

THE KRAKEN OF ILL-FEELING

a Momentum melodrama by
William Baker

Momentum. National Committee. 3.12.16

The end

It's the end of a long day. I'm sitting surrounded by old hands who say they they've never been to such a meeting. It's over - we're all drained and want to leave - but still we wait...

Some people are making small talk, some large talk, most are trying to avoid interaction - just waiting to know if - 'their side' - is in the ascendency.

A tall young man by the name of James Schneider (he's been counting votes) appears through the double doors behind us - hush falls over the room. He walks to the podium - like a monk in a bazaar. Everyone focuses on his words - a list of seven names - they are rattled off fast - without ceremony - repeated at the request of multiple voices. Again - "Can you repeat that slowly please?"

Gradually realisation dawns...

"we have won"

or

"we have lost".

The tribes are happy,

or sad.

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Separated by degrees - and by canyons - the tribes return to camp.

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The - 'meeting' - started almost six hours earlier...

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The Square Peg

...actually more like seven and a half hours earlier, if you include the pre-meeting at the Square Peg pub. It's a huge Wetherspoon's, it's hard to believe how busy a pub can be at 9:45 in the morning - but the shoppers need fuelling for the hard day's work ahead.

The pre-meeting is already in full flow when I turn up with Alec Price and Angela George (we are the SE regional delegation, having met at Euston another two hours earlier, we've already had our pre-pre-meeting on the train). Suspicious looks are thrown at our unfamiliar faces as we squeeze into the huddle. And they are right to be suspicious, it will turn out later that people who claimed they would vote for the left slate were just there to spanner our voting scheme. Then Matt Wrack (General secretary, FBU), who is chairing this meeting, recognises Alec, we are accepted into the fold.

The main point of discussion is the illegitimacy of the existing national steering committee. Well past its sell by date and with three members who have failed to be re-elected to National Committee. The item on the (packed and very ambitious, 29 page) agenda calling for the SC to be

re-elected is 6.10.3. This would clearly be guillotined through lack of time if no action was taken. Nick Wrack (London, Socialist Network, Matt's brother) plans to move at the start of the meeting that this be voted on after house keeping, and followed by conference arrangements (Agenda item 6) followed by all other Motions (Item 7).

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On the walk from pub to conference I have the pleasure of introducing myself in person to Jackie Walker. My local (Brighton and hove) Momentum group passed a motion condemning her removal as vice chair of Momentum and calling for her reinstatement. I explain that I am new to this and offer her the opportunity to introduce/ move it herself if she wants to. She says she would rather I did as it originated in my locale, she is clearly glad of the support. (There was not time in the meeting for me to move the motion. I will do my best to ensure it is high on the agenda for the next NC. My words that I would have used to introduce the motion can be found in Appendix 1 of this report)

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Chaos

(The following is not a complete account of the proceeding, it is intended to give a flavour of events and address the salient points)

(Extracts from the agenda can be found in Appendices 6 and 7)

Nick Wrack moves that Motion 10, sections 2 and 3 be moved first. followed by agenda item 6 then 7.

Lotte Boumelha objects, saying that some people are late and should be given more time to arrive.

Jon Lansman objects, claiming it is divisive.

The chair (Matt Wrack) calls votes:

Motion 'to vote to elect the steering committee' to take precedence on the agenda.
27(for) - 26 (against).

The tension levels in the room, already high, have just gone through the roof as everyone realises how evenly the room is split. There is everything to fight for.

Vote to move Conference arrangements and Motions up the agenda.
28 - 24, passed

Now the big one. Does the committee want to elect a new steering committee?
28 - 28, Draw! Points of order and interpretations of this result are coming thick and fast now. The manoeuvring is intense. Two pit-bulls with their teeth clenched firmly on the same bone.

A re-vote is called.

28 for, 29 against. The current SC will remain, probably until conference.

Many in my camp, have called this a victory for the right, which sounds odd for a Momentum meeting. However it did feel like this. A better description would be a victory for the leadership over the members.

One dog may have wrestled the bone away for itself but the other won't give up easily.

Nick Wrack is leading the charge for the membership supporters and our natural desire for Momentum to be a democratic organisation. Points of order are being thrown about like spears.

"How many votes does Compass have in the room?" It has become clear that some of the votes have been cast by people who are not Momentum members and are here representing organisations that are not affiliated. The anger at this is palpable in the room, normal business is impossible to conduct as multiple arguments break out.

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The chair calls an adjournment while clarifications are sought. Personally I'm glad for the break, like boxers between rounds, most allow their heart rate to calm down a bit.

I go to get a cup of tea. Behind me some are still boxing.

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Chapter 4 (What does chaos descend into?)

We restart, almost immediately it feels like a huge sea monster has been dropped into the middle of the room, possibly everyone would have been calmer if this had actually happened!

The minutes of the previous NC appear to be only available to Jon Lansman. Apparently they somehow allow for Compass and Open Labour (who brief against Corbyn and hence against Momentum), neither of whom are affiliated, to send two delegates each of their own choosing. The idea that non-Momentum members have been invited to vote feels to me and presumably others like anathema to natural justice. My feeling is Lansman is able to invite his mates along to vote for him. It will prove his undoing though. Some who voted with his tribe are now switching sides. Lansman will not win another vote today, a turning point has been reached.

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As amended, Item 6 (Appendix 6 here) Democratic process and February Conference (Conference arrangements debate) Is to be debated next.

As agreed prior to the meeting the chair is rotated. (She is a female but I apologise I cannot remember her name)

So we move on to the next agenda item. But no-one has really moved on. Hearts are still pounding. John Lansman moves the steering committee proposal (6.1.A) that conference is limited in scope to three specific areas. A counter proposal (Jill Mountford and Matt Wrack, 6.2.A) that allows for a wider debate is passed by 28 to 29.

