

THE
SUMMER ISSUE

Fabian Review

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Summer 2011

THE STATE UNDER ATTACK

but cuts should be temporary say 69% in our poll



MAURICE GLASMAN:
"I believe in the redemption of Ed Balls!"



JOHN DENHAM: "Voters sense we look past them to those we 'really' want to help"

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In defence of Fabianism

In his final leader column as General Secretary, **Sunder Katwala** argues that current critiques of a caricatured Fabian state will be seen as empty rhetoric unless they can articulate a positive role for government.

It is a truth universally acknowledged that the best way to seek attention in the battle of political ideas is to have a pop at the Fabians. There is an obvious political as well as intellectual motivation for Orange Book Lib Dems and small state Tories in denigrating Fabianism – and social democracy more broadly. The Hayekian idea that ‘who governs least governs best’ continues to make much of the political weather on the modern centre-right.

Several left voices promote an arid, narrow caricature of the British left’s most plural, open and enduring intellectual traditions. It is an old trick, well known to Fabians. From HG Wells railing at the Old Gang to Tony Crosland taking Fabian social democracy out of the shadow of the Webbs, the most cogent critiques of Fabianism have always come from within. Writers who with one breath declare Fabianism a “poisoned well”, drink from it with their next by championing GDH Cole or Michael Young. The socialist anarchism of Oscar Wilde was part of the Fabian conversation too. Fabians pioneered movement politics and the building of civic institutions – a Labour party, the LSE, the *New Statesman* – decades before their critics declared they had only,

always and everywhere, the state. That is why only Fabianism – in both 1918 and the early 1990s – influenced both of Labour’s ‘Clause IV’ moments. This spirit of revisionism and self-critique could usefully be emulated by those ex-modernisers who now promote a conservative politics of consolidation from the party’s right.

An argument about the limits of the state is important to a left whose inheritance is liberal as well as egalitarian. But there is little new in advocacy of ‘less state’, an idea which has dominated Anglo-Saxon politics since the Reagan-Thatcher era began. ‘Third Way’ social democracy conceded at least half the point, though its preference for the ‘enabling state’ rather than the Big or Small state was somewhat muted. When Bill Clinton declared that “the age of big government is over” in the mid-1990s, he intended a more balanced argument. But his next sentence – “but the age of every man for himself must never begin” – was lost, absurdly, because advisers worried about the drafted text seeming sexist.

In every advanced democracy, the state has endured more than it has retrenched. Why? Because people want it to. People don’t much like ‘the state’

– but they love the NHS, the schools, the libraries. Blue Labour is inspired by wide public support for keeping the forests in state ownership. David Cameron tries to show his Tory ‘detoxification’ project hasn’t stalled by promoting more tax-funding for the NHS and international aid. Orange Bookers participate keenly in the cross-party consensus in favour of legal limits on carbon emissions, though it could well prove the biggest extension of state power in our lifetimes.

Fabianism certainly requires a critical interrogation of the role of the state, alongside other means of achieving political and social change, and its relationships with citizens. A different, more responsive and more participatory state should be an important Fabian goal. At the same time, a shared weakness of Red Tories, Orange Bookers, Purple and Blue Labour is that none has yet combined a noisy critique of the state with any coherent account of what positive role they believe government is here to play. Without that positive story, these rival political projects remain stuck at the level of simple anti-state sloganising, unable to make the leap to maturing into a governing project.

New Fabian General Secretary announced



New General Secretary of the Fabian Society, Andrew Harrop

Andrew Harrop has been appointed as the new General Secretary of the Fabian Society and will be taking up the post in September.

Andrew is currently Director of Policy and Public Affairs for Age UK, where he leads the charity's policy, public affairs, campaigns and events teams. He has previously worked for Age Concern, the New Policy Institute and Anne Campbell MP.

He has been a Labour Party activist since 18 and was a Parliamentary Candidate in the 2005 General Election.

Andy said of his appointment:

"I'm delighted to be taking on the role of General Secretary of the Fabian Society. It's an important time for the left, and I'm committed to making sure the Society continues its crucial role as the place where the debate about Labour's future happens. I'll be working with our growing membership and fantastic team of staff and volunteers to constructively engage in political debates across the centre-left. Together we can generate the intellectual and policy foundations for returning Labour to government. Over the next few months you'll hear my ideas about renewing Labour as a political force across the country; I look forward to hearing yours."

Suresh Pushpanathan, Chair of the Fabian Society, said:

"Andy will be an exceptional General Secretary who will bring great political and organisational strengths to the Society; he has fresh ideas about the important issues facing left-of-centre politics at the moment. I'm excited about the contribution Andy's leadership will make to our historic Society

and in helping return Labour to power. I'm confident that members of the Fabian Society, as well as the wider political community, will share in my excitement."

Outgoing General Secretary Sunder Katwala has become Director of a new organisation that will challenge and shift hostile public attitudes towards migrants and immigration. You can follow him on Twitter @sundersays.

Of his time at the Fabians, Sunder recently wrote on Next Left:

"I am proud of the work that we have done on returning inequality to the mainstream of public and political debate, on forging an inclusive British identity, and on rethinking fairness and welfare.

