Miliband’s Machine
Even a few months ago, this publication would have been written in the confident expectation that the main challenge facing Ed Miliband was not whether he would govern, but how.

The fact that Ed would be the next PM was pretty much a given: opinion was divided only between those who were confident of an overall Labour majority and those who saw the party falling short and having to go into coalition with the Liberal Democrats. After all, everyone reasoned, there was no doubt that Labour would be the largest party in terms of seats and votes, and the moral pressure on Nick Clegg or his successor to join forces would be overwhelming.

No longer. Although the polls continue to show a small Labour lead, the trend is of a slow Conservative recovery and there are still many months before the election in May 2015. The unthinkable might actually happen. Labour might – we stress might – lose.

So Ed, where did it all go wrong? And is it all over for Labour?
The biggest factor is the economy, stupid. Ed Miliband (and Ed Balls) put a big bet on the Coalition failing to deliver a recovery. That bet turned out to be a loser, but like so many gamblers, the two Eds did not entertain that possibility. This has left them with a pronounced economic credibility gap and not much policy to point at.

Second, the anti-business rhetoric of Ed Miliband (the other Ed is not guilty of this), which looked a winner in a recession, seems oddly old-fashioned in an upswing. It has been easy to caricature as reflective of a broader leftward drift in the party. Senior Labour figures from the present and past have urged a different tone, but as yet without any noticeable effect. It must be a concern that many in the party to whom we have spoken despair of Ed and his team and believe he cannot win.

Then there is the weird factor. Actually, people who know Ed Miliband personally find him extremely pleasant and reassuringly normal – and that includes a couple of impeccably right-wing Tory MPs we’ve talked to. But the media has decided that Ed is an alien, incapable of talking to ordinary people or performing everyday acts like eating a bacon sandwich without gurning. Weird people can become prime minister – neither Ted Heath nor Margaret Thatcher were exactly common-or-garden – but it isn’t so easy in the age of the internet, Twitter, and 24-hour news bulletins to fill.

So the inevitable has happened. On the back of a poor showing in both European and local elections, and a rotten result in the Newark by-election, a number of MPs and party elders have come forward with allegedly helpful suggestions about changing direction. Bang-on for a largely Tory media which runs pieces about Labour in turmoil with glee.

But no, the game is definitely not up for Ed and his team. With a bit of nerve, some fast policy footwork, and a few basic factors which tend to get forgotten, he can still be PM. Here’s how.

Remember he is playing with a deck of cards in which he has most of the aces. The failure to implement boundary changes leaves Labour needing far fewer votes to win a majority than the Tories. The gap is variously estimated, and has geographical variations, but it means that a small Labour percentage lead should be enough for a decent lead in seats.

Yes, the polls don’t show the kind of lead which makes an Opposition leader sleep comfortably. But neither do the Tories yet seem able to increase their vote share above about 31 per cent. David Cameron has to do more than creep into the lead: he has to power ahead. He does not seem to be able to do that.

There is plenty of time for a new economic narrative to be developed. There is no shortage of Labour ideas, and the electorate has the collective memory of an amoeba. The recovery is patchy both by region and class. Labour might not be trusted as an economic manager, but the party is clearly perceived as being fairer than the nasty Tories. Who better to ensure the recovery is good for the many, not just the few?

A fanatic was defined by Churchill as someone who can’t change his mind and won’t change the subject. Step forward many members of the Conservative Party on Europe. A topic which bores the electorate rigid but is catnip to Tory activists. A perfect way to drown out the narrative of a successful economic recovery. Ed should thank Douglas Carswell, John Redwood, Daniel Hannan etc. personally.

No it isn’t. But in order to understand how to turn things around, Labour needs an unflinching analysis of its problems.

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Ed Miliband (and Ed Balls) put a big bet on the Coalition failing to deliver a recovery.

So keep smiling, Ed Miliband. There is everything to play for. Come the morning of Friday 8 May you could be waving from the doorway of Number 10. Before disappearing inside for a nice – and private – celebratory bacon sandwich.

...the game is definitely not up for Ed and his team. With a bit of nerve, some fast policy footwork, and a few basic factors which tend to get forgotten, he can still be PM.
Labour and Ed Miliband’s political philosophy

The financial crisis and its implications for government spending means the Labour Party has had some soul searching to do. The party was defeated in 2010 because it was perceived as economically incompetent and unwilling to administer tough economic medicine in the context of the UK debt crisis. In the period since, major questions have been asked about the party’s core vision both for business and the public services. There will be no money to spend after 2015, so what does the party have to offer the wider electorate – and its own supporters?