The sea monster that some in the room may have thought had departed starts thrashing it's tentacles around again. On the leadership side people are calling for a recount of the previous vote. On the membership side people are still questioning the presence of the voting non-members.

No-one seems sure who called for the recount.

Nick Wrack - "Point of information. Jon Lansman has just informed me that he did not call for a recount". Jon has his poker face on and says nothing.

The points of order are anything but orderly, they start to overlap. The chair is determined to have a recount.

“Challenge to the chair”

I didn't see who originally said this, but it is a popular idea. The thinking is that business had moved on and that for the chair to revisit an earlier vote is unconscionable.

The challenge is heard- 29 - 29 a draw. The chair has no time for debating the interpretation of this as many would be happy to (probably for the remainder of the day if allowed). We move quickly on to a vote on whether or not we want a recount on 6.1.

32-25 against.

This feels like a landslide. The chair and leadership have been defeated. Their attempt to get results they don't like overturned has been defeated. They have overplayed their hand.

The unwelcome monster is flapping around still, but most now have grown tired of the novelty and would like to make progress with the agenda. Matt Wrack gets up and stares the beast in the eyes. I imagine, that compared to his years of dealing with rooms full of angry fire people that this battle seems trivial. He expertly hypnotises the monster with diplomacy and logic.

The chair calls a vote to “move on” There is a resounding show of hands and shouts of agreement.

The chair asks “against?”

I still want the Compass and Open Labour people out and am conflicted. In the interest of unity I quietly abstain. Only Nick Wrack and one other person half put their hands up in protest.

The wounded sea monster slowly drags its huge bulk from the room, its tail between its tentacles.

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Calm

What is left of the meeting is concerned almost entirely of what you expect a meeting to be composed of. The boxers are still going at it, but they have over exerted themselves and their punches are mostly harmless now.

(casual readers may wish to skip this chapter, although 6.5 is particularly salient)

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(The following is a summary of the votes and needs to be read in conjunction with appendix 6 and 7 to be fully understood)

6.2 Timing of Conference

Option B is withdrawn.

A Scottish delegate points out that 25th Feb 2017 is the date of the Scottish LP Conference.

Option A amended to 25th of Feb or one week either side if another date clashes with less.

(remitted to the Conference arrangements committee)

Option A passed unanimously.

6.3 How proposals get to conference

There is a feeling that MxV (Momentums online debating platform) has been rushed out as a pre-emptive strike. Good arguments I felt were made against using it as more traditional methods have been demonstrated within Momentum to have greater accountability and achieve greater democratic mandates.

Option B is passed that allows each group to send one motion.

A=27 - B=32

Both amendments to option B are rejected by large majorities without a count.

6.4 Composition of Conference

Consideration 1

Option A.1 is moved unopposed with 33 people voting for "2 delegates for every 100 members or part thereof"

Option B is unmoved.

Consideration 2

Options A & B are mutually exclusive

Option A is passed with 35 votes "Members in areas without local groups to be represented at the same rate as members in groups, elected by OMOV ballot in regions."

Option B - No vote taken

(In the interest of transparency - this is the only vote where I did not vote for the winning Option in the whole of Item 6. I had been planning to vote for Option B - All delegates from branches and affiliated groups)

Option C - Agreed without a vote. Amended to "Motions from any 30 members in areas where there is no branch"

Consideration 3

This concerns the representation of equality strands.

Option A - withdrawn

B= 30 - C=27 (3 abstentions) (counting of abstentions was somewhat sporadic throughout the day)

6.5 Who organises conference?

Motion passed unanimously to elect a Conference Arrangements Committee (CAC).

Now this is crucial, a motion has been passed (6.1.B) that conference is sovereign, as it should be. The future of Momentum will be decided by conference and not by the steering committee and so who organises conference is key.

The vote for the CAC is to take place immediately by STV. If the two tribes are to have the best possible chance of getting their candidates on the CAC they need to have a slate of exactly 7 members each. But there are lose cannons in the room and no time to organise. 15 people self nominate for the ballot. I recognise five from each side, thankfully there are two more people on the ballot who have impressed me with their contributions (and their voting record) on the day. My seven names are an easy choice.

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Everyone just wants the result but STV is time consuming to calculate. Luckily we have a trusted expert volunteer- James Schneider from Jeremy Corbyn's communication team is on hand. He collects the ballots and leaves the room to count.

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6.6 How voting is done

Jon Lansman is evidently emotionally drained. He asks around if any other Steering Committee member wants to propose this final option. There are no takers. He moves option A.

Now it's Michael Chessum's big moment, he proposes what will later be described as a "Wonderfully Byzantine" option (B)

I have already read and rejected the proposal. I listen amusedly while Michael tries to sell the 7 stage process. He gets to the bit in stage 3 where three proposals are drawn from a hat, I have a little giggle in my head (I think I kept a straight face), then decide it's a good time to use the loo. I don't want to be mean to Michael, his idea was intelligent and a good compromise, but a hard sell.

Option C is nice and straight forward:

"Momentum's national conference in February 2017 should be a delegate based conference with decision-making by delegates voting at conference"

Option D does not seem popular due to the time delay in reaching decisions.

Voting occurs in rounds.

Round 1: Options A and C get 28 votes each (apologies but I did not see if B or D received any votes)

Round 2: A=28 - C=31

Option C is passed.

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There are 20 minutes remaining of the meeting and 16 motions now to be debated. The chair rotates again (A man this time).

The first Motion is from my region. Eco-housing, surely this can't be controversial? Alec Price proeses that it is formally moved. A curious objection is made by the Scottish delegate that he can't support this because it would effect Scotland. Apart from that it is moved resoundingly.

Motion 2 is only controversial in that it doesn't go far enough. What disappointed me was that the chair obviously had no intention of trying to get through as many motions as possible but was intent on taking endless speeches on motion 2 to ensure motion 3 and beyond were guillotined. Motion 2 was passed with a large majority (a tiny amendment removed the word privately from the final sentence.)