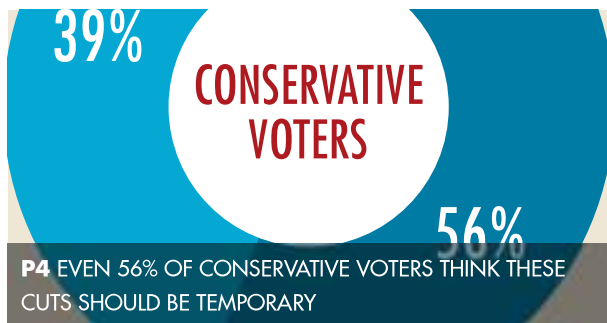
"We hear quite a lot from our critics about what is wrong with Fabianism – but I am proud that there are today more Fabians than at any time in our 127 year history. So I hope that we have shown that the reason Fabianism endures and thrives is precisely because it has been an open, plural and self-critical tradition, committed to the importance of ideas as well as organisation in contributing to political change."

A farewell reception was held for Sunder in Westminster, where the Fabian Executive and current and former staff were joined by the likes of Ed Balls, Yvette Cooper, John Denham and Liam Byrne. Ed Miliband spoke and praised Sunder's leadership of the Fabians over the past 7 years, singling out the work on life chances and Britishness as being particularly influential on Labour thinking.



Cartoon by Adrian Teal, presented to Sunder Katwala as a leaving gift from the Fabian Society Executive Committee

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FABIAN REVIEW

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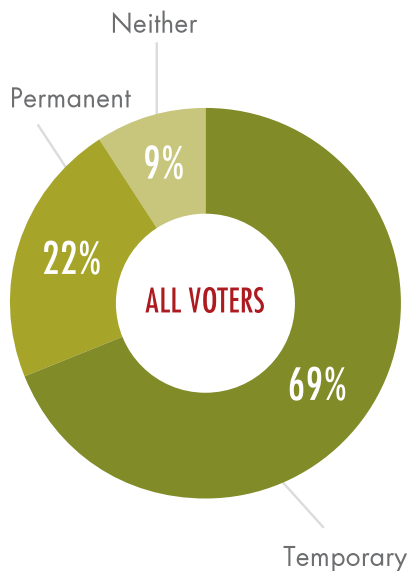
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The Curious Popularity of the State

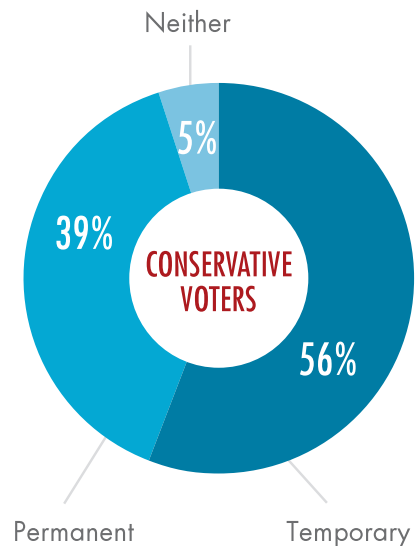
The charge that Labour was too statist in power emanates from political friends and foes alike. But at a time when the Government is pulling the state out of public life at a breakneck speed, our exclusive YouGov polling reveals something surprising: voters from across the political spectrum like what the state does and are keen to keep it.

Tim Horton outlines some big opportunities the polling throws up for Labour ... but also highlights some difficult challenges.



