

The Progressives

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The essay on New Labour in the first edition of this volume was finished in 2003.¹ Tony Blair resigned in 2007 and Gordon Brown left office in 2010. This essay seeks not to cover previous ground but to take the long view. By that I mean to explain New Labour and its successors as a project which, in the fullest sense, sought to revise Labour ideology from the mid-1990s. This revisionist project focused on emphasising economic, social and constitutional *liberalisms*. This project would make Labour more centrist and therefore appealing to floating voters. It would also give this new breed of Labour politicians, if elected, a mandate to reform the United Kingdom. In the post-New Labour era this type of Labour worldview continues. It is espoused by Labour politicians such as Liz Kendall, Alison McGovern, Chuka Umunna; think-tanks such as Policy Network and Progress; contributors to *The Purple Book: A Progressive Future for Labour*²; and by many intellectuals and activists. In the first edition I argued New Labour was the ‘new right-wing of the Labour Party’.³ Whilst no longer a new addition to the broad church of Labour thought, I maintain it was, and is the correct designation. The successors to New Labour including former Blairites and Brownites are best described as the Progressives.

This is a tricky label.⁴ I use it because New Labourites and their successors self-identify as *progressive* preferring it to *social democrat* and this, in itself, is significant. Research done demonstrates that the public do not understand the term *progressive* yet sees it as a positive descriptor.⁵ Labour's Progressives are committed to free markets, enterprise and ‘light-touch’ regulation especially of the City of London. At the same time they support trade unionism and a welfare state. In this sense they can be seen as welfare capitalists. They were staunch advocates of the Remain campaign in the referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union. The Progressives' social and economic views are kindred with the Keating Labor faction of the Australian Labor Party, the New Democrat Coalition in the US

Democratic Party and with some members of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats - the progressive grouping in the European Parliament.

At root the Progressives are optimists. They are optimistic about human nature, rationality and social progress. They loosely subscribe to the Whig interpretation of history. Usually in the United Kingdom, though not necessarily, they are secularists. Mixed within their optimism is a dose of Cultural Marxism.⁶ To some, this might seem an unusual statement given New Labour's hostility to socialism, but there exists shared undercurrents of thought. Undercurrents that unite the left and the right wings of the Labour Party. It is expressed most clearly in Labour's approach to social ethics and culture. To understand the influence of Cultural Marxism on the Labour Party it is necessary to recall the different types of activists and agendas that contributed to the New Left and entered the Labour Party. As Kenneth O. Morgan notes:

‘...they were single-issue groups such as Irish republicans, black activists, or advocates of ‘gay lib’. The feminist movement, increasingly influential in the seventies, developed an important Marxist wing which also moved into local Labour parties, especially in London boroughs such as Lambeth, Brent or Tower Hamlets.’⁷

The New Left movement came to prominence in the Labour Party during the 1970s around the leadership of Tony Benn. Advocates of this harder left-wing politics agitated for a socialist economy: widespread public ownership of major industries and companies, industrial democracy, central planning and significant redistribution of wealth; and were hostile towards the Common Market and American foreign policy especially the Vietnam War. The student radicals of the 1970s matured into the intelligentsia of the 1990s and early millennium. As I noted in the essay in the first edition a number of New Left socialists moved right during the Thatcher years and by the 1990s became supporters of Blair.⁸ The political economy of these politicians had evolved but their view of social ethics and culture was more or less intact. As many were elected to Parliament, it slowly became apparent that elements of cultural, rather than economic Marxism had survived the long journey into the Labour Party. The New Left including Corbyn, John McDonnell and Diane Abbott modified some

aspects of their economic view but retained a heterodox analysis of foreign and defence policy and crucially a cultural Marxist approach to social ethics and culture. Evidence of the influence of Cultural Marxism on the ideas of the Labour Party can be seen in the Party's commitment to identity politics. In particular, intersectionality, patriarchy and the social construction of gender identity.