The concept of One Nation Labour is Ed Miliband’s earnest attempt to address these concerns by seeking to demonstrate that Labour is a majoritarian party capable of governing in the national interest. Many themes in Labour’s agenda have drawn heavily on the work of political philosophers such as Michael Sandel and Michael Walzer, and the political scientist Jacob Hacker. Their analysis has had a major impact on the leader, heavily on the work of political philosophers such as Michael Sandel and Michael Walzer, and the political scientist Jacob Hacker. Their analysis has had a major impact on the leader, their work on the relationship between economic growth and real wages.

One Nation Labour

The seemingly catch-all nature of these ideas and the concept of One Nation Labour has left many people unconvinced that they really mean anything at all. The phrase has often been awkwardly forced into unrelated press releases in an obvious attempt to make them look on message. It would be wrong, though, to think this means there is a lack of substance behind Miliband’s prospectus. A large volume of policy review reports have been published, leading some veterans to worry that Labour’s problem is not having too little policy but too much – combined with a lack of clear ideological themes emerging that underpin a great deal of the party’s policy development.

• Tackling the cost of living crisis: at the heart of Miliband’s agenda is the argument that the British people have been experiencing an unprecedented cost of living crisis – a combination of falling real wages and rising prices for essentials like food, transport and fuel. Labour plans to raise wages has seen Alan Budge of KPMG appointed to investigate how to restore the “2010 value” of the National Minimum Wage and also which sectors of the economy, for example finance, can afford to pay an even higher minimum wage. Ed has also committed to a Living Wage in the public sector higher than the National Minimum Wage, alongside interventions to curb predatory pricing by big companies. In last year’s conference speech, Miliband focused his attack on the big energy companies; other targets include the privatised rail companies, the major banks, landlords and payday lenders. Labour wants to be positioned resolutely as the British consumer’s champion. Miliband’s success has been to put cost of living firmly on the agenda, forcing the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats to respond. As real wages start to rise again, however, there is a risk that Labour’s approach will start to run out of road. Miliband will need to be careful to shift the narrative in a timely fashion to the growing distance between economic growth and real wages.

• Devolution of power and participatory democracy, granting communities a meaningful say in how public services are delivered and giving away power from the centre: Localism has been seen as a Conservative agenda but the idea of the relational state – allowing citizens to shape the services they use, solving their own problems instead of relying on traditional government – is a central plank of Jon Cruddas’s vision as Head of the Policy Review process. Together with a more silent Hilary Benn in the Shadow Communities brief, Cruddas’ New English Deal has at its heart fiscal and democratic devolution he has not unambiguously labelled “the biggest devolution of power to our cities and county regions in 100 years”. As part of his policy review Cruddas has called for devolution in areas as broad as banking, public services and vocational education, sentiments that have been echoed in two major Labour policy reviews of late, Lord Andrew Adonis’ Growth Review and Sir Richard Leese’s Local Government Innovation Task Force Report. This is not to say that the party is united on the devolution agenda though, with the shadow Chancellor Ed Balls seen as being a potential brake on Cruddas’ devolutionary zeal and unwilling to cede Treasury powers without a fight.

• Decentralisation of public services: between 1997 and 2007, Labour increased spending dramatically to improve the performance of public services. With less money available in the wake of the financial crisis, a new strategy is needed to free public sector workers and organisations, challenging them to resist any attempt to radically curtail private sector involvement in the NHS. It will be interesting to see how Burnham and Stevens rekindle their former working relationship (they know each other from the last Labour government) if Burnham were to be Secretary of State for Health in 2015.

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Labour and Ed Miliband’s political philosophy

• **Less emphasis on state welfare:** through an attempt to renegotiate the balance of rights and responsibilities between citizens and the state, as well as a move away from the state as the sole financer and provider of services. Labour has supported the Coalition’s policy of an overall cap on welfare spending, going further in some areas, for example by proposing to withdraw benefits from higher income pensioner groups. The party is seen as having been forced to adopt this position as it is perceived as soft on welfare, a potential electoral liability. Labour has also indicated that it wants to open up a debate about contributory welfare where citizens receive higher benefits in return for making bigger contributions through National Insurance; this is something that the Labour team has picked up from a number of Scandinavian countries that have much higher contributory portions of their welfare budget. Labour has already proposed that those who have paid more than five years of full NI contributions would be entitled to an enhanced level of Job Seeker’s Allowance (JSA) if they lose their job. There are concerns within the Shadow DWP team that such a policy might not be fully affordable, however.