The guillotine fell. The chair did not want any more motions to pass. This enforced constipation was argued against successfully by a North West Region delegate who asked to formally Move motion 4 on Suspensions and annulments. It was carried unanimously.

2 Dogs, some boxers and a sea monster

The meeting formally ends but only a few have any intention of leaving before the votes on CAC are returned. We wait anxiously for James Schneider.

Seven names were read out, I was happy to see that four of the people I had voted for were on the CAC. The other three were all intelligent and passionate members too. I Look forward to an excellent conference.

The dogs are sleeping now. The boxers go to wash their wounds. In the distance a huge sea monster roars.

(Sorry it was so long)

(Please just read Appendix 1 now...)

Appendix 1

My planned introduction to Motion 14 Below (Appendix 7)

14. On the Removal of Jackie Walker as Vice Chair of Momentum

“Jackie Walker’s suspension has nothing to do with her comments at a racism awareness training session - as we have been told - and everything to do with an unholy alliance of forces who are conducting a witch hunt of the leaders of the struggle against zionism and apartheid Israel.

If we accept Jackie’s removal as vice chair - we are also accepting that our organisation is prepared to throw our representatives to the wolves rather than stand up to the establishment and the media.

Also I’m sure any of us here, if we had allegations made against us - by any political interest group - would expect to be subject to due process rather than a decision of a steering committee called at short notice.

I hope you will all support this motion.

Thank you”

The remainder of this document is a brutal cut and paste job:

Appendix 6

6. Democratic process and February Conference

Conference arrangements debate

Below are (broadly) all proposals submitted to the NC that concern arrangements for Momentum's first conference. They cover:

1. The purpose and powers of conference
2. Timing of conference
3. How proposals get to conference
4. Composition of conference
5. Who organises conference
6. How voting is done
7. How local groups elect delegates

1. The purpose and powers of conference

Option A – Founding Conference to consider aims, ethics and structures only

The Steering Committee proposes that the February conference covers 3 areas only:

1. Momentum's core politics and guiding principles – what we stand for
2. Momentum's ethics and code of conduct – how we behave

3. Momentum's democratic structures – how we make decisions

Option B – The first annual conference to consider structure, policy and strategy

Incorporating proposals from Jill Mountford and Matt Wrack + North East and Cumbria Region + North West Region + London Region

Purpose: The national annual conference is the sovereign, democratic body, representing members via local groups, with most time given over to formal decision making including motions, but also allowing political education, discussion and networking.

Powers: To establish and amend the constitution, and discuss and decide the broad political and campaigning priorities for the organisation over the coming period and questions of strategy and tactics relating to our involvement in the Labour Party.

2. Timing of conference

Option A

Submitted by the Steering Committee

Saturday 25 February 2017

Option B

Submitted by West Midlands Region

In April so that all Momentum members and all Momentum branches have the necessary time to discuss and formulate proposals

Option A

Jon Lansman

3. How proposals get to conference

Phase 1 - Ideas generation/proposals

Deadline 1: 1 January for submission of new proposals. Phase ends 14 January

- All members receive an invitation to engage in the conversation about Momentum's purpose and structure. Groups are invited to organise meetings, workshops and discussions. Guidance materials can be distributed to groups which outline the process and foster discussion

about Momentum's purpose and structure.

- All members receive a personal log in to a digital platform called MXV, along with a user guide and 'how to' video.
- Any member can upload a proposal under one of the headings: purpose, ethics and structure. Proposals which do not fall into these headings shall be grouped under the heading "other". Any dispute about this allocation shall be referred to the Conference Arrangements Committee.
- Any member can comment on any proposal and indicate support (which can be withdrawn later). Each proposal gathers 'supporters'.
- Proposers can make amendments based on the feedback they receive, or merge/composite their proposals.
- Deadline for new proposals to be uploaded is 7 January 2017, after which all proposals remain on MXV but no new proposals can be added.
- Proposers can choose to amend and/or composite proposals. (Proposers are responsible for ensuring that their proposal on MXV on 14 January is the final version they are happy to submit to conference).
- In this and the next phase, Groups are encouraged to debate the options and to assist members in getting online and registering their support for options.
- All members are emailed again to remind them that their final 'support' must be given or withdrawn by 14 January.
- At midnight on 14 January, the 6 most popular proposals per section progress to phase 3.

Phase 2 - Groups and members meeting

Deadline 2: 18th February

- Final proposals are compiled into a dossier and circulated to all local groups, the website and will be reloaded onto MXV so members can view them and discuss. (All other proposals will have been archived as well as previous comments and discussions.)

- Groups are encouraged to meet and discuss the proposals (6 per category).
- Deadline for delegate registration

Option B

Based on proposals by London, North East and Cumbria and West Midlands Regions

1. Motions entitlement is as follows:

- a. Each local group may send 1 motion.
- b. Momentum Youth & Students and liberation groups may send 1 motion each.
- c. Each affiliated unions may send 1 motion.
- d. The National Committee may send 1 motion or constitutional amendment.
- e. Each Regional Committee may send 1 motion or constitutional amendment.

2. Motions to be submitted 3 weeks before conference (i.e. from 5 Dec to Jan/Feb) either on just aims, structures and ethics (if option A in #1 above is agreed), or on policy and campaigning in addition (if option B in #1 above is agreed).

3. All motions to be published online on a date to be agreed by the Conference arrangements committee and groups encouraged to composite motions (motions composited by more groups will move higher up the agenda as incentive to composite). Amendments to be circulated before the conference.

4. An open e-forum for all members should be set up, where motions can be discussed, amendments can be mooted and compositing processes can be arranged.