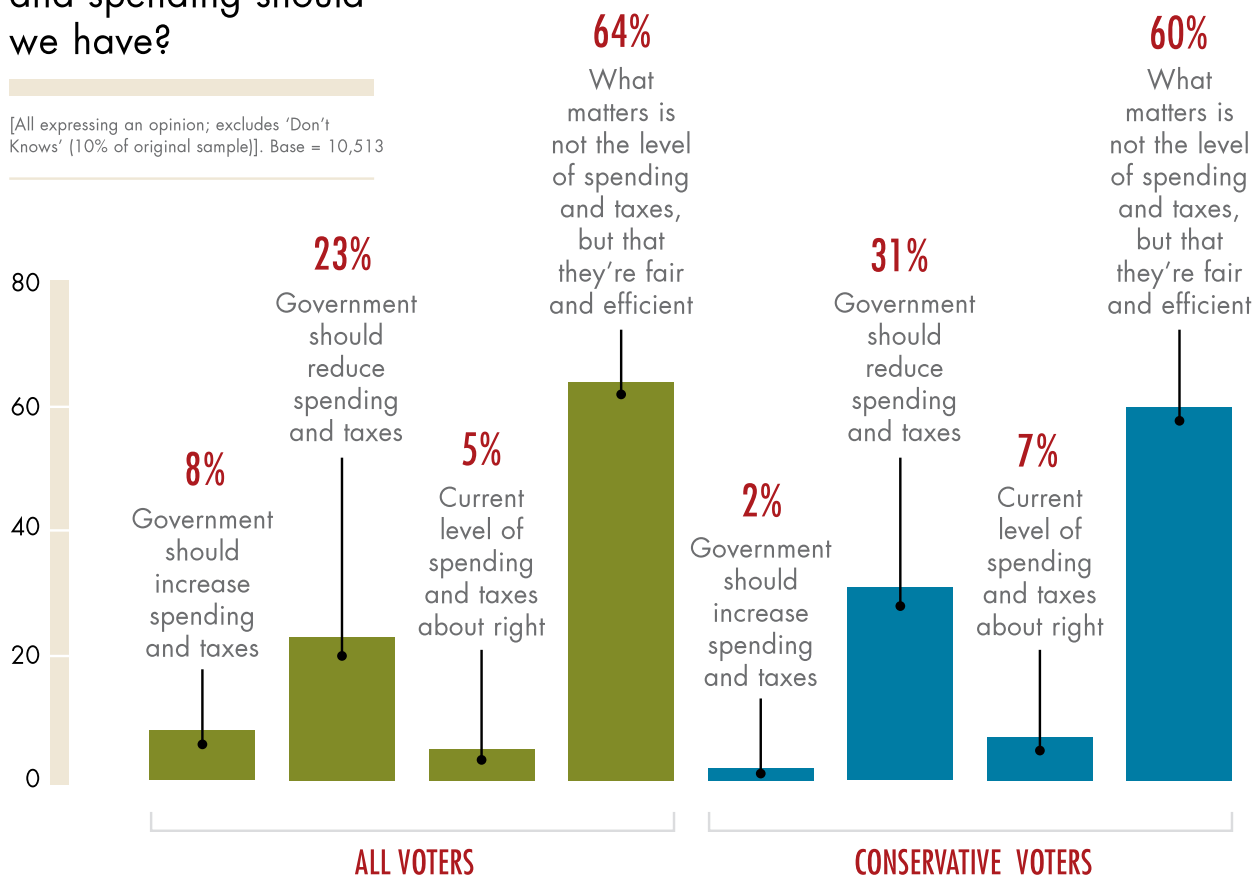
Q. Should the cuts be temporary or permanent?

[All expressing an opinion; excludes 'Don't Knows' (8% of original sample)]. Base = 2,203



Q. What level of tax and spending should we have?

[All expressing an opinion; excludes 'Don't Knows' (10% of original sample)]. Base = 10,513



Question: When is 'deficit reduction' not actually deficit reduction? Answer: When it's an ideological attempt to roll back the state. Over the last year, we've heard a lot about how eliminating the deficit necessitates spending cuts. And the deficit must certainly be reduced. But you may have noticed there are no plans to re-expand services again once the public finances return to the black. "Should we cut things now and go back later and try and restore them?" David Cameron rhetorically asked an audience last summer; "I think we should be trying to avoid that approach". For the Tories, these cuts are not temporary belt-tightening; they are about cutting back our welfare state for good.

So we thought it was time to ask the public about it. And the results are not good for Cameron. 69 per cent of voters think these cuts should be temporary, with just 22 per cent thinking they should be permanent. More interesting still are the views of Conservative voters: a whopping 56 per cent think the cuts

should only be temporary; just 39 per cent want them to be permanent.

What of the view that shrinking the state should be an end in itself, thereby, creating 'freedom'? Again, there are remarkably few takers. We took the

It's been perhaps the best-kept political secret of the last 30 years that around half of Tory voters are fundamentally un-Thatcherite when it comes to the state

standard question of whether tax and spending should go up or down and added another option asking people whether the size of the state is what matters at all. The results are revealing: just 23 per cent of voters (and just 31 per cent of Conservative voters) agree 'it is vital that the Government reduces its overall spending, and reduces taxes',

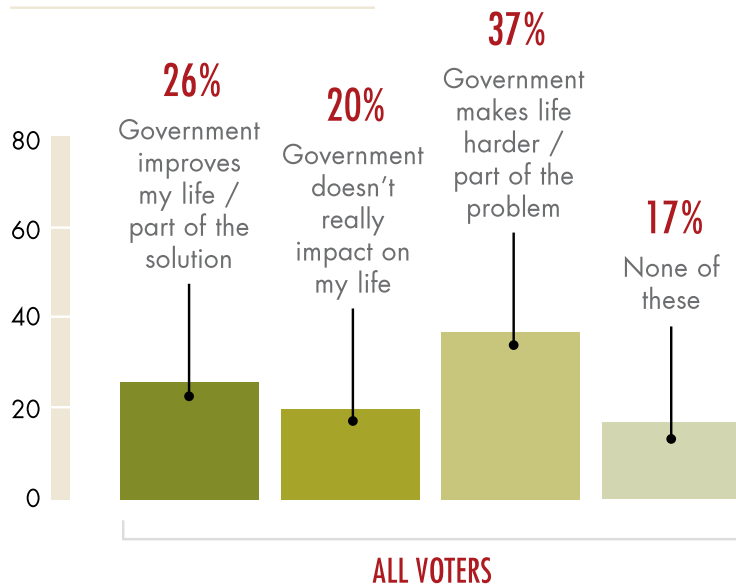
while 64 per cent (including a huge 60 per cent of Conservative voters) think 'what matters most is not the overall level of spending and taxes, but the willingness and ability of the Government to tax fairly and spend efficiently.'