• **Challenging the extent to which markets should be free to shape moral issues:** expect Miliband to continue to weigh in heavily on issues that address the kind of economy and society we wish to live in. This includes limiting the growth of payday loans and betting shops to improving children’s diet. Health Shadow Andy Burnham has already committed to maximum limits on the amount of fat and sugar in food, agreed by statute. The debate on responsible capitalism is another manifestation of Miliband’s determination to bring morality back to markets.

On public service reform, Labour has accepted the argument that it cannot simply go into the election promising better schools or more doctors: a more radical approach is needed. Burnham and Shadow Care Minister Liz Kendall are investing considerable energy in plans better to integrate NHS and care services, for example. The results of the Party’s policy review, and the subsequent manifesto, may surprise many commentators who have accepted the Government’s characterisation of Labour under ‘Red Ed’.

Behind the scenes, consideration is being given to how Labour would respond were the result of the 2015 election to require a governing coalition with the Liberal Democrats. Although harsh words have been exchanged in public, both parties know they have common interests on constitutional reform, welfare policy, the NHS, and education — and that agreement could be reached on the pace of fiscal consolidation underpinning the new government’s economic policy. Overtures by Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls towards Nick Clegg have only intensified the speculation.
One Nation Labour and business

Until the mid-1990s, Labour had traditionally tolerated lukewarm relations with the business community. The process of modernisation led by Tony Blair and Gordon Brown following on from the ‘prawn cocktail offensive’ where senior Labour politicians had regularly met with City contacts led to a turnaround in the relationship. 

During the lifetime of the Labour Government between 1997 and 2010, the first question on the lips of ministers was not “what does the TUC make of this” as it had been in the 1960s and 1970s. It was: “what does the CBI think?” Blair in particular championed the cause of deregulation and reducing burdens on business; the flexible UK labour market was welcomed and little was done to interfere with the settlement forged by the Thatcher governments.

But in the wake of the financial crisis and the growing chorus of criticism of the City and the financial sector, Miliband has struck a very different note leading some commentators to argue that Miliband is believed to be more sceptical of attempts to tackle the cost of living through direct intervention in markets. He has sought to offer “an olive branch to business” promising to retain the lowest rate of corporation tax in the G7 economies, and introducing tax breaks to equalise the tax treatment of debt and equity and encourage long-term investors in British companies. (Critics point out that Balls’ policy still allows scope for corporation tax to rise and that he may not be able to afford to equalise the tax treatment of debt and equity.) Balls, supported by Shadow Chief Treasury Secretary Chris Leslie, is committed to the “zero-based spending review” whereby ideas for the next government have to be funded and achievable within tight economic constraints. He has also held back spending commitments from the Shadow Cabinet — although it is unlikely Labour will spell out further cuts very explicitly.

The Adonis review has recommended devolving £30 billion from Whitehall to Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) and to reforming public sector procurement rules to benefit small and medium-sized enterprises in the race for government contracts. LEPs which have strong input from business figures could also have the freedom to invest in local growth priorities, creating regional economic powerhouses around cities such as Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds.

While these measures are frequently portrayed as anti-business, the traffic is not all one way. Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls is lauded by key figures in the City for his intellectual grip and insight on issues affecting finance. Balls is believed to be more sceptical of attempts to tackle the cost of living through direct intervention in markets. He has sought to offer “an olive branch to business” promising to retain the lowest rate of corporation tax in the G7 economies, and introducing tax breaks to equalise the tax treatment of debt and equity and encourage long-term investors in British companies. (Critics point out that Balls’ policy still allows scope for corporation tax to rise and that he may not be able to afford to equalise the tax treatment of debt and equity.) Balls, supported by Shadow Chief Treasury Secretary Chris Leslie, is committed to the “zero-based spending review” whereby ideas for the next government have to be funded and achievable within tight economic constraints. He has also held back spending commitments from the Shadow Cabinet — although it is unlikely Labour will spell out further cuts very explicitly.