The High Watermark 1997-2007

New Labour as a political and cultural project had a small beginning. What it lacked in number it made up for in aptitude and ambition. Blair and Brown, albeit in different ways, lay claim to being the leading politicians of their generation because they shaped British politics like few others. Blair's political antennae formed by his conservative upbringing coupled with his charismatic manner helped to make him Labour's best communicator. Brown was the policy strong strategist with a facility to construct narratives for why New Labour was simultaneously, part of Labour's heritage and yet, striving to move beyond traditional social democracy in a global age. Both men built up loyal followings and saw Labour's task as supplanting the Conservative Party as the natural party of government. They did this by dominating the centre-ground of British politics.⁹ Their appeal went beyond Labour heartlands and targeted floating voters in marginal constituencies who often vote Conservative or Liberal Democrat. As Blair implied in his final Labour Party Conference Leader's address:

'The USP of New Labour is aspiration and compassion reconciled. We reach out not just to those in poverty or need but those who are doing well but want to do better; those on the way up, ambitious for themselves and their families. These are our people too. Not to be tolerated for electoral reasons. But embraced out of political conviction. The core vote of this party today is not the heartlands, the inner city, not any sectional interest or lobby. Our core vote is the country.'¹⁰

The energy to move beyond traditional social democracy came from the rich traditions of liberalism.¹¹ From the economic liberals in the Conservative Party under Thatcher New Labour embraced market forces, entrepreneurship and the importance of the City of London. From the social liberal tradition of Labour's Old Right or revisionist wing there was, early in Blair's tenure as Labour Leader, an attitude of mind which can be viewed as progressive.

A leading progressive thinker is David Marquand. Labour MP for Ashfield from 1966-1977 and a member of the revisionist wing. He was a loyal supporter of Roy Jenkins whose two years at the Home Office were the most liberal in the post-war era. Like Jenkins, Marquand combined social liberalism with ardent support for the Common Market, later the European Economic Community and finally the European Union. Marquand's subsequent career as a political historian and writer on British progressivism mark him as a significant actor in the story of the how the progressive strand on the Labour right broke with the more conservative Labour right.¹² But it was Jenkins, certainly after the death of Tony Crosland in 1977, who was the pre-eminent progressive Labour politician. Whilst Jenkins lost the Labour leadership to James Callaghan in 1976 he furthered his passion for the United Kingdom's integration with Europe as President of the European Commission. After returning to help establish, then lead the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and support its merger with the Liberal Party in 1988, he was elevated to the Upper House and there led the newly formed Liberal Democrat peers. It was around the mid to late 1990s that Jenkins became an advisor, and for a short period, a mentor to Blair.¹³ Allied in some of their thinking, one can interpret much of Blair's agenda on markets, trade unionism, Europe and social ethics as a continuation of the progressivism that Jenkins espoused in the 1980s, first in the SDP and then the Liberal Democrats.¹⁴ Jenkins' influence peaked early in Blair's time as Labour Leader when he appeared keen to remarry 'Lib-Lab' progressivism. An example of this was the formation of the committee with senior Liberal Democrats in the period leading up to the 1997 general election which explored shared 'Lib-Lab' ideas and discussed, in the eventuality of a hung parliament, the prospect of a progressive alliance.¹⁵ Commenting on the ideological similarities of Blair and the Liberal Democrats under Paddy Ashdown Peter Sloman asserts:

'Differences in party culture and intellectual outlook never disappeared, but under Tony Blair and Paddy Ashdown the two parties espoused broadly congruent visions

of what progress involved: the promotion of rising living standards, greater equality or 'fairness', and improvements in health and education provision by means of pragmatic state activism in a predominantly free-market economy.'¹⁶