It's been perhaps the best-kept political secret of the last 30 years that around half of Tory voters are fundamentally un-Thatcherite when it comes to the state – a million miles away from the ideology of the Parliamentary Conservative Party. In the Fabian office, we call this group *Daily Mail* Collectivists: Conservative voters who are nevertheless deeply attached to public services, and fiercely protective of their social entitlements.

These voters offer Ed Miliband a real chance of winning the next election, since the Tories will always struggle to make a convincing offer on services and social security. But our polling also makes clear that Labour needs to change the way it thinks and talks about the state if it is to appeal to a wide majority of the public.

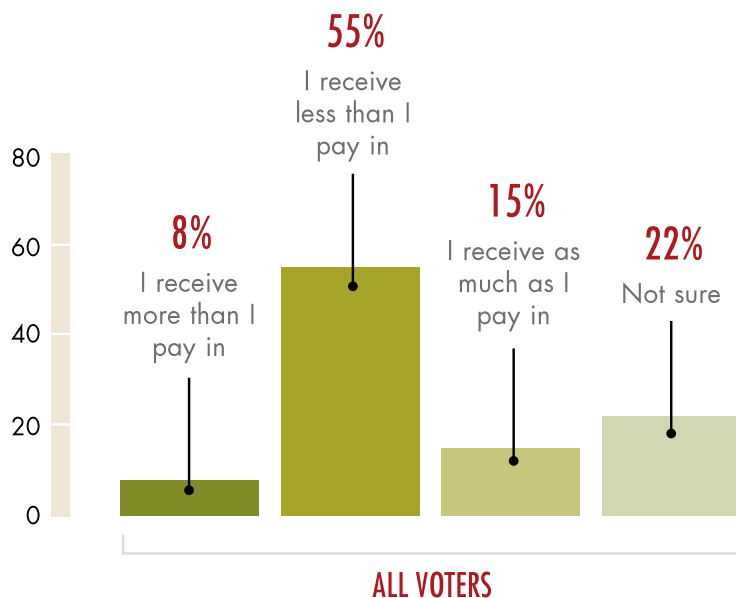
Q. Is government part of the solution or problem?

[All expressing an opinion; excludes 'Don't Knows' (13% of original sample)] Base = 2,065



Q. Am I a gainer or a loser from the welfare state?

Base = 10,509



These last two questions highlight two challenges for Labour. The first suggests that the very ideas of 'the state' and 'government' are not popular. 37 per cent think government 'makes my life and that of my family harder', with just 26 per cent thinking government 'improves my life and that of my family'. Note this seems to be driven by generic frustrations with the state rather than widespread Conservative attachment to the values of a smaller state: Tory voters are in fact more positive about the

Social democrats clearly have work to do in tapping into the public popularity of state provision in an age where people are suspicious of government

idea of 'government' than Labour ones. The numbers of Conservatives thinking government is part of the solution and part of the problem are finely balanced at 31 per cent each, whereas Labour voters are much more hostile, with 41 per cent taking a negative view of government and only 26 per cent a positive one. Social democrats clearly have work to do to tap into the public popularity of state provision in an age where people are suspicious of government.

The second question flags up a different challenge: most people believe they lose out from the collective enterprise of tax and spending. As our survey shows, an incredible 55 per cent feel they are overall losers from the welfare state, paying in more than they take out, with just 8 per cent thinking they are winners. Even 50 per cent of older people, who typically receive substantially more than they pay in, think they are losers. No wonder tax and spending is unpopular if people don't recognise the benefits they gain.

So the key test for Labour is to reconfigure the welfare state both to make it clearer how people receive services in return for their tax payments, and to put the focus on collectivism itself rather than on 'government' or 'the state'. Social insurance systems are good at both of these, but there are other ways too.

It won't be easy. But if it works – if Labour really can become the home of these *Daily Mail* Collectivists – then it could create a huge majority for social democracy in the UK. ■

Visit www.yougov.com for full details of the poll



Way to Blue

Maurice Glasman's Blue Labour creed has quickly established itself as a key guiding force on Ed Miliband's leadership and is dominating Labour's internal debate. It's been a rapid rise to guru-status but as the inevitable backlash begins, he explains all to **Mary Riddell**



Mary Riddell is a columnist for the Daily Telegraph

Lord Glasman lives the dream. Before our interview, he sends word that I am to expect some "debris". His dollhouse-sized, two-bedroomed flat above a Hackney clothing shop is, it turns out, being torn apart to provide some extra space for a family with four children.

Even with an extra storey, the Glasman home will be a modest abode befitting those who, in his definition of Labour people, "work by their hands and brain to feed their families and pay their mortgages." The apartment, with sweet peas growing up an urban balcony, is the perfect showcase for Blue Labour's philosophy.

Once Maurice Glasman promoted his credo without fanfare, as a driving force of London Citizens and a reader in political theory at the Metropolitan University. Then came the unexpected peerage and Glasman's elevation to guru, leading policy adviser and Ed Miliband's magus.