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Balls is believed to be more sceptical of attempts to tackle the cost of living through direct intervention in markets. Other measures are designed to dramatically improve the UK skills-base especially among the “other 50 per cent” who do not go on to university. Proposals include a three-fold increase in apprenticeships in science and mathematics, alongside more than one hundred new university technical colleges to strengthen vocational skills. According to Lord Adonis’ report: “Government needs to become smarter and more entrepreneurial, nationally and locally. Working in intense collaboration with leaders across education, business, science and public services, it needs to facilitate innovation by promoting higher rates of business and export growth. It needs to mobilise the huge, under-exploited resources of state-funded research and development, government purchasing, and England’s schools, further and higher education systems. Exports and youth apprenticeships need to be dramatically increased. We need to remain a key player in the European Union, deepening the single market and trade beyond Europe. We also need a new generation of Joseph Chamberlains – strong, far-sighted city and civic leaders, with bold, credible plans, for the amenities and infrastructure their localities need, working in close partnership with business and social leaders, to make their towns and cities magnets of new and better jobs. And they need the tools for the job. Whitehall needs to hand down budgets and powers for this purpose – not just talk about handing them down.”
Business organisations like the CBI have broadly welcomed the Adonis review proposals: the CBI Director-General, John Cridland, argues greater freedom to vary business rates in particular will be ‘crucial for future growth’. The package of measures is designed to reassure business that Labour does not intend to impose a punitive corporate taxation regime, that economic development across all of the regions will be a priority and that regulation will generally be light touch, just as it was in the New Labour years. At the same time, Ed Miliband’s stance on Europe, ruling out an in-out referendum unless there is treaty change that leads to a transfer of sovereignty, has been welcomed by leading business figures. Leaving the EU is seen as a major risk by the majority of the UK’s biggest companies and voting Labour makes exit much less likely. Labour’s media savvy Shadow Business Secretary Chuka Umunna has sought to cultivate strong contacts in the business community, especially among SMEs, start-ups, and technology companies. An interesting development at the top of the party is the speculation that Balls, Umunna and Mandelson have formed a powerful pro-business axis. This has seen Umunna’s star wane slightly within the leader’s circle but leaving him powerfully positioned to launch a post-2015 leadership bid should Labour not win the election. The trio, supported by Lord Myners and Lord Sainsbury, argue that Labour has to remain close to the business and financial sectors and are highly sceptical of populist initiatives such as the energy price freeze. Lord Mandelson has recently intervened in the political debate surrounding Labour’s business strategy, arguing that the party’s agenda risked ‘confusing’ business. Instead he called for ‘more of an explanation of how we’re going to bring about economic growth’. This was echoed by the former Science Minister and Labour donor, Lord Sainsbury, who told a recent conference on ‘Inclusive Prosperity’:

“While the general election is less than a year away, the challenge today is that neither industry nor the voters feel they fully know how the Labour party views its relationship with industry. This is an issue that needs to be addressed so that when voters go to cast their votes at the general election they know how each of the main political parties use their relationship with industry and their plans for increasing economic growth. Industry as a whole is rightly worried by policies and organisational changes which can introduce uncertainty and bring activities to a halt for a lengthy period while providing few if any benefits.”
Nonetheless, Ed Miliband appears determined to pursue a more critical agenda insisting that Labour should aggressively challenge private sector vested interests, and that he has no intention of setting out deliberately to woo the business community. Miliband’s followers believe a more critical approach to business is necessary in order to sustain the UK public consensus in favour of open, globalised markets in the wake of the financial crisis. An example of the balance the Labour leadership is trying to strike, Miliband has decided not to renationalise rail franchises as they come to an end, but instead to allow the public sector to compete for rail franchises. Such an approach demonstrates a willingness to challenge the private sector but will not be anything like enough to please the rail unions.

Ed Miliband clearly faces an uphill battle to convince the business community that he will be an ally not an enemy. The Times insisted in an editorial that, ‘Labour’s business policies show a worrying lack of understanding of wealth creation’. The party is accused of irresponsibly resorting to economic populism and class warfare. Some leading business figures even claim that overseas investors will withdraw from the UK should Labour win the next election, crippling the rate of investment in key sectors such as energy. Parallels are drawn with Francois Hollande who ran on a left wing ticket but was forced into an economic U-turn after France saw a major drop in foreign direct investment. As a result, Labour has yet to receive a single endorsement from a FTSE 100 Chief Executive despite sustaining a significant lead in the polls since 2010. Business points out that Labour cannot say it supports small businesses rather than large ones as SMEs rely on big business as one of their major sources of income.

One Nation Labour therefore has some way to go in winning over the business community to its cause. Neither is it clear that Labour’s recent fascination with Germany is entirely justified; the German economy is performing strongly, but arguably as the result of the ‘Agenda 2010’ market-led reforms in the 2000s which liberalised product, capital and labour markets. These liberal economic reforms, ironically promoted and delivered by Gerhard Schroder of the SPD, laid the foundation for Germany’s current economic success. Most countries in Europe are moving ever further from the co-ordinated systems of capitalism in the face of global competitive pressures.