Blair's tenure represented a tangible break with Labour's past. He was, like most politicians, someone who drew from several ideological traditions. Chief among these were economic liberalism and moderate social democracy. New Labour's suite of policies and the many Acts of Parliament passed reveals this. Nonetheless, there are other discernible traditions. One is a form of communitarianism stressing civic duties or responsibilities which necessarily follow individual rights. This ideological imprimatur of New Labour's communitarianism was most strongly seen in reforms to law and order. Another was brought into view in response to the 7/7 Islamist terrorist attacks in London when on 9th November Blair experienced his first Commons defeat as Prime Minister. Forty-nine Labour MPs rebelled on a proposal in the Terrorism Bill which sought to increase the detention without trial of terror suspects to up to 90 days and the government lost the vote by 322 to 291 votes.¹⁷ The Terrorism Act received royal assent in 2006 and Parliament agreed to raise the limit of detention without trial to 28 days for terror suspects. To some an authoritarian streak appeared to surface in New Labour's politics which dented the credentials of Blair and his government with many progressives. In hindsight it is arguable that such ill-conceived policies were less the product of a liberty-denying administration than the fearful response of a government whose citizens were under attack from a new enemy.

Blair's governments were at their most bold in domestic policy in the sphere of cultural, social and constitutional reform. State-level multiculturalism, Civil Partnerships, Same-Sex Adoption, mass immigration from the European Union, devolution, the Human Rights Act and reforms to the House of Lords are evidence of a desire to remake Britain and England in particular. The Progressives felt that England was conservative, exclusive and often bigoted. Through legislation - and the teaching in schools of New Labour's 'moral curriculum' - attitudinal change was nudged and, through the ideology of political correctness, opinion diversity was self-censored. This, accompanied by the influence of a similar strain of progressivism in the Arts especially on television and theatre aided the 'correcting' of culture.

One-time minority views, in a relatively short space of time became *de rigueur* in the public sphere, while traditional perspectives were the focus of critique and contempt.

Diminishing Supply 2007-2010

The Brown administration was at the outset a continuation of New Labour. Policy differences between the two men did exist over the European Single Currency, constitutional reform and the extent to which further market-based reforms were required to improve public service delivery. But those who wish to build a case that the Brown government was a departure from New Labour are tasked with explaining away Brown's role as co-architect of the modernising project and his authorship of economic and social affairs during the Blair governments. Brown like his predecessor was a progressive. A designation he embraced. A sample of his speeches, first at HM Treasury and then whilst in Downing Street, attest to the ease with which he identified his brand of Labour politics as progressive politics.¹⁸ This is demonstrated in the following excerpt from a speech given during the 2010 General Election campaign:

'There are 100 seats across the country where Labour and the Tories are the main contenders. So I am urging all those with genuinely progressive values to vote Labour on Thursday. It is the surest way to avoid the risk of waking up on Friday with a government that would undo our great social achievements and our economic recovery, and kill off for a generation the ideals of all who passionately believe in the good society.'¹⁹

Brown felt a connection with progressives outside of the United Kingdom, particularly in the American Democratic Party, and yet he was perceived by some as the authentic Labour figure in the New Labour. He played on this perception. Brown himself drew upon his upbringing in the Manse to sketch a narrative about his moral compass but, in reality his worldview was less Christian socialist than cosmopolitan. Famously, in a conversation in his car with aides during the 2010 General Election campaign, he referred to a life-long Labour

voter as a 'sort of bigoted woman'. Gillian Duffy had expressed concern to the Prime Minister about the scale of European migration and its impact on unemployment in Rochdale. Brown thought his lapel microphone was off. Duffy was disgusted and the media led with the story. The Prime Minister altered his plans and apologised in person for his comments. This was the most memorable moment on Labour's campaign trail. Its resonance was notable because it reinforced the sense that the Westminster establishment, which had recently been mired in the expenses scandal, actually loathed the views and values of the working class. With a succinct and unadulterated phrase Brown encapsulated the 'values gap'.²⁰ By this I mean the social and cultural gap that exists between Labour politicians and activists - both the Progressives and the Corbynistas - and erstwhile, Labour-inclined voters. These voters tend to be prevalent in working-class constituencies in the Midlands and the North of England. Speaking of the five million votes Labour lost from 1997-2010 Paul Hunter, of the Labour supporting think-tank the Smith Institute, notes:

'One of the most worrying trends that emerged from Labour's fractured vote was the steady and disproportionate loss of working class support. In 1997, 60 per cent of those in the lowest social group, DEs, voted Labour. By 2010 it had dropped to 40 per cent. Of C2s, skilled manual workers, by 2010 just 30 per cent voted Labour - down from 50 per cent in 1997.'²¹

In Labour's England it had become apparent that the 'higher ups' only deigned to turn out at election time and meet those whose votes they sought. Progressive candidates felt increasingly baffled by the 'diatribe' on the doorstep. Brown revealed the true colours of Progressives whose worldview is not merely different to the English working class but exists in contradistinction to it. Brown maintained that Kirkcaldy was his spiritual home and perhaps that is so. But his worldview has been shaped by London where he worked for thirty years surrounded by Civil Servants, think-tanks and aspirant public intellectuals.

The defining event on Brown's watch was when the United Kingdom experienced the sharpest and deepest recession in modern memory. It was caused by the international credit crunch and banking crisis of 2008 - termed the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). Credit dried up

as banks ceased lending to each other and customers. The viral nature of toxic assets of securitized debts paralysed finance capitalism. Redundancies, foreclosures, and bankruptcy followed. In 2008 the Prime Minister and his Chancellor, Alistair Darling, delved into the long tradition of progressive economics and utilised the ideas of John Maynard Keynes. A liberal economics of a different shade which harnessed the central state to prompt demand in the economy and show ailing financial institutions it was willing to be the lender of last resort. The Brown government nationalised or part-nationalised much of the United Kingdom's banking sector; ran a massive budget deficit to instigate public works programmes and maintain welfare payments off-setting further job losses; and through quantitative easing added vast amounts of liquidity into the economy. Markets failed and needed an interventionist state. As one more than a little familiar with Keynesianism Brown reached into his past for the tools needed to oblige.

Evaporation 2010-15

The tenure of Ed Miliband as Labour Leader was a step-change from the Blair and Brown years. To the left of New Labour but in cultural terms similarly cosmopolitan. The son of a noted Marxist intellectual, educated at Oxford and schooled during adolescence in Labour politics. He worked as a Special Adviser for Brown and spent time at Harvard. Whilst he defeated his brother David, the Blairite heir, Miliband's candidacy and leadership was predicated on progressivism:

‘So there is a progressive majority in Britain. It's just that we failed to attract enough of it to Labour's cause to return a viable progressive government. We will rebuild ourselves as a broad movement by understanding where the centre-ground of British politics truly lies... To be at heart of the progressive mainstream, we also need to draw on values that may not have always been central to our party. One of our tasks is to learn the lessons of the green movement and put sustainability at the heart of what we do. Another is to draw on the traditions of liberty.’²²

In economic thought there was a departure from economic liberal precepts that had governed Labour policy since 1997. Labour under Miliband, whilst not statist in a Croslandite sense, was quite clearly searching for a more continental model of capitalism and this can in part be seen in his criticism of the oligopolistic power of large energy companies. For many, Miliband's espousal of a more explicitly social democratic political economy was the necessary tonic to the New Labour years and to the austerity measures of the Conservative-Liberal Government. During his tenure ideas such as pre-distribution, a Living Wage and One Nation Labour were brought to the fore.²³ Miliband was offering a picture of a more interventionist and managed welfare capitalism. There was a conscious return to acknowledging economic inequality as well as poverty. This should have been strong ground. But the memory of 13 years of Labour administrations and the Party's dented reputation for economic management were still fresh in the public mind.

A further handicap for Miliband, when seeking to reach out to disillusioned Labour voters and electors who typically support the Conservative Party, was his progressive agenda. This can be seen in his pro-European Union stance and, in particular, his support for the free movement of people. Despite his moderate rhetoric in the latter half of his tenure which sought to acknowledge the legitimate concerns of many Labour inclined voters about mass migration from Eastern and South-eastern Europe, Labour candidates were told not to dwell on the topic when it inevitably arose on the doorsteps during the 2015 general election campaign. After he resigned as Labour Leader he played an important role, in the UK's referendum on continued membership of the European Union, as a Remain campaigner. Other important totems which denote Miliband's progressivism include his deep commitment to green politics despite being MP since 2005 for the constituency of Doncaster North which was an area of South Yorkshire formed by coal-mining and his role as an outspoken supporter of the Conservative-Liberal Government's Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Bill. There was no pledge in Labour's 2010 manifesto to change the law to redefine marriage.