5. There should be an online priorities ballot.

Amendment to Option B if successful

North East and Cumbria Region

DELETES and REPLACES

1. Motion entitlement as follows:

- Local groups - 2

- Liberation groups (including Y&S) - 2

- Regional Network - 2

- National Committee - 2

5. The conference arrangements committee sorts out a system of compositing (i.e. each group names a contact who can liaise with others proposers to composite motions together to reduce the number by Friday 20 January). Regional Groups are proposed to meet between 20 January and the week before Conference to vote a priority order i.e. 1 to 20 on motions. This leads to a score for the priority motions nationally and each Regional Group nominates a member for the Standing Orders committee to agree the order for motions and timing for speeches.

4. Composition of conference

There are 3 considerations which the NC must make with regards to the conference composition.

Consideration 1: the basic formula for delegate entitlements

Steering Committee

Delegates from verified local groups elected by STV elections in which only members may vote, on the basis of number of members in that area.

- X delegates (including at least one woman) for the first and subsequent Y members or part thereof.

- Delegations must be at least half women and with at least 1 youth for delegations of 4 and above and 2 for delegations of 8 and above.

- Five delegates for unions with membership below 250,000; ten delegates for unions with membership above 250,000 (gender balanced).

- Groups should consider the representation of oppressed groups in their delegations, including that delegations represent the ethnic balance of an area

Plus: the outgoing National Committee will be invited to attend the conference.

Option A

Determine the value of X and Y.

1. 2 delegates for every 100 members (Steering Committee)

2. 2 delegates for every 80 members (Jill Mountford and Matt Wrack)
3. 2 delegates for every 50 members (London Region)
4. 2 delegates for every 40 members (North East and Cumbria)
5. 2 delegates per branch (West Midlands)

Option B

Agree the total size of conference and allow the Conference Arrangements Committee discretion on the value of X and Y in order to achieve this

Consideration 2: the representation of members not covered by local groups

Option A

Steering Committee and Yorkshire and Humber Region

Members in areas without local groups to be represented at the same rate as members in groups, elected by OMOV ballot in regions.

Option B

London Region

The delegates will be from local branches and affiliated groups. [i.e. no top up lists]

Option C

North East and Cumbria Region

Motions from any 10 members in areas where there is no branch

Consideration 3: the representation of equalities strands

Option A

Yorkshire and Humber Region

For the first National Conference in 2017, the National Committee representatives of the equalities groups shall be delegates to the conference for these groups.

Option B

London Region

Momentum Youth & Students and liberation groups may send a number of delegates to be agreed by the National Committee in consultation with these groups, subject to the verification of structures and election

processes by the National Committee.

Option C

Steering Committee

Two delegates for each liberation group from each region. Women, BAME, LGBT, Disabled two (at least one of whom must be a woman) delegates elected by OMOV unless there are existing structures in that region that can self elect. Youth and Students would have two delegates from each region elected through the existing structure of Momentum Youth and Students.

5. Who organises conference?

Motion

Submitted by North East and Cumbria Region and Steering Committee

The NC should elect by STV a conference arrangements committee of 7 members to make further decisions regarding the agenda, subject to the approval of the conference where possible, and to the decisions of the NC and SC to date.

Option A

Jon Lansman

6. How voting is done

Phase 3 - Conference Deadline 3: 25th February

- Delegates debate all the proposals in each category. Speakers will be allowed to put the arguments for and against each proposal.
- Delegates will vote for the six proposals in each category which will then be put to members vote. Voting will be done through STV.

Phase 4 - Members' vote Deadline 4: 4th March

- The conference will be livestreamed and the video will be available.
- All members will be given a log in to an online voting system and will use a STV voting system to decide the final proposal in each category from the top 3 agreed by the conference.

Option B

Michael Chessum

This is a proposal for a mixed voting system for the conference on the core votes (Momentum's founding documents) – bringing together the mass involvement of OMOV and the quality debates and deliberative process that come with a delegate conference. This is a solution that everyone could live with.

Stage 1: introduction

Delegates debate all proposals that have reached conference, with each proposal being given an equal

number of speeches and speaking time.

Stage 2: narrowing

A vote is taken by Single Transferable Vote to select 3 proposals to reach the next round.

[The counting of this will take a while, so other business would be taken before the next stage]

Stage 3: conference debate

The remaining 3 proposals are renamed Proposal A and Proposal B (by drawing from a hat).

The 3 proposals are debated by conference, with alternating speeches taken from the floor in favour of each one.

Stage 4: conference vote

Delegates vote between the 3 proposals. The results are announced in numbers and as percentages.

The results of this ballot count for 50% of the overall result.

Stage 5: membership debate

Proposal A and Proposal B are sent to the membership, with the results of the conference vote in the first round advertised as a percentage.

Proposers of both documents make the case for their proposals in statements of 200 and 800 words, sent to members.

Local groups are encouraged to hold meetings to discuss the proposals. The debate continues on online platforms.

Stage 6: membership vote

Members vote online for a couple of days.

This results of this ballot count for 50% of the overall result.

Stage 7: result

The results of the membership ballot are announced, and the final result announced.

Option C

London Region

Momentum's national conference in February 2017 should be a delegate-based conference with decision-making by delegates voting at the conference.

Option D

Yorkshire and Humber Region

Motions by delegate vote at a National Conference that are carried with less than 55% of the vote, or which are defeated by 45-49% of the vote, shall be subject to a decision by the wider membership, under a OMOV online voting system. Within 28 days of the National Conference, the full final text of the motion as carried (a composite or amended motion) shall be circulated to all members, along with 250 word

statements by the mover and referrer. Voting will last for 14 days.