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Before Falkirk, Ed’s predicament had been nothing new for a Labour leader: how to keep the union bosses that provide the vast majority of funding for his party happy while demonstrating to the electorate that he is not subject to their every whim. For over two years, Miliband managed this fairly successfully. Although disagreements over policy were the subject of considerable media coverage, the animosity between him and the unions was exaggerated and both sides were careful to use language that would avoid any real confrontation.

The unions showed they had embraced the New Labour method of operation and wielded their influence in much subtler ways, embedding their people in the Party machinery – note the number of staffers seconded from unions, as well as the many Labour MPs, such as Jack Dromey and Gloria De Piero, who benefit from union backing. But candidate selection has proved to be more divisive – and damaging. Those backed by non-union Party factions, such as Progress, questioned the dominance of Unite and others over the 2015 selection process. Revealing the extent of union influence in Falkirk and other constituencies has led to serious questions about whose party Labour really is. Whether Miliband had been planning to review funding and union members’ affiliation anyway, or took a tactical decision to create his own Clause IV moment (as Blair himself appears to think), is uncertain. But the unions deliver much needed funds and administrative support to the Party, and there is only so much Miliband can do to reassert his authority without fatally weakening his resource base.

Labour’s links with trade unions

Ed Miliband’s relationship with the trade unions was always destined to be one of the most closely scrutinised factors of his leadership when he was elected – by the narrowest of margins – thanks to their backing.

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The party urgently needs to secure the money it will need to fight a general election. Without meaningful change, it will continue to invite damaging attacks from both inside and outside the Labour family. Without doubt there has been huge pressure, especially on Simon Fletcher, Ed Miliband’s Trade Union Liaison Manager, to reach a lasting agreement and get everyone focussed on winning.

In March 2014, extensive and historic reforms were agreed relating to Labour’s relationship with the trade unions, sparking strong opposition from a number of the larger unions. The GMB, Labour’s third largest trade union supporter, pre-emptively cut its annual funding for the party from £1.2m to £150,000. Following the reforms, party leadership elections will now be conducted by ‘one member, one vote’ rather than the three-way Electoral College involving trade unions, the parliamentary party, and the rank and file membership. Ordinary trade union members will be able to ‘opt in’ to full party membership. And there is to be a US-style primary contest to select Labour’s nominee as London mayor.

Nonetheless, there is still no cap on trade union donations, and the unions will continue to have 50 per cent of the votes at party conference. The Unite trade union has also cut its direct financial support to Labour from £3 million to £1.5 million leading some to question whether the financial viability of the party has been compromised, although Unite has subsequently said that it would provide the party with resources to ensure the election is a “fair fight”. This financial support will not come without strings attached however, and Len McCluskey in particular has been very clear in saying that if Labour were to shrink the offer ahead of the General Election and lose as a result, then there could be consequences for Unite’s future relationship with Labour. The potential to shape the next Labour manifesto means that the unions could actually have more rather than less influence by 2015, raising questions about the long-term impact of Miliband’s reforms.
Ed’s people: the thinkers

Miliband’s political ideology has been a constant topic of discussion throughout his leadership, mainly because he has struggled to articulate it. But he is, at heart, a policy obsessive with a clear, if complex, vision for Britain. He has been guided by a number of key thinkers who have shaped his current strategy, and will undoubtedly influence the upcoming manifesto.

Nick Pearce: The former Head of Downing Street’s Policy Unit returned to the IPPR as Director after the last election. He has drastically turned round the fortunes of the think tank, restructuring and bringing in new senior team members. Nick and members of his inner circle are extremely influential and their organisation is once again the go-to think tank for left of centre ideas. Expect Nick to have a strong behind the scenes influence on Labour’s policy development.

Gavin Kelly: former Deputy Chief of Staff to Gordon Brown in Number Ten, Gavin has worked for more than a decade in a variety of roles in the PM’s Strategy Unit and HM Treasury. He is now Chief Executive of the Resolution Foundation, a think-tank which analyses the impact of policy on low and middle income groups whose wages are under growing pressure – the so-called squeezed middle. Kelly’s ideas have been important in framing Miliband’s approach and the notion of the cost of living crisis.