Although Glasman says modestly that his role is "wildly exaggerated", his influence on the party and the leader has been little short of seismic. The Blue Labour creed of faith, flag and family (Glasman accepts the three-F tag but does not use it) could equally well bear a triple-H branding (history, hearth and heritage) or a three R label of roots, reciprocity and relationships. Some see this blend of patriotism, conservatism and aversion to worship of the market as a critique of the arid modernism of New Labour.

Some view it as a full-fledged programme for democratic renewal, and yet others despise it as racist, misogynistic and a nostalgic byway down which Labour might yet clog dance to oblivion.

Beyond dispute is the influence of Lord Glasman of Stoke Newington and Stamford Hill, whose ideas – debated across

the political spectrum – are integral to Ed Miliband’s defining mission to create a politics of the common good. Despite his wish to promote “love”, a word he uses liberally, over rancour, Glasman is not afraid to be acerbic.

Gordon Brown displayed “a mix of high moralism and low cynicism”, while Tony Blair, who recently disparaged Blue Labour, “had a slightly demented view of modernisation. That’s putting it mildly. I’m trying to be diplomatic. He had no love at all for the inherited institution.”

Blue Labour, born out of the ashes of the financial crash in 2008 and nurtured by Glasman and Jon Cruddas, along with the academic, Jonathan Rutherford, and Ed Miliband’s close friend, Marc Stears, was Glasman’s entry point to parliamentary politics. “I walked into a set of very damaged relationships. Blair and Brown were virtually indistinguishable, but you would have thought that massive ideological differences separated them. It was a form of genuine madness.”

Even so, he has nothing but praise for some Blairites, notably Tessa Jowell, Jim Murphy and James Purnell (“a very thoughtful, very sweet and relational person.”) Then there were the Miliband brothers. Closer at first to David, he became “very attracted personally to Ed. Ed really came through for the living wage [a signal Glasman campaign]. There was a real connection between me and Ed.”

Does he not think that the reported bitterness between the Milibands risks adversely affecting Labour? “Yes. We’ve got to really think about the party. There was a Labour family argument in Blair/Brown that got played out in a single family [by] David/Ed ... I think Ed has got great energy and intuition. He hasn’t yet fully grasped how good he is.”

Is that partly because of the shadow over him? “I always give people a year to sort out any trauma. I think Ed is now beginning to find his energy and move on. He’s shown real openness to Jim [Murphy]. I know he talks to James [Purnell] and has good relations with the best of David’s people. Ed ... doesn’t trust the market to deliver justice and power and he doesn’t trust the state either. He’s basically in the right place.”

Should David come back to the front bench and help his brother? “That is for David to call ... but Ed’s the leader, and we have to show him love and support ... David’s got to do that, and David will do that because he loves ... his brother. The party, David as well, has got completely to support Ed into growing into the leader he can be.”

Although he stresses “the incredible work David’s done in raising money and supporting the [community-based] Movement for Change,” Glasman has not always sounded so admiring. What, for example, did he mean when he described the older Miliband as “non-relational”?

“Put very bluntly, David could have won the [leadership] election if he’d made a serious offer to the unions about partnership. He could have won that election with a constructive offer to all areas of the party to work together. He didn’t do it, and Ed did, and Ed won. David has tremendous qualities, but so has James Purnell and Jim Murphy, so has Tessa, so has Hazel [Bleas], so have many people in the party who aren’t its leader. That’s the nature of politics.”

On migration, a subject to which the leader is currently giving much thought, Glasman has previously accused New Labour of lying about the extent of immigration.

Now he goes further, arguing – in terms more radical than the Conservative front bench would dare use – that Labour should renegotiate the rules on European workers and freeze inward migration for EU and non-EU citizens, except where employers or universities make a case for a specific, skilled individual.

Labour, in his view, should not abolish the Tory immigration cap if it wins the next election. “There’s no sense of abolition,” he says, suggesting instead going further and adding that the Labour government promoted “a multiculturalism position that enshrined differences ... Both legal and illegal immigration was used as an unofficial wages policy.” Now he thinks the time has come to turn the tide. “We’ve got to re-interrogate our relationship with the EU on the movement of labour. The EU has gone from being a sort of pig farm subsidised bloc ... to the free movement of labour and capital. It’s legalistic, it’s administrative, and it’s no good. So I think we’ve got to renegotiate with the EU.”

“A woman’s life ... involves intense relationships of care with parents, children and partners”

His call is to restrict immigration to a few necessary entrants, such as highly-skilled leaders, especially in vocational skills. “We might, for example, bring in German masters, as we did in the 15th and 16th centuries to renew guilds.” But exemptions should be made on a case-by-case basis? “Yes. We should absolutely do that ... Britain is not an outpost of the UN. We have to put the people in this country first.”

And if that means stopping immigration virtually completely for a period, then so be it? “Yes. I would add that we should be more generous and friendly in receiving those [few] who are needed. To be more generous, we have to draw the line.”

As an advocate of the toughest curbs yet mooted on immigration, presumably he has some sympathy with Iain Duncan Smith’s controversial call for British jobs for British workers. “Completely. The people who live here are the highest priority. We’ve got to listen and be with them. They’re in the right place – it’s us who’s not.”