7. How local groups elect delegates Face to face in meetings open to all members in a local group

Option B

By electronic OMOV ballot

Appendix 7

7. Motions from regional networks, groups and sections

Section A: Policy motions Motion 1: National housebuilding programme

Submitted by South East Region

1. Labour's proposed national house building programme should be based on eco council housing where all properties have solar panels and other green technologies
2. Labour's proposed national house building programme should be based on eco council housing. Eco council houses should have solar panels and other green technologies.
3. Labour should also commit to providing eco refurbishment for all forms of existing social housing and privately owned properties, at no cost for the associations and/or householder(s).
4. The aim of Eco housing would be to provide homes, skilled and well paid jobs, tackle fuel poverty and enable all to enjoy clean, renewable energy at little or no cost. Eco Housing would play a central role in tackling climate change and pollution and enable sustainable economic growth, stimulating a green industrial revolution.
5. All Momentum groups to promote the policy in their momentum and labour party branches

Motion 2: Defend migrants, defend free movement *Momentum Youth and Students National Committee and Lewisham*

Momentum NC believes:

1. Migrants rights and freedom of movement are now at the top of the political agenda, including in the Labour Party. It is right that Momentum's national committee, as the elected representatives of the Labour left's grassroots, takes a position in that debate.

Momentum NC further believes

1. People have migrated throughout human history. Without freedom of movement, the right to move safely and freely is enjoyed only by the rich.
2. The social problems we face are not caused by migrants but by cuts, a lack of social housing and regulation of the private rented sector, and an economic model that has failed working class people.
3. Pandering to the idea that immigration is the cause of social problems is tactically naïve, and cannot lead to electoral victory for Labour. We need to change the narrative and win a battle of ideas.

4. Momentum, Labour and the whole labour movement must resist the scapegoating of migrants and campaign for unity of all workers to win more resources and better jobs, homes, services and rights for everyone, regardless of origin.

5. Momentum must fight for Labour to resist the growing pressure to cave in on freedom of movement and migrants' rights. The social problems we face are not caused by migrants but by austerity and capitalist attacks on the working class.

Momentum NC resolves

1. To campaign for Labour to resist the growing pressure to cave in on freedom of movement and migrants' rights.

2. To campaign to defend and extend freedom of movement in the context of the Brexit negotiations, including the establishment of a Labour movement-based campaign for free movement and working with existing campaigns.

3. To write privately to Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell to express the view of Momentum's national committee.

Motion 3: Accountability of the PLP

Submitted by South East Region

In order to make the Parliamentary Labour Party more accountable [name of group] supports the right of each Constituency Labour Party to

- (1) Select its electoral candidate before each parliamentary election for that constituency
- (2) withdraw the whip of its MP at any point upon a members vote upon a majority to be determined.

In response to the proposed boundary review, all seats with a sitting Labour MP - whether or not there is an impact on the constituency - should undergo a selection meeting to determine the CLP's choice of MP

Motion 4: Suspensions and annulments

Submitted by North West Region

This Momentum National Committee expresses its solidarity with:

- Party members in suspended Labour Parties including Wallasey;

- Party members where their democratic operation is under attack, such as Liverpool Riverside whose AGM is being delayed;
- Brighton and Hove DLP whose elections have been annulled, and
- Members who have been unjustly suspended and expelled across the country.

The National Committee agrees to:

1. Support activists in Wallasey CLP, Liverpool Riverside CLP and Brighton and Hove DLP in quickly re-establishing their Parties under the democratic control of their members;
2. Investigate which other CLPs and Party Branches are suspended and why, trying to make contact with activists and offer help and support;
3. Issue a national email to the Momentum database with a model motion urging supporters to put it to Party Branches, CLPs and affiliated Unions, to raise this issue across the country.
4. Work with Labour Party units and Trade Unions to convene a meeting of activists to consider what further practical steps can be taken at all levels in the Party and the unions to get suspended CLPs functioning again, establish fair and proper procedures for considering complaints, and ensure that individual members are fairly treated. The meeting should be a working event, involving Momentum Steering Committee members, left wing NEC members, activists from suspended Parties, and people from the various groups which are campaigning on these issues. It should aim to draw up an agreed plan of action to assist suspended Parties and unjustly expelled or suspended members.

Motion 5: International wing of Momentum

Submitted by Momentum Volunteers

- ***This motion has come from the Momentum office, and comes as a result of a high volume of requests from members living abroad, who do not have a means of submitting through their local groups***

- ***The NC may vote to accept this motion onto the agenda as a special dispensation***
 1. Over 113,000 people living outside of the UK applied to vote in the 2015 general election. This figure, of course, does not include anyone who became politically active as a result of

Jeremy Corbyn's two leadership election victories.

2. There already exists a Labour International CLP: <http://www.labourinternational.net/>. By the accounts of those who have written to us it is not very active and does not do an awful lot of work to get out the international vote for Labour. See the list of contacts for Labour International CLP at the

end. Yet the mobilization of such an international vote could have a serious impact on the next general election.

3. We have had many emails over the last year from UK expatriots asking how they can get involved and whether they can form Momentum groups locally in the country where they live. Those emails have come from countries in Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and the United States.

4. We have also had many contacts from non-UK citizens around the world who have been excited and energized by Corbyn's victories and leadership of the Labour Party. They see Momentum as the organized expression of his leadership and want to be part of that. While we have stopped no one from joining Momentum whatever their citizenship or country of residence, we have not given people like that around the world any real way of participating in Momentum.

5. Given Trump's victory in the United States, Corbyn's leadership and Momentum's expression of that leadership stand as a growing beacon of anti-austerity, anti-racism and anti-xenophobia. We have a responsibility to encourage and facilitate all those who want to be associated themselves with Momentum.

6. When Corbyn does become Prime Minister, we will need an international movement to fight back against the global elites who will be doing everything they can to destroy a Corbyn government. We already have the example of the international pressure mobilized against Syriza in Greece.

7. The proposal therefore, as a first step, is to create an international wing of Momentum which would include both UK expatriates and people from other countries who are willing to sign on to the objectives and code of ethics of Momentum. Those who live in other countries and are willing to organize such a grouping would be expected to work in close collaboration with staff, one or two of whom would, as part of their other duties, have responsibility for People's Momentum International or whatever the Steering Committee decides to call it.