Jon Cruddas: Jon has combined old-style identity politics with ambitious attempts to reframe the debate around public services. As the co-ordinator of Labour’s policy review, he has been tasked with ensuring the Party has a set of coherent policies that flesh out the ideas of One Nation Labour. Not an obvious choice for the role, there has been some criticism that Jon and his aide, Professor Jonathan Rutherford, are taking a rather wonkish approach, but he remains popular with rank and file in the Party. They have championed ideas around decentralising power to communities and local government, as well as improving public services by integrating provision, breaking down barriers between services, and involving citizens fully in their own treatment.

Lord Andrew Adonis: the former Secretary of State for Transport, Schools Minister and Head of the Downing Street Policy Unit, Adonis was commissioned by Ed Miliband to undertake a ‘growth review’ examining what levers can be applied to help improve the underlying rate of growth in the British economy. Particular policy approaches include giving greater freedom to ‘city-regions’ like Manchester and Birmingham to invest in infrastructure, and significantly expanding the supply of skilled labour through high-quality apprenticeships. Adonis is also a vocal champion of the high-speed ‘North-South’ rail link as a major boost to UK infrastructure, as well as building a third runway at Heathrow. He is highly regarded among some in the leader’s circle who view Adonis as a capable policy intellectual. He is believed to be preparing a campaign for London Mayor in 2016, although he is seen as an arch-Blairite by many in the party which may hamper his chances.

Lord (Maurice) Glasman: The architect of Blue Labour has seen his star wane recently, but the peer’s ideas on Labour’s relationship with the traditional working class are still received warmly by some. Glasman has argued that Labour must be seen as a pro-English, patriotic party, a theme that may grow in relevance depending on the outcome of the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence.
Ed’s people: his team

Miliband has recovered from a decidedly shaky start to his leadership, and many insiders attribute the turnaround to changes that have made his office operation significantly more settled and organised. Nonetheless, there is still a strong feeling that Miliband needs more seasoned politicians around him: one possibility is that Alistair Darling might return to his role as Chief of Staff in December 2011, finally enabling Miliband to regain the initiative. Highly effective and with a heavyweight background—his name previously worked for the FCO, Tony Blair and the Archbishops of Canterbury—Livesey is responsible for keeping everything moving in the right direction, does not get involved with detail, and also plays an important mediating role in resolving Shadow Cabinet disputes.

**Tim Livesey:** His appointment as Chief of Staff in December 2011 finally enabled Miliband to regain the initiative. Highly effective and with a heavyweight background—his name previously worked for the FCO, Tony Blair and the Archbishops of Canterbury—Livesey is responsible for keeping everything moving in the right direction, does not get involved with detail, and also plays an important mediating role in resolving Shadow Cabinet disputes.

**Lord (Stewart) Wood:** Miliband leans heavily on his Shadow Minister without Portfolio. Though nominally adviser on strategy and international affairs, Lord Wood keeps himself well away from day-to-day concerns and instead operates on a much higher plane: themes such as what the future holds for social democracy and how best to organise his regular conversations with Miliband.

**Lord Adonis** together with **Lord (Stewart) Wood:** **Karim Palant** and **Jilly Brien** are the point man on economic policy. Within the business team, Chuka Umunna is currently advised by **Jeff Masters and Jake Summer** who have also been tasked with overseeing the Adonis growth review. Ed Ball is a direct counterpoint to the Conservative's Lynton Crosby, top Bob Roberts joined the team, Baldwin still fulfils important strategic and coordination roles. The Sue Nye to Miliband’s Gordon Brown, **Jill Cuthbertson** is gatekeeper to the Leader of the Opposition. Lord Adonis has also looked across the pond to seek out support for the 2015 campaign, hiring former US Democrat strategist **David Axelrod** as senior strategic adviser to the Labour team. Whilst he is taking a relatively hands-off approach, his appointment is an attempt to sharpen up the focus of the election campaign on tackling inequality.

It is instead **Greg Beales**, former adviser on health policy in Gordon Brown’s No.10 Policy Unit, and **Miatta Fahnbulleh**, the Canadian-born wife of the Blairite former postal affairs minister Pat McFadden MP, who take responsibility for determining overall strategy and major themes. Along with **James Morris** and his boss, the veteran pollster **Stan Greenberg**, Beales also oversees polling strategy. The Labour party election campaign is being overseen by **Spencer Livermore**, a former aide to Gordon Brown.