It is with the tenure of Miliband that a consistent progressivism crystallises. There was none of the robust communitarianism of the New Labour years or the moral imperative to cross borders – where practical – to secure human rights. In foreign policy the tone of Miliband was more cautious and a fundamental difference was his analysis that the Iraq War was

illegitimate and damaging for the Labour Party and the United Kingdom. The main example of a less interventionist reading of Britain's military role overseas was when Miliband instructed his MPs to vote against the Conservative-Liberal Government's motion to bomb Syria in 2011. Miliband's politics appealed to left-liberals and social democrats with his willingness to challenge free market nostrums but it offered little to advocates of Labourism. Some may wish to argue that the fact that Miliband gave his blessing to the Oxford-London Seminars and penned a foreword to *The Labour Tradition and the Politics of Paradox*²⁴ is evidence of his support for Blue Labour. In fact Miliband distanced himself from the publication and (in public) from its main protagonist Lord Glasman.²⁵ Miliband used the term progressive frequently. It spoke of his own convictions and the sort of politics he desired. A politics practically indistinguishable to left-liberalism and equally uncomfortable with both socialism and Labourism. The political genealogy of Miliband was a leftward step from New Labour but remains closer to Blair and Brown than to his successor; a socialist of the Labour Marxist variety.

Drought Conditions: 2015 and Beyond

The nomination of Jeremy Corbyn in the 2015 Labour Leadership contest should not have challenged the hegemony of the Progressives. After all they dominated the Parliamentary Labour Party and had a firm presence at constituency level. Things changed for four reasons. Firstly, the Progressives could not agree on a candidate. Progressives of varying hues, Yvette Cooper, Andy Burnham and Liz Kendall all stood for Party Leader. Secondly, Corbyn's campaign was a series of rallies where his protest speech patter (well-practised over thirty years) won the hearts and minds of many Labour activists and idealists, particularly younger people, in an era of austerity and cynicism with British politics. Thirdly, Corbyn had the backing of several major unions which considerably bolstered his campaign in terms of affiliated supporters. Fourthly, the introduction of the £3 registered supporters. This meant people could register online for the price of a regular sized latte and vote in the leadership contest.

Corbyn was unspun, casually dressed and, more or less, gave straight answers when questioned. His was an appealing campaign. These young supporters flooded into the Labour Party inspired by Corbyn's themes of jobs, housing and free higher education. There were others who joined and in some cases re-joined Labour. Disillusioned with the economic moderation of New Labour and often outraged with the United Kingdom's involvement in the Iraq War. But still others joined. These individuals were heartened to have a left-wing candidate.²⁶ The Bennite or New Left wing of Labour had long contained elements of what can be described as Labour Marxism. During the campaign and in the following year prodigals thus returned to Labour from Trotskyite organisations.²⁷ This troubled not Corbyn or his campaign team known as 'Momentum'. The result was that Corbyn secured 60% of the vote with over a quarter of a million votes cast for his candidacy out of a total of 422,871 votes.²⁸ Corbyn garnered 50% of party members, 58% of affiliated organisations and 84% of registered supporters.²⁹

In the aftermath of the referendum result on the United Kingdom's continued membership of the European Union the Progressives were shocked and disgusted. In response they placed themselves at the vanguard of protest, pressure and demonstration. Supporting legal challenges, supplementary Parliamentary votes and proposing a second referendum on the final deal. The Progressives eventually retreated to a position asserting the imperative of a 'soft Brexit'. This usually implied the necessity for the United Kingdom to retain membership of the European Single Market with its free movement of people. It is because the Progressives are so deeply committed to the idea of European integrationism that they do not wish to see the United Kingdom's Parliament as sovereign over borders, laws and money.