Motion 6: Letter from Northern Irish activists - let us organise!

- ***This motion has come from members who do not have a means of submitting through their local groups***

- ***The NC may vote to accept this motion onto the agenda as a special dispensation***

Dear comrades,

As members of the Labour Party Northern Ireland (LPNI), we are writing to make the case for Momentum to actively organise in Northern Ireland. As things stand, whilst there are many individual

members of Momentum living in Northern Ireland, Momentum has no organised presence in the region. Furthermore, Momentum's current policy on Northern Ireland is based on false information, specifically, that the Labour Party itself does not organise in Northern Ireland. The first National Committee meeting in February resolved:

“Members and affiliated supporters of the Labour Party may join Momentum as individuals wherever they live. However, in line with the policy of the Labour Party and for the same reasons, Momentum will not organise at a local level in Northern Ireland.”

As a Constituency Labour Party of UK Labour, we meet regularly, decide on policies, campaign on issues and send delegates to conference, but are unable to vote for Labour Party candidates in any election: local, General, European or Stormont Assembly. We have nine local branches and, increasingly, ward-level organising committees and have the largest membership of any political party in the region. The LPNI plays an important role in Northern Ireland campaigning for marriage equality (blocked by the Democratic Unionist Party) and for reproductive rights (abortions are not allowed even in the instance of rape, incest, foetal abnormality or risk to a woman's health). Nevertheless, we are forced to vote for local ethno-sectarian parties in the absence of a Labour Party alternative. Sectarianism is therefore exacerbated.

Moreover, the Party has grown rapidly since Jeremy Corbyn's leadership campaign in 2015, from 350 to over 3000 members and supporters. As you would expect, the new members are strongly motivated by the politics that Corbyn's leadership promotes. When we held a nomination meeting this summer, the vote was 70:30 in favour of Corbyn (121 for Corbyn, 14 for Smith and 33 abstentions), which mirrored his share of the actual vote some weeks later. However, our membership is largely very new and so the majority of our 3000 members were denied a vote in the latest leadership election (around 700 votes were cast). Had these new members voted, we would have expected support for Corbyn to have come in at more than 80%.

So, the LPNI membership is strongly motivated by Corbyn's leadership and can make a significant contribution to advancing those progressive politics as part of the wider Momentum movement. Momentum organisation would help LPNI members to:

1. Convert new members, drawn to the Party by Corbyn, into activists through use of the Momentum brand.

2. Build better connections between grassroots LP activism in Northern Ireland and the rest of the UK, to achieve common goals.

Furthermore, Labour Party members frequently move between Northern Ireland and other parts of the UK and wish to continue their activities within Momentum, this region should be brought into the fold so that we do not lose valuable activists where there is a void.

We understand that traditionally some parts of the Left has been antithetical to Labour Party organisation in Northern Ireland. However, the facts of the matter are that thousands of Northern Irish people have joined Labour and are seeking their political representation. These people come from both communities, different political traditions but are united by their demand for a left-wing alternative to sectarian politics. They also need a political party that does not discriminate against women and the gay community. Many Northern Irish people are members of affiliated trade unions and, again, find themselves disenfranchised from the political representation they might expect. Whilst the Social Democratic and Labour Party is often described as a 'sister party', its spokespeople have regularly opposed a woman's right to choose and, moreover, they do not attract support from across the sectarian divide.

Yours,

Peter Dynes (executive committee officer, LPNI) **Marguerite Falloona** (member, Belfast branch, LPNI)

Phil Kelly (executive committee officer, LPNI)

Leonie Hannan (vice-chair, Belfast branch, LPNI)

Kathryn Johnston (vice-chair, executive committee, LPNI) **Richard Margerison** (member, North Down, LPNI) **William O'Gorman** (member, Belfast branch, LPNI)

Mary Sheen (executive committee officer, LPNI)

Andy Ward (secretary, Belfast branch, LPNI)

Section B: Momentum's structures Motion 7: Momentum's Corporate Structure

North East and Cumbria Region

(1) Momentum is made up of three legal but separate entities:

- Momentum Campaign Ltd, which owns the database

- Momentum Campaign (Services) Ltd, which employs staff and pays for services

- Momentum the Unincorporated Association, with its democratic structures (including this NC).

(2) We resolve that the Momentum National Committee must as a matter of urgency insist that the current two limited companies have written into their articles of association that

they are subject to the governance of the Momentum National committee, and that the Momentum National committee have the power to appoint and retire any directors and appoint new company members .

Motion 8: Democracy in Momentum

North East and Cumbria Region

(1) Momentum Northern Regional Network supports Momentum's aim to "Transform Labour into a more open, member-led party, with socialist policies and the collective will to implement them in government" and its stated commitment to "working for progressive political change through methods which are democratic, inclusive and participatory".

(2) We are proud that Momentum activists have led the way in promoting these principles in local Constituency Labour Parties and branches, and have sought to organise events for Labour members to debate the vital issues facing our party where CLP leaderships have resisted these principles.

(3) We welcome the now well-developed database and communications capacity of Momentum – ie, mailing lists, social media and website.

(4) However, we note that agendas, documents and minutes for decision-making committees at national and regional level are still not published by the organisation nor distributed to members. We regret that Momentum members have sometimes learned about decisions made by the organisation, many weeks after they were taken, through media outlets that may be hostile to Momentum, without having been informed by the organisation itself.

(5) Momentum Northern Regional Network believes that the fight to democratise the Labour Party cannot be separated from the way in which Momentum organises its own activities. Momentum as an organisation should therefore practise what it preaches to the Labour Party in its own internal

decision-making processes, which should be seen to be fully democratic, accountable and transparent. There must be a presumption of openness in a member-based democratic socialist organisation.