**Within the policy team,** **Tess Lanning** was drawn away from IPPR to act as lead adviser to Miliband on business policy, while **Lord (Stewart) Wood** is the point man on economic policy. Within the business team, **Chuka Umunna** is currently advised by **Jeff Masters and Jake Summer** who have also been tasked with overseeing the Adonis growth review. Ed Ball is a direct counterpoint to the Conservative’s Lynton Crosby, top Bob Roberts joined the team, Baldwin still fulfils important strategic and coordination roles. The Sue Nye to Miliband’s Gordon Brown, **Jill Cuthbertson** is gatekeeper to the Leader of the Opposition. Lord Adonis has also looked across the pond to seek out support for the 2015 campaign, hiring former US Democrat strategist **David Axelrod** as senior strategic adviser to the Labour team. Whilst he is taking a relatively hands-off approach, his appointment is an attempt to sharpen up the focus of the election campaign on tackling inequality.

**Tom Baldwin** is the enforcer, responsible for dishing out the dressing downs. Though having lost his grip on day-to-day media relations since **Bob Roberts** joined the team, Baldwin still fulfils important strategic and coordination roles. The Sue Nye to Miliband’s Gordon Brown, **Jill Cuthbertson** is gatekeeper to the Leader of the Opposition. Lord Adonis has also looked across the pond to seek out support for the 2015 campaign, hiring former US Democrat strategist **David Axelrod** as senior strategic adviser to the Labour team. Whilst he is taking a relatively hands-off approach, his appointment is an attempt to sharpen up the focus of the election campaign on tackling inequality.

**Responsibility for day-to-day media activity and the development of attack lines lies with Director of Communications, Bob Roberts, the former Political Editor of the Daily Mirror. Michael Dugher also gets involved in briefing the media.**

**Lord (Stewart) Wood:** Miliband leans heavily on his Shadow Minister without Portfolio. Though nominally adviser on strategy and international affairs, Lord Wood keeps himself well away from day-to-day concerns and instead operates on a much higher plane: themes such as what the future holds for social democracy and how best to organise his regular conversations with Miliband.

**Lord Adonis** together with **Lord (Stewart) Wood:** **Karim Palant** and **Jilly Brien** are the point man on economic policy. Within the business team, Chuka Umunna is currently advised by **Jeff Masters and Jake Summer** who have also been tasked with overseeing the Adonis growth review. Ed Ball is a direct counterpoint to the Conservative’s Lynton Crosby, top Bob Roberts joined the team, Baldwin still fulfils important strategic and coordination roles. The Sue Nye to Miliband’s Gordon Brown, **Jill Cuthbertson** is gatekeeper to the Leader of the Opposition. Lord Adonis has also looked across the pond to seek out support for the 2015 campaign, hiring former US Democrat strategist **David Axelrod** as senior strategic adviser to the Labour team. Whilst he is taking a relatively hands-off approach, his appointment is an attempt to sharpen up the focus of the election campaign on tackling inequality.

**Tom Baldwin** is the enforcer, responsible for dishing out the dressing downs. Though having lost his grip on day-to-day media relations since **Bob Roberts** joined the team, Baldwin still fulfils important strategic and coordination roles. The Sue Nye to Miliband’s Gordon Brown, **Jill Cuthbertson** is gatekeeper to the Leader of the Opposition. Lord Adonis has also looked across the pond to seek out support for the 2015 campaign, hiring former US Democrat strategist **David Axelrod** as senior strategic adviser to the Labour team. Whilst he is taking a relatively hands-off approach, his appointment is an attempt to sharpen up the focus of the election campaign on tackling inequality. **Tom Baldwin** is the enforcer, responsible for dishing out the dressing downs. Though having lost his grip on day-to-day media relations since **Bob Roberts** joined the team, Baldwin still fulfils important strategic and coordination roles. The Sue Nye to Miliband’s Gordon Brown, **Jill Cuthbertson** is gatekeeper to the Leader of the Opposition. Lord Adonis has also looked across the pond to seek out support for the 2015 campaign, hiring former US Democrat strategist **David Axelrod** as senior strategic adviser to the Labour team. Whilst he is taking a relatively hands-off approach, his appointment is an attempt to sharpen up the focus of the election campaign on tackling inequality.
Ed’s people: the next generation

The selection process for 2015 is well underway, and already there are some impressive candidates to look out for. It should be noted, however, that there are few Labour candidates with backgrounds in business or the private sector.

Sarah Owen: PPC for Hastings, she is Lord Sugar’s political adviser as well as a member of Miliband’s policy team.

