Linney**

There is a new buzzword in the national health service: 'ACOs'. Accountable care organisations provide a 'new and exciting vision' for how the NHS is organised, we are told. Now, you might be thinking that the last thing the NHS needs is another reorganisation, but let us not judge things too hastily - this one might not be as disastrous as the last few.

For a start, 'accountable care' sounds promising. Maybe Jeremy Hunt has repented and finally decided to introduce some democracy into the NHS? Well, I am afraid I will now have to bring you back to earth: he has not. In this article I am going to look in detail at the genesis of ACOs and how they could represent the biggest leap yet towards privatisation.

Before discussing yet another game-changing reform, it is worth having a quick look back over what the past seven years of Tory rule has meant for the NHS. It infamously began with a pledge from David Cameron that the Conservatives would "stop top-down reorganisation". Even as Cameron spoke these words, we now know that the then health secretary, Andrew Lansley, was concocting a plan for the *largest* top-down reform the health service has ever seen. One that David Nicholson, chief executive of the NHS at that time, described as "a reorganisation so big you can see it from outer space". So Lansley's 2012 NHS Health and Social Care Act (HSCA) was rushed through parliament and we were told that it would reduce NHS bureaucracy and give control back to doctors.

However, like text messages, it is sometimes hard to tell when the authors of such acts are being sarcastic. So, some people were surprised when the HSCA created new, previously unimagined layers of bureaucratic organisations, whose roles were ill-defined and relationships beyond understanding. We now had NHS England, Monitor, NHS Improvement, the Care Quality Commission, NHS Digital, Healthwatch ... It was a bit like Richard P Feynman's claim about quantum mechanics: if you think you understand clinical commissioning, then you haven't understood clinical commissioning.

The whole point was to whip up a storm of confusion and when the dust settled the Trojan horse within the HSCA was revealed: hidden in the reform was the severing of the department of health's legal duty to fund a comprehensive NHS. The HSCA also created clinical commissioning groups (CCGs). These, we were promised, would be the vehicle through which GPs would finally have control of the NHS budget and could commission (buy) services best suited to their patients.

There were two small caveats though: they would have to impose £26 billion of 'efficiency savings' and would be legally obliged to offer the services out to tender to "any qualified provider". Meaning that, if a private company could undercut the NHS provider, it would have to be given

the contract.

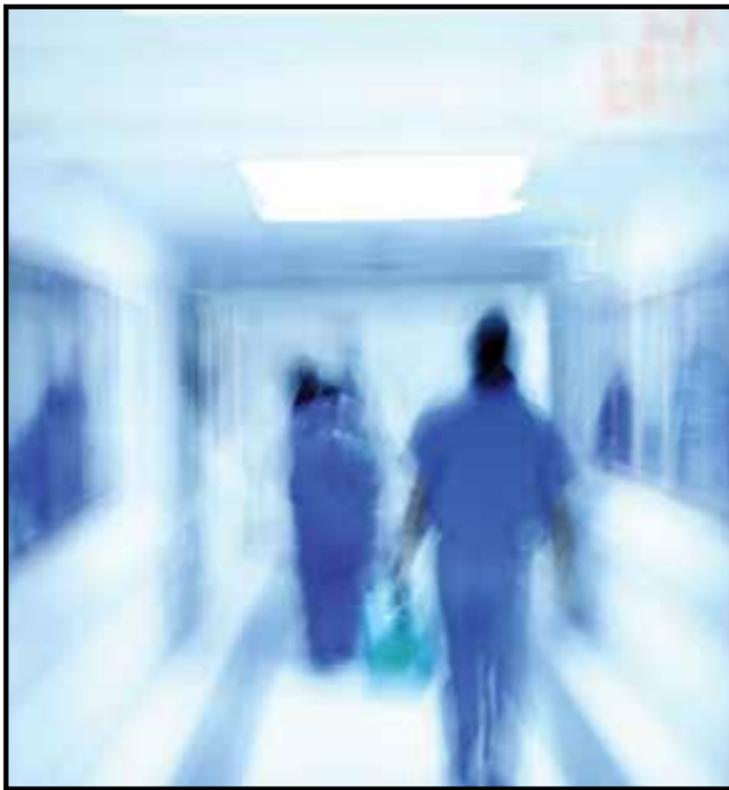
That brings us to ACOs. Significantly they are being championed by Simon Stephens, head of NHS England, and are being imported directly from America - two facts that should immediately set alarm bells ringing. This is the same Simon Stephens who was previously senior vice-president of the mega-firm, United Health - the largest private health insurer in the US. It was under Stephens' leadership that United Health settled out of court, after being accused of overcharging millions of Americans in 2009. Helpfully (or not), in August NHS England (NHSE) published a 'supporting document', where its vision for this exciting new ACO initiative was introduced.¹

Yet if you look more closely at this document (and I recommend you do not!) you will find that, the more you read, the less you understand. As a general practitioner, I have to attend regular CCG meetings and consider myself relatively well versed in the latest health-managerial speak, yet this document made my head hurt. Maybe one day we will discover a Rosetta Stone that will help us understand the ACO plan, but until then here is my attempt at decoding it.