(6) We call upon Momentum to publish on its website agenda papers and minutes for all its decision-making bodies, as well as the names of their elected officers and committee members. We call upon Momentum to require that all regional decision-making bodies and local branches adopt the same good practice regarding publication, providing support and training where necessary to help achieve this.

Motion 9: Momentum as a campaigning political movement

North West Region

We believe that

- Momentum is a campaigning political movement which represents a spectrum of views among people who want to see progressive change in the Labour Party. It should be inclusive and respectful of differences. It must not seek to become a quasi political party with a fully worked out political programme.
- However Momentum needs to be able to act quickly and effectively on issues as they come up, with a strong, clear national voice. This requires an element of central leadership and direction.
- An effective national leadership can also promote activism through initiating campaigns, making resources quickly available, and sharing examples of successful local campaigns.
- As an organisation whose goals include democratising the Labour Party, Momentum has to be member led, has to allow local groups a high degree of autonomy, and has to be genuinely responsive to members' views.

It is therefore resolved that

1. There shall be an annual delegate conference which shall be the sovereign body of Momentum, which will decide to put key issues to a vote of all members.
2. Momentum will retain a regional structure. Each recognised region will be free to organise and structure itself as it sees fit, subject to conference decisions.
3. Conference will elect a National Committee (NC) with a minimum of 50 members, with gender balance and representation from each region.
4. Conference will also elect national officers as required, including Secretary, Chair and Treasurer. All elected officers will be on the NC.
5. The NC will determine how conference should operate, subject to any prior conference decisions. In particular the NC will consider whether further rules are needed to ensure that all internal elections achieve outcomes that are both inclusive and gender balanced. Conference will hear resolutions received from local groups which have at least 20 registered members.

6. Examples of appropriate subjects for resolutions may include the aims and constitution of Momentum, the way in which Momentum is organised, campaigning methods and priorities, and questions of strategy and tactics relating to our involvement in the Labour Party.
7. The NC will meet at least quarterly, and will confer regularly in between meetings through secure electronic channels.
8. The NC's functions will include email communications with members and supporters; national website and social media; any official Momentum publications; oversight of any official online forums or chatrooms that it's agreed to establish; producing resources eg posters, leaflets, newsletters, t-shirts, badges and stickers. The NC may delegate any of these functions to volunteers from within Momentum or to paid staff.
9. Other functions which may not be possible to delegate will include establishing a political line on the events of the day, press and publicity, membership and finance, responding to issues raised by local groups, disciplinary matters.
10. The NC should aspire to be a springboard for activism : a group that generates ideas, initiates campaigns, and ensures that these are properly followed through. It should actively seek ways of enabling the sharing of ideas and positive campaigning experiences across the different Regions.
11. Momentum needs clearer channels of communication at all levels so that we can be informed in proper time in order to be able to send delegations and motions.

Motion 10:Democratic principles

London Region

The National Committee agrees that:

1. Local groups are the basic unit of Momentum. All members of Momentum should be encouraged to join and get involved in their local group. For those members where groups don't presently exist the Momentum office and the regional committees/networks should encourage and support the establishment of new local groups. We should use FaceBook and e.groups as tools to bring members together to establish new groups. All unnecessary impediments to setting up local groups should be removed.

2. In between National Annual Conferences, the National Committee (NC) is the highest elected body. The Steering Committee is a sub-committee of the NC elected from the NC.

3. This meeting of the National Committee (3 December 2016) agrees to elect a new Steering Committee to hold office until the national conference, unless removed by the National Committee beforehand. The new SC will comprise of a Chair, Secretary and Treasurer elected directly by the NC by exhaustive ballot for each post, along with 8 other members to be elected by the NC by Single Transferable Vote, plus one representative from each affiliated Trade Union.

4. In the interests of good communications and transparency, there will be a page on the national website that sets out and explains what the structures are in Momentum and who serves on the various committees (giving, with permission, contact details for our elected representatives). Minutes and decisions from all SC and NC meetings will be posted on the national website.

5. This NC agrees to elect a sub-committee of three members from the NC to conduct a review of the

current Momentum companies' structure, with administrative support from a staff member. This sub-committee will make proposals to the next NC.

6. This NC believes that Momentum needs a simple Rule book. This NC agrees to set up a working group made up of 5 members from the NC, with support from a staff member, to produce an initial draft for consideration at the next NC with a view to it being presented for adoption by the national conference.

Section C: The Steering Committee and NC decisions Motion 11: Censure of the Steering Committee

Submitted by South East Region, London Region, North East and Cumbria Region

The National Committee censures Steering Committee for cancelling the meeting of the National Committee that was scheduled for 5 November and for agreeing a method of organising the national conference without waiting for the National Committee to discuss it.

We do not recognise the legitimacy of the Steering Committee to make those decisions.

Motion 12: On the bypassing of the NC

North East and Cumbria Region

Notes:

- The repeated cancellation of National Committee meetings and general bypassing of the NC.
- The unilateral Steering Committee decision to arrange online ballots for some new members of the NC (Equality reps, extra regional network reps, reps for members not covered by groups - for

some though not all of each of these categories).

- The decision to implement the start of an online motions process, and without any explanation of how the process will move forward or decisions will be made.
- That these decisions were taken less than two weeks before the NC (finally) meets.

Believes:

- The Steering Committee's decision to impose online referenda on the organisation regardless of the feedback from local branches goes against all traditions of democratic good practice in the labour movement; it is disrespectful to the many members who have worked hard to develop local branches and regional networks; it undermines our efforts to promote meaningful participation in the Labour Party; and it will turn Momentum into a top-down, officer-led organisation.
- That these decisions show every sign of having been made long before and carried out regardless of any debate in Momentum and is contrary both in spirit and principle of the unity statement released by the steering committee.
- That the way all this has been carried out (see list of problems in appendix) has led to extra chaos; but at the heart of the problem is the fact that none of this is remotely reasonable or democratic.
- We are not against using some online tools as a part of the democratic process, but only if such proposals are scrutinised and agreed by the National Committee.