Anita Turley: The PPC for Redcar is a former adviser to Hilary Armstrong and is currently a senior researcher at IPPR North. She is also a former Deputy Director of local government think-tank New Local Government Network where she worked with the current Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury Chris Leslie MP and Nick Hope, currently an adviser to the Shadow Communities Secretary Hilary Benn.

Polly Billington: PPC for Thurrock, Polly is a former BBC journalist and SpAd to Ed Miliband when he was Secretary of State for Energy. She was latterly Ed’s media director during his successful bid in the Labour leadership in 2010 and currently works as Head of Campaigns and Communications for the Citizens Advice Bureau.

Jessica Asato: The PPC for Norwich North, where she will stand against Cabinet Office Minister Chloe Smith, Jessica is an adviser to Tessa Jowell and Chair of the Fabian Society. Jessica is a former Islington councillor and has strong relationships with fellow Labour PPCs with links to the borough, including Catherine West and Lucy Rigby.

Neil Coyle: The PPC for Bermondsey and Old Southwark, he is a seasoned disability and welfare rights campaigner who has the ear of senior figures in the party, while maintaining his strong New Labour credentials.

Rowenna Davis: The journalist and political commentator has been selected to contest Southampton Itchen in place of the retiring John Denham. In the May 2011 local elections she was elected to sit on Southwark Council.

Andrew Pakes: The former NUS president is the PPC for Milton Keynes South and served for three years as an adviser to Mary Creagh and the shadow DEFRA team. Andrew has a strong environmental policy background having previously been Chair of SERA, a Labour-affiliated environmental campaign.

Catherine West: The former leader of Islington Council is the PPC for Hornsey and Wood Green, where she faces a battle to unseat the Liberal Democrat Minister Lynne Featherstone. Catherine was seen as one of the leading lights in Labour local government politics during her time in Islington, winning the 2012 LGU ‘Local Authority Leader of the Year’ award for her work to introduce the London Wage across council staff. Catherine formerly worked for neighbouring Labour MP David Lammy.

Will Straw: Tipped for big things for a number of years, he was recently selected as the PPC for Rossendale and Darwen, the seat next to his father. Already a confident performer, it remains to be seen if his Red Prince label will help or a hinder his campaign in the marginal Lancashire constituency he is contesting. Will is currently the Associate Director for Climate Change, Energy and Transport at IPPR.

Wes Streeting: Wes Streeting will contest the Ilford North constituency in 2015, a seat Labour will be confident of winning. Streeting has previously worked for JP Morgan and has been vocal about the need for Labour to have a pro-business strategy. However, he will need to overcome Jane Ellison’s 6000 vote majority to win the Battersea seat.

Stephen Kinnock: Defending a healthy majority of over 11,000 in 2015 Kinnock will attract plenty of media attention as the son of former Labour leader Neil Kinnock and ex-Europe Minister Baroness Glenys Kinnock. Professionally he held various senior positions within the British Council before joining the World Economic Forum in 2009 as Director of the Europe and Central Asia division. He is the husband of the current Danish Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt.

Matthew Pennycook: PPC for the safe Greenwich and Woolwich seat he was most recently Senior Research and Policy Analyst at the Resolution Foundation having also worked for the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) and Far Pay Network. He is a long-standing campaigner on welfare issues who is a strong media performer that will likely attract attention in 2015.

Will Martindale: A self-declared ‘left-wing banker’, Martindale has previously worked for JP Morgan and has been vocal about the need for Labour to have a pro-business strategy. However, he will need to overcome Jane Ellison’s 6000 vote majority at the Battersea seat.

Tulip Siddiq: PPC for Hampstead and Kilburn, Siddiq worked on Ed Miliband’s leadership campaign, and knows the increasingly influential London Labour Party very well. Her aunt is Prime Minister of Bangladesh, a fact which gained her some media attention at the time of her selection. She will be looking to succeed Glenda Jackson in the country’s most marginal seat.
About Open Road and Blue Rubicon

Open Road is an award-winning 25-strong corporate communications and public affairs consultancy based in central London.

Our core services include:
- Public affairs
- Corporate communications
- Issue and crisis management
- Digital communications and social media
- Employee engagement
- Healthcare public affairs
- Corporate responsibility

In February 2014, Open Road joined the Blue Rubicon family.

Blue Rubicon is an award-winning reputation consultancy firm that leads strategic thinking and delivery in corporate reputation management, advising the boards of some of the world’s largest businesses and brands around the world. It employs 200 people in London, Doha and Dubai.

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