The 'values gap' argument is further strengthened by the result of the referendum. In the 2016 poll 37% of Labour's supporters at the 2015 general election voted 'Leave'.³⁰ Support for the 'Leave' campaign does not necessarily imply an anti-progressive stance but, according to polling by Michael Ashcroft, large majorities of 'Leavers' consider immigration, multiculturalism, feminism, social liberalism and the green movement to be a 'force for ill'.³¹

Labour's Progressive MPs looked for reasons for the unexpected victory of the 'Leave' campaigns and laid much blame at Corbyn's feet. It was asserted that the Labour Leader had sent mixed messages to party supporters. There is truth in this. Progressives are fervently pro-EU and Corbyn was on record as a euro-sceptic. The internal fall-out over the referendum continued when Corbyn sacked Hilary Benn after he had stated that his leader was not suitable to lead the Labour Party into the next general election. This was the moment the Progressives sought to remove Corbyn. A motion of no confidence was tabled and 172 to 40 Labour MPs voted in favour. For a short while it seemed as if the Progressives wanted Angela Eagle to be their challenger but, they eventually settled on a relatively unknown former BBC journalist, Owen Smith. Corbyn increased his share of the vote (62%) and increased the number of votes cast for him to 313,209.³²

Corbyn, a man of Labour Marxist dispositions, much prefers the descriptor 'socialist' than 'progressive' to describe his vision of Labour politics. This was apparent in his speech to the 2016 Labour Party Conference when he used the terms 'socialism' or 'socialist' five times and progressive only twice, one of which was a description of the actions of the Conservatives under David Cameron:

'We know how great this country could be, for all its people, with a new political and economic settlement. With new forms of democratic public ownership, driven by investment in the technology and industries of the future, with decent jobs, education and housing for all with local services run by and for people not outsourced to faceless corporations. That's not backward-looking, it's the very opposite. It's the socialism of the 21st century.'³³

Despite Corbyn's solid performance at the 2017 general election and bar a few exceptions³⁴ Labour's gains from the Conservatives were in constituencies that voted 'Remain' in the referendum on the United Kingdom's continued membership of the European Union. The Conservatives' parliamentary gains from Labour were mainly in seats that voted 'Leave'. For the electorate issues surrounding culture grew in prominence whilst economic factors

diminished somewhat. The fiscal caution of the Progressives, their disdain for public ownership and determined commitment to the European Single Market was contrary not only to Labour's 2017 manifesto, but it also made the Corbynite policy offering more appealing. In the aftermath of the election result many Progressives praised Corbyn and put themselves forward to work with him in the Shadow Cabinet.

Conclusion

The Progressives are proud of their history. They can rightly claim that their brand of politics delivered three consecutive general election victories two with landslide majorities and the third majority large by contemporary standards. They can assert that in its early years New Labour was capable of speaking to working class and middle class; provincial, suburban and metropolitan; social conservative and social liberal. This was the broad electoral coalition on which they dominated British politics for a decade. The Progressives forced their main rivals to change. In a similar way that the Thatcher revolution in Conservative politics eventually wrought a centrist, market-oriented Labour government under Blair, New Labour influenced the style and to some extent the policy platforms of the Conservatives under David Cameron. This is most obvious in the areas of the environment, international development and social ethics. Nonetheless as Blair's tenure gave way to Brown's administration the electoral coalition diminished. By the 2010 general election the 'values gap' was apparent and New Labour's intellectual offering equated Labour values with progressivism.