This is not, as Glasman explains at length, a xenophobic or divisive stance. As a veteran community organiser who works with all groups and races, he believes that integration and non-exploitation demand stable communities. Nonetheless, the views of a figure so close to the Labour leadership may startle many in and outside the party. Glasman, however, is used to fending off criticism.

The charge of misogyny in Blue Labour dismays him. “There’s a massive level of misunderstanding and unpleasantness, but that’s politics,” he says. Even so, I say, talk of patriarchy and patrimony have implanted the idea that Blue Labourites think the country was a better place when men went off to the mill or factory and women stayed at home.

“A woman’s life ... involves intense relationships of care with parents, children and partners ... The argument we’re putting forward is that it’s all about the quality of relationships and the material support that can be given at moments when care for others is predominant.” While no-one would argue against better back-up, does he not think that men should be shouldering more of the caring role?

But men, in Glasman’s argument, are also going through a crisis of identity, leaving too many de-skilled, violent and oppressed. Is he in favour of tax breaks for married couples? “I am sympathetic to that, but I also have friends who aren’t married. What we have to do is support people staying together, particularly where there are children.”

Some have also viewed askance the running metaphor he uses in his latest book of Labour as a family descended from working class, salt-of-the earth dad and middle class mum, who is a pro-Anglican, pro-science product of Fabian summer schools – in other words, an embodiment of those influences



Lord Glasman presents to our political Dragons' Den in January's Fabian New Year Conference

Glasman dislikes. He was aware of the difficulty, he says. "But if I'd done it the other way round, everyone would say I'd put the woman in the doormat role."

To think him anti-women would be unfair. As he points out, he comes from a matriarchal clan, and his life was shaped by strong women, such as his mother and his teachers. While the leading Blue Labour thinkers are all male, he says Labour women such as Tessa Jowell and Hazel Blears have been "intently part" of a debate in which women are "absolutely central."

So what about nostalgia? Tony Blair has criticised what Glasman calls the "cross-class prospectus" of Blue Labour in stinging terms, warning that echoing the Baldwin and Major idyll of old maids cycling to communion would ruin Labour's chances. "I don't think Tony Blair has read or seriously engaged with [our arguments] ... Nostalgia is a wicked thing because it sanitises the past – as wicked as a certain kind of cruel modernism that sees no benefit in the past. The question is what kind of country we want to leave to our children."

While acknowledging the early "brilliance of Blair" he denounces New Labour as "almost Maoist" in its approach to modernisation. On managerialism, modernity and the market, Blair ultimately served the interests of the rich and the status quo. Or, put more personally: "All of New Labour left me cold."

As a crusader for the working man, how does Glasman see the unions and the trouble they may cause for Mr Miliband? They should, he says, reform themselves and become "actively vocational, promoting good work, not defending bad work." As so often, his paradigm is the "German social market" and "equal governance by bosses and workers ... The most successful economy in Europe still has workers with jobs. We have to do that." As for Mr Miliband's strategy on looming strikes, "Ed should never support losing actions just for the sake of it."

Much as Glasman might wish for a broader Labour power base, the top echelons of the party are largely made up of Oxford-educated PPEs creamed off from special advisers. "That's got to be a very bad thing," he says. "Ed and David Miliband are talking about change and leadership development." But don't they epitomise the problem?

"They do, but they have the awareness that [things] must change."

How, I wonder, does Glasman get on with Ed Balls? "I haven't really met him," he says. This is hardly plausible I say, since they virtually work out of the same office. "This is not an evasive answer. Whenever we bump into one another, we say we must meet. To be in politics, you have to believe absolutely in redemption. Ed Balls is seen as the architect of endogenous growth and the whole Brown economic theory."

"So is Ed Balls capable of grasping a new type of economic policy that is going to honour working people and challenge the domination of the City? Do you know, I think he can ... The redemption of Ed Balls is going to play a big role. I believe in the redemption of Ed Balls."

Although Glasman finishes on a more upbeat note – "What I love about the two Eds is that they're not accepting the City story. There's enormous pressure on them to say the crash was all the fault of the state" – it is clear that the salvation of Mr Balls is only a work in progress. Nor is he the only prodigal in the "Labour family."

Prime contenders for that slot are the Fabians who, despite a tradition that is "very important to Labour" have much to repent. Despite conceding that no modern Fabians cleave to eugenics and the old Soviet Union, Glasman argues that "the eugenics and Stalinism thing is not dead, because there's still a commitment to the knowledge and expertise of a superior and enlightened group that is going to make society more equal."

"That's not the whole story of the Fabians, but it's at the root of the goading I do to say to the Fabians: 'Have more love for people, and engage with them in a democratic and relational politics, not an aims-and-outcomes, anti-poverty politics'."

On foreign policy, Blue Labour has seemed more silent. Would Glasman have invaded Libya? "I would always support democratic resistance to dictators." So was he for the Iraq war? "I stayed quiet. I really hated Saddam Hussein, but I wasn't keen on Donald Rumsfeld either. I gave thanks it wasn't my call." Labour, he thinks, should be founding a "Labour Commonwealth", as well as "training up Chinese workers" to forge "free, democratic trades unions" back home.