Middle men

The claim is that health and social care provision will be integrated, supposedly allowing for more regional control, whilst improving efficiency. We are told: "... an ACO is where the commissioners in that area have a contract with a single organisation for the great majority of health and care services and for population." Basically, NHSE will be giving authority to a 'middle man', whom the CCGs will pay to organise all care for a certain population area. Significantly there exists no statutory authority for NHSE to do this and, even more importantly, we are not told who these 'middle men' will be. But - as co-author of the NHS Reinstatement Bill, Allyson Pollock, points out - they open the door to private health and insurance companies:

ACOs will be non-NHS bodies designated by NHSE, even though there is no statutory provision conferring such a function on NHSE. Behind the ACO it appears that there will be a network of companies - such as large providers, subcontractors, insurance companies and property companies - but the consultation is silent on ACO membership or their



Run ragged

contractual relations.²

These contracts will apparently be held for as long as 10-15 years and built within the contract will be a profit incentive and a limited budget commitment - a combination that can only lead to further healthcare rationing.

We can get some idea of how ACOs work in practice by looking to their birth place: America. In the US the health system has always been far more fragmented, complex and costly than in Britain. In 2014 the total spending in the US was 16% of GDP compared to the UK's 9%.³ There ACOs evolved from the notorious 'health maintenance organizations' (HMOs), which are run by insurance groups and responsible for providing care for a given population. They are known for their ruthless, routine denial of access to treatment - screening out the sick, paying huge sums to their chief executives and undertaking systemic fraud.

Initially ACOs were supposed to be a way of making Obamacare more efficient and less costly and most ACO contracts were held by Medicare and Medicaid state agencies. However, increasingly they are run by insurance

companies such as Simon Stephens' United Health. ACOs use market-based mechanisms to lower costs, whilst committing to a capitated budget - the carrot being that they are allowed to keep any savings as profit. Even as vehicles for cost reduction there is very little evidence in support of ACOs. According to the Kaiser Health Foundation, none of the projected \$320 million savings were achieved between 2011 and 2014, and in fact the ACO programme actually cost Medicare an additional \$3 million.⁴

So we can see the true nature of the ACO plan. Why import an initiative without any sound evidence to support it? The answer is that it is a stepping stone towards a healthcare system that both Simon Stephens and his successor, Jeremy Hunt, are ideologically committed to: one where the NHS is exposed to the full, destructive force of the market.

Eight areas in the UK have already been chosen to become proto-ACOs and despite any legal authority the fast-tracking of their implementation is going ahead.⁵ This has led Allyson Pollock and other leading health

professionals to start legal proceedings against Jeremy Hunt, in an attempt to block ACOs.⁶

For many NHS campaigners, ACOs represent the final assault of the Tories' 'privatise the NHS' offensive. Given the weak position of the government and the surge of support for Corbyn's Labour, perhaps Jeremy Hunt is planning a final showdown before the next general election. This is unlikely though: much more likely is the continuation of Tories' 'death by a thousand paper cuts' strategy. Hence the introduction of ACOs without any public consultation, cloaked in a wave of impenetrable health-managerial language. The NHS will be fragmented into regions, where health provision is in the hands of non-NHS, profit-driven bodies which have been granted 10-15-year contracts. This simultaneously avoids an all-out public attack on the NHS and allows Jeremy Hunt the possibility of securing his egoistic legacy.

Either way, in the short term, only a Labour government seems to offer any respite in the all-out assault on the NHS. Yet despite Corbyn's commitment to renationalisation, Labour's 2017 manifesto was at best weak when it came to healthcare. Pledges such as "we will introduce a new legal duty on the secretary of state and on NHS England to ensure that excess private profits are not made out of the NHS at the expense of patient care", and "[we will] insist on value-for-money agreements with pharmaceutical companies", could have easily appeared in a New Labour manifesto.

The left's role, therefore, must be both to oppose further, Tory-sponsored, NHS erosion and to demand a more radical Labour position. For a start by insisting that there is no such thing as "value-for-money agreements" with pharmaceutical companies - *all* profits gained from the NHS are made at the expense of patients ●

Notes

1. www.england.nhs.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/1693_DraftMCP-1a_A.pdf.
2. www.bmj.com/content/359/bmj.j5349.full.
3. <https://visual.ons.gov.uk/how-does-uk-healthcare-spending-compare-internationally>.
4. <https://khn.org/news/medicare-yet-to-save-money-through-heralded-medical-payment-model>.
5. www.england.nhs.uk/2017/06/nhs-moves-to-end-fractured-care-system.
6. www.nhsbillnow.org/new-legal-action-against-jeremy-hunt-to-stop-accountable-care-organisations.

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