It is well established that New Labour revised Labour's political economy in a more economic liberal direction. It is also accepted that New Labour placed human rights and humanitarian intervention front and centre in Labour's global view. Yet more costly to the edification of Labour, particularly as an electoral force in England, was its mission to cement progressivism as the party's worldview. This cultural shift at the levels of values, ideas and policies sits in tension with more socially conservative attitudes of millions of long-standing Labour-inclined voters. This conservative Labour tradition is perhaps best embodied in the life and work of James Callaghan.³⁵ Neither Labour's greatest Prime Minister, nor figurehead of a party faction or key thinker, Callaghan nonetheless possessed the dispositions

of a vast swathe of working class and lower middle class voters. His patriotic Labourism reflected the proclivities of the majority of Labour people. When considering New Labour's progressivism (and Jenkins' influence on Blair) it is clear that it stands in stark contrast to the moral and social views of Callaghan. New Labour's project was not merely about markets it was about morality also. A progressive morality intended to remake Britain.³⁶ For the Progressives their governmental heyday is perhaps unsurprisingly bittersweet. They achieved many of their intended reforms and they altered the direction of travel of British politics but they fell well short of defining a new economic paradigm for the early twenty-first century. With the benefit of hindsight one can see that many of their most cherished successes came with a high political cost.

There will continue to be, across Britain, dyed-in-the-wool tribalists willing to lend support to Labour to thwart the Conservative Party at general elections. But the troubling thing for the Progressives is that they have, for the time being, lost the activist base to the Corbynites. Ruptures over social ethics and culture sharply exacerbated Labour's 'values gap' between the party elite and activists on the one hand and inclined voters on the other. These include political correctness, Third Wave feminism, the equality/diversity agenda, the Human Rights Act, globalisation and remaining in the European Union. The 'values gap' is crucial to explain not merely the electoral travails of the Progressives, but also, the political evolution of the Labour Party. With one million more electors voting for the Conservative Party at the 2017 general election compared to 2015 the Progressives would no doubt endorse the view that 'things can only get better'.

¹ M. Beech, 'New Labour', in R. Plant, M. Beech & K. Hickson (eds.) *The Struggle for Labour's Soul: Understanding Labour's Political Thought Since 1945* (London: Routledge, 2004) pp. 86-102.

² R. Philpot, (ed.) *The Purple Book: A Progressive Future for Labour* (London: Biteback, 2011).

³ M. Beech, 'New Labour' pp. 86-102.

⁴ For more on the provenance and continuing relevance of progressivism in British politics see E. Robinson, (ed.) 'Symposium on Progressive Politics', *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 12, (1), 2014 pp. 2-74. See also E. Robinson, *The Language of Progressive Politics in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

⁵ J. Twyman, *Public Understanding of 'Progressive'*, YouGov, 2012
http://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/c5fsvqgba9/progressive_conference_sendout_WithResults_HT.pdf

⁶ The ideas of Cultural Marxism are primarily associated with the New Left movement and postmodernists including thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Jean Francois Lyotard and Jacques Derrida. For a study of the emergence of Cultural Marxism in Britain see, D. Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press). For an appraisal of the philosophy of the New Left see R. Scruton, *Fools, Frauds and Firebrands: Thinkers of the New Left* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). For a study of the relationship between postmodernism and socialism see, S.R.C. Hicks, *Explaining Postmodernism: Skepticism and Socialism from Rousseau to Foucault* (Scholarly Publishing, 2004).

⁷ K.O. Morgan, *The People's Peace: British History 1945-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) p.388.

⁸ M. Beech, 'New Labour' p.87.

⁹ M. Beech, 'New Labour and the Politics of Dominance' in M. Beech and S. Lee (eds.) *Ten Years of New Labour* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) pp.1-16.

¹⁰ T. Blair, Speech to the Labour Party Annual Conference, Manchester, 26 September 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2006/sep/26/labourconference.labour3>

¹¹ M. Beech, 'Neo-liberalism, New Labour and the Welfare State', in R. Backhouse, B. Bateman, T. Nishizawa and D. Plehwe (eds.) *Liberalism and the Welfare State: Economists and Arguments for the Welfare State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) pp.118-130.

¹² See D. Marquand, *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999).

¹³ A. Seldon, *Blair* (London: The Free Press, 2004) p. 269.

¹⁴ See R. Jenkins, *A Life at the Centre* (London: Pan Books, 1992).