But though a fervent supporter of Jewish tradition, his strongest words are reserved for Israel. The country, he says, should not be "demonised" above other regional powers. "[But] I don't like Israel. There are terrible things going on. The Jewish settler movement is as bad as Islamic jihadist supremacists. What I see with jihadists and settlers is nationalist domination, and yuck is my general verdict."

At home, many sections of the Labour "family" may balk at Glasman's tough love. None the less, his communitarian, if not his economic, prescriptions are a dominant strand in Ed Miliband's attempt to remake his party. Even his battle with the Murdoch empire, undertaken soon after Glasman and I meet, was embarked on in the name of the people. Many less partial pundits than Glasman believe that Blue Labour will be at the heart of the Miliband prospectus.

Opposition gurus, it is true, sometimes have the lifespan of a fruitfly. But if few are as controversial as Glasman, few are as heartfelt, as influential and as committed to rebuilding Labour and putting Ed Miliband into Number 10.

In the domestic, as in the political sphere, Glasman is focused on reconstruction. As we sit on his balcony, builders put the final touches to the new, improved House of Glasman. Soon the "debris" of which Lord Glasman warned me will be forgotten. He must hope that his remaking of the Labour edifice runs as smoothly. ■

State of play

People find it increasingly hard to find anything good to say about the state; the 'big state' has become a big stick with which to beat Labour's record in office.

Some of this is fair – few in the party seek to wholly defend its record on civil liberties for example – but too often the critiques come as caricatures. The question should not be one of state good or bad; we need to frame the debate around the level of the state, rather than allowing all state functions to be painted as necessarily coercive. Labour needs to be careful the state doesn't become a political bogeyman used by its opponents to scare voters about the prospect of Labour politicians ever getting their hands on Whitehall's levers again.

So the state is under attack not just from spending cuts by a Government ideologically committed to dramatically replacing government's role, but from Labour critics intent on seeing the party travel a less centralising and technocratic path.

We've commissioned four Fabian Essays from **John Denham**, **Will Straw**, **Alison McGovern**, and **Tim Horton** to investigate the charges on their merits.

Our nation state

Altruism alone is not enough for Labour; it must first deliver for its own voters. It is this understanding, rather than nostalgia or turning against the state, that will enable Labour to make itself part of our national story again, says **John Denham**



John Denham is MP for Southampton Itchen and Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills

Many voters in last year's election told pollsters they did not know what the Labour Party stood for, but they were sure it was no longer for people like them. That's why 'Blue Labour' has provoked an unusual level of interest for an apparently abstruse debate amongst left academics.

Blue Labour claims to identify what Labour should be today by better understanding what we once were. They want to draw a link between the future values we need and those we have held in the past. They want to understand the forces that shaped our movement and its values.

The resulting critique of New Labour implicitly challenges the accuracy of John Prescott's description of New Labour as 'traditional values in a modern setting'; though it's worth saying the authors have reservations about much of Labour's post-war record.

Writing about such a new debate has its problems. There is an army of largely media generated straw men to confront. Depending on who you listen to, Blue Labour might be an appeal to Labour's lost working class; a future of mutuals



competing in a market economy; a case against immigration; or a celebration of male dominated trade unionism over today's feminism. None of which seem justified by what has been published.

For me there are some recurrent Blue Labour themes.

It favours a reciprocal view of fairness, reflecting contribution and responsibility, over a progressive egalitarianism based on need alone.

It questions Labour's reliance on the state to deliver social and economic change.

It links the experience of those organised in the labour and other social movements with the values of solidarity and mutuality.

Unifying these themes is an emphasis on the relationships people make, rather than their lives as individuals or their relationships with institutions. It emphasises how the relationships made at work, in the family and in the community, form and reinforce the values of mutuality and solidarity.

Blue Labour claims a unique history for the English labour movement, drawing on English radical traditions and radical churches. And it wants Labour's future story to reflect the national story, rather than universal values of fairness, democracy, equality.

And there, perhaps, is the rub.

There's no doubt that all the issues raised are important, and their resolution will be key to Labour's future. But reliance on a partial and selective history is always dangerous, and opens the door to serious misunderstanding about the real problems we face.

Fairness isn't just a Labour value

I welcome Blue Labour's contribution to the growing challenge to the needs-based view of fairness which has dominated social policy over the last thirty years. Fabian Society/Joseph Rowntree Foundation research into public attitudes to economic inequality has highlighted the wide public support for a reciprocal view of fairness, in which contribution and earned entitlement are as important as need. The subsequent Fabian report *The Solidarity Society* showed how a social policy which is built around entitlement rather than need gives more scope for looking after the most disadvantaged. We don't have to abandon tackling inequality, just recognize that not everything that would make us more equal is seen as fair or would get public support.

Ed Miliband's support for Labour councils who want to reward working people in their housing allocations marks a sharp break with Labour's practice in the last Government. But how true is it that these values have been fostered in the labour movement and working class experience particularly?