Agrees:

- This meeting censures the Steering Committee for pre-empting the discussion and democratic decisions of the National Committee.
- To call for an explanation of the decision to direct staff and volunteers and resources to the above then local groups are crying out for support and resources from Momentum

Appendix

- none of the above were consulted on (i.e. Local groups, regional networks or NC members)
- with regards online elections - 72 hour nomination period (if you read your emails every day)
- many members not recorded as belonging to equality group (including a number of candidates not able to stand); at least one nomination recorded for the wrong region; and members in North Cumbria getting votes in NW region.

Motion 13: Comradely Behaviour

Momentum Youth and Students

Momentum Youth and Students notes the discontent of the membership in recent weeks and recognize that there are issues that need addressing within Momentum. However, we do not believe this to be fault of Jon Lansman and are very concerned by the personal attacks he has been subjected to. In the spirit of Jeremy's style of politics, we condemn all personal abuse aimed at Jon and offer him solidarity.

We also note that there has been a lot of abuse aimed at Momentum staff members. Momentum Youth and Students NC believe this to be completely unacceptable and would like to thank the staff for their tireless work during a difficult period.

Whatever your opinion on the direction momentum should take personal attacks can never be justified and Momentum Youth and Students calls for more comradely behaviour in the weeks ahead.

Section D: Motions regarding Jackie Walker Motion 14: On the removal of Jackie Walker as vice-chair of Momentum

South East Region

This annual general meeting of Momentum – Brighton and Hove condemns the decision to remove Jackie Walker as vice-chair of Momentum nationally made at the Steering Group meeting held on Monday October 3rd. We call for her immediate reinstatement.

The background to this decision was a video, circulated on social media, of a contribution Jackie made in a fringe event at Labour Party conference. The event was an 'educational meeting on fighting anti-Semitism' organised by the Jewish Labour Movement and, as such, ran counter to the recommendations of the Chakrabarti report into anti-Semitism in the Labour Party. The filming was done in secret and the only part of the meeting to be circulated was Jackie's contribution from the floor; which is difficult to hear due to the poor quality of the tape.

As such it is completely unacceptable for either the Labour Party or Momentum to use it as evidence or respond to it. Moreover, whatever one's views of Jackie's decision to attend the meeting or her comments at it, there is no evidence of anti-Semitism in anything she said and the suggestion that it is is both ludicrous and offensive.

It is clear that Jeremy Corbyn's election, together with the unprecedented growth in membership this has generated, is seen as a threat by the establishment and mass media, together with some within the movement. They will stop at nothing in their efforts to undermine, demoralise, confuse and divide this movement and remove him from office. Accusations of anti-Semitism, like those of misogyny and bullying, are just one aspect of this 'guerrilla warfare'.

Removing Jackie from her position will not appease these people rather it will embolden them to continue their attacks.

Further, we do not believe that a decision of this magnitude should have been made by a hastily called Steering Group without due process, but by a more democratic body with evidence being produced, due regard to national justice and after wider consultation. We look forward to the inaugural national conference of Momentum in February and the establishment of a democratic constitution, structures and procedures.

Motion 15: on Jackie Walker

Yorkshire and Humber Region

We note with concern the decision to remove Jackie Walker as Vice-Chair of Momentum and the judgment made that Jackie's comments were "ill-informed, ill-judged and offensive". Though we welcome the Steering Committee's decision to oppose Jackie's expulsion from the Labour Party the statement does not go far enough in defending her and does not even oppose her suspension.

The Steering Committee are right to say that her comments were not anti-Semitic. It is not anti-Semitic to suggest that Holocaust Memorial Day should commemorate all Holocausts, as it already commemorates a number of genocides. It is not anti-Semitic to say that in the training event Jackie had not "heard a definition of anti-Semitism I can work with". It is also not anti-Semitic to question whether all primary schools now have increased security. Jackie's comments have been twisted, misrepresented and deliberately misunderstood by the media and political opponents. Anti-Semitism has, once again, been used as a political football in a way that undermines real complaints of this pernicious form of racism.

Thousands of Labour Party members have been suspended in the purge and Jackie is unfortunate enough to have been targeted twice. This could happen to any one of us and if we don't want activists to be cowed by the threat of suspension, to keep their heads down and allow democracy and freedom of speech in the Labour Party to be eroded further then we must oppose unjust suspensions. This includes Jackie Walker.

Momentum will release a further statement in defence of Jackie and opposing her suspension from the Labour Party.

Motion 16: On the anti-Semitism witch-hunt and Jackie Walker from London

London Region

London Momentum opposes all forms of racism including anti-semitism. We believe that combating oppressive and discriminatory behaviour in society and in the labour movement is integral to socialist activity. However, the report of the Chakrabarti inquiry found the allegations of widespread anti-Semitism in the Labour Party to be unfounded and criticised the way in which the investigations and suspensions by the Labour Party disputes panel violated the principles of natural justice. Nevertheless, both the witch-hunt and the suspensions of Labour Party members have continued.

Unjustified attempts are now being made to undermine the credibility of the Chakrabarti report.

The attacks on Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour left by a united front of the mainstream media, the Conservatives, and the Labour right demonstrate the high stakes involved. The anti-Semitism

witch-hunt is part of a wider assault and purge designed to discredit, isolate and destabilise the Labour leadership, as well as closing down the space for debate about the politics of the Middle East by equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism.

London Momentum calls for:

- * all suspensions by the Labour Party disputes panel (or any other unaccountable body) to be lifted immediately and all expulsions to be speedily reviewed with the intention of reinstating those subjected to the politically-motivated purge;
- * the establishment of an open and democratic Labour Party disciplinary process that should be under the control of the elected bodies of the Labour Party;
- * Momentum nationally to fight back against the witch-hunt and campaign for the rights of Palestinians.