¹⁵ See P. Ashdown, *The Ashdown Diaries: Volume 2 1997-1999* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), and N. Lawson and N. Sherlock (eds.) *The Progressive Century: The Future of the Centre-Left in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

¹⁶ P. Sloman, 'Partners in Progress? British Liberals and the Labour Party since 1918', *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 12, (1), 2014 pp.41-50.

¹⁷ BBC News (2005) 'Blair defeated over terror laws', 9th November, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4422086.stm

¹⁸ See G. Brown, Speech to Labour Party Conference, Manchester, 25 September 2006 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/5378312.stm

G. Brown, Speech to National Council of Voluntary Organisations, London, 3 September 2007 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/6976445.stm

G. Brown, Speech to Labour Party Conference, Manchester, 23 September 2008 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2008/sep/23/gordonbrown.labour1>

G. Brown, Speech to Labour Party Conference, Brighton, 29 September 2009 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/sep/29/gordon-brown-labour-conference-speech-in-full>

G. Brown, Speech at Citizens UK Meeting, London, 4th May 2010

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/may/03/gordon-brown-plea-progressive-voters>

¹⁹ G. Brown, Speech at Citizens UK Meeting, London, 4th May 2010

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/may/03/gordon-brown-plea-progressive-voters>

²⁰ See R. Manwaring & M. Beech, 'Back to the Wilderness: The Case of the British Labour Party', in P. Webb and R. Manwaring (eds.) *Why the Left Loses: The Decline of the Centre-Left in Comparative Perspective* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2017) pp.25-37.

²¹ See P. Hunter, *Labour's Missing Five Million*, Fabian Society, 8 May 2012

<http://www.fabians.org.uk/labours-missing-five-million/>

²² E. Miliband, Speech to the Fabian Society, London, 15 January 2011

<http://www.ukpol.co.uk/ed-miliband-2011-speech-to-the-fabian-society/>

²³ See R. Manwaring & M. Beech, 'Back to the Wilderness: The Case of the British Labour Party' pp.30-32.

²⁴ M. Glasman, J. Rutherford, M. Stears and S. White (eds.), *The Labour Tradition and the Politics of Paradox* (London: The Oxford-London Seminars/Soundings, 2011).

²⁵ See M. Beech & K. Hickson, 'Blue or Purple? Reflections on the Future of the Labour Party', *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 12, (1), (January 2014) pp.75-87.

²⁶ D. Allington, 'Jeremy Corbyn has attracted "socialism fans" not Labour voters, *The New Statesman*, 25 April 2017, <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/june2017/2017/04/jeremy-corbyn-has-attracted-socialism-fans-not-labour-voters>

²⁷ See H. Stewart, 'Tom Watson sends Corbyn 'proof of Trotskyist Labour Infiltration'', *The Guardian*, 10 August 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/10/tom-watson-sends-corbyn-proof-of-trotskyist-labour-infiltration> and O. Bennett, 'Hard-left activists boast of calling for Blairite deselections at unofficial Labour Party meeting', *Huffington Post*, 10 August 2016 http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/entryists-labour-tom-watson-angela-eagle_uk_57aa1853e4b0b3afa75c7533?ir=UK+Politics&utm_hp_ref=uk-politics

²⁸ BBC News, Labour leadership result in full, 12 September 2015

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-34221155>

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ M. Ashcroft, 'How the United Kingdom voted on Thursday...and why', *Lord Ashcroft Polls*, 24 June 2016, <http://lordashcroftpolls.com/2016/06/how-the-united-kingdom-voted-and-why/>

³¹ Ibid.

³² BBC News, Labour leadership: Corbyn appeals for unity after re-election, 24 September 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37461219>

³³ J. Corbyn, Speech to Labour Conference, Liverpool, 26 September 2016
<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2016/09/jeremy-corbyns-full-speech-2016-labour-party-conference>

³⁴ The constituency of Crewe and Nantwich voted Leave and was won by Labour in 2017.

³⁵ See K.O. Morgan, *Callaghan: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

³⁶ When researching and writing the essay in the first volume a little of this was apparent though by no means the entirety.