I first wrote about 'The Fairness Code' in *Prospect* in 2004. After 50 hours of recorded conversations with my southern constituents I was struck by how widespread was their attachment to this reciprocal, conditional idea of fairness. Indeed, so widespread that it's obvious that they are shared well beyond those connected to the labour movement.

Ed Miliband is taking us in the right direction to regain traditional Labour voters, but the values of responsibility he has set out reach well beyond the heartlands. At a time when Labour needs to extend its support well beyond its traditional strongholds, across a huge swathe of southern England, it seems self-limiting and counterproductive to romanticise these values as exclusive to one class or part of history. I believe we should describe them, as they are, as a shared set of common values: the tough-minded and common sense fairness of the British people.

The mistaken belief that values of reciprocity and solidarity were uniquely forged in the struggles of the labour movement also lies behind criticism of the use of the state by Labour. There have been a few sharp barbs at the Fabian tradition in particular. But there were good reasons why the working class socialist Nye Bevan went for a National Health Service, rather than building on the mish-mash of voluntary and charitable provision which he inherited. The Living Wage campaign is inspiring, but far more people have had their incomes raised by the minimum wage.

I'm not sure many people would really want to swap the security of gains delivered through the state for the rewards of perpetual struggle and solidarity. It was after all the conservatism of the craft trade unions, as much as opposition from the bosses, which delayed the minimum wage for 100 years.

The role of the state is a problem for a number of reasons, but few are because Labour has seen the state as essential to any realistic project to change society. Most obviously, although the civil service is overwhelmingly professional and loyal, winning an election does not simply deliver a state which reflects Labour values. At any time, state policies are under pressure from all sides. A Labour election victory does not stop lobbying for lax regulation of financial services, or the promotion of crude and simplistic market ideologies at the expense of the public good. A Labour election victory does not quell the civil service orthodoxies about what constitutes good policy.

But the centre-left itself is not innocent. The destruction of the contributory principle and the promotion of needs-based

rather than reciprocal welfare, housing and migration policies, were not simply the product of a tight fist Treasury that will always prefer targeting and means-testing. Large parts of Labour and many policy makers supported a needs-based view of fairness. The dominating influence of these ideas within the state encouraged policies which were out of touch with majority values.

Even today, not a few Labour meetings discuss what would be in the best interest of people who are not at the meeting, rather than those who are. Altruism will always be part of our politics, but altruism alone is not a strong basis for a relevant political party. When voters said ‘you’re not for people like me’ perhaps they sensed when we were looking over their shoulders for those we ‘really wanted to help’. Labour has to be a party for those who join it, and which delivers for all those who vote for it. The Blue Labour critique is more accurately addressed, less at the state and more at the relationship between Labour and those who vote for us.

Again, Ed Miliband’s speech on responsibility has put Labour back in the business of delivering for those who we want to vote for us. The changes he has outlined to party structures and party conference are designed to ensure that party members cannot fail to engage with values outside the party.

“When voters said ‘you’re not for people like me’ perhaps they sensed when we were looking over their shoulders for those we ‘really wanted to help’”

Towards a uniquely British state

In 2005 a group of Labour MPs, including a number of today’s front bench, said “globalisation is capable of both creating great wealth and opportunity and, left to itself, increased insecurity and inequality”: a prediction well confirmed by the global banking crisis.

In this cataclysmic period, it seems a strange time to turn away from the state. State intervention saved the banking system. Better state regulation will be needed to stop it happening again. To pay our way in the world and create opportunities for the next generation we will need strong private sector growth with strong British-based companies. This means more of the government activism developed in Labour’s last years in power; a more sophisticated relationship between the private sector and the state.

For all these reasons, Labour’s policy review must spend as much time looking at the nature of the state which could deliver our policies as at the policies themselves; embedding different values in welfare and challenging old orthodoxies; truly understanding business and the workplace.

I’m making no homage to top-down centralism or a Morrisonian technocracy. Tomorrow’s state will have to be different.

Key institutions of the future – like vehicles for a new contributory welfare system, new centres of public and private collaboration in 21st century industries, more powerful universities – will surely be autonomous public institutions not state delivered services. The local state will become more important. Just as Labour came late to active industrial policies, we realised too late the weakness of constantly working round, not with, accountable local democracy. Our own work in government showed beyond doubt that

the key to cost effective, joined-up public services, built around the people who use them, was effective, democratic co-ordination and accountability.

At local level, as much as at national, new types of institutions will have a role. Mutuals and co-operatives, new forms of small business banking, will all occupy a space between the traditional state service and the private sector – but there is no need to pose one against the other.

We spend a great deal of time at work. Most of us don’t measure our work solely in what we can buy with what we earn. Work satisfies or disappoints depending on whether it offers dignity, responsibility, respect, friendship and personal advancement.

Let’s not mythologize the past. Canvassing in a south Wales election a few years ago, an elderly ex-miner pointed to the old pit head and told me “2000 men used to work there ... it was horrible”. But the challenge to look at what work offers is a good one.

Our business review is already setting out how we want to promote ‘the good company’, which knows the purpose of a good business is more than profit alone. It invests long-term, develops employees’ skills, offers fair rewards at every level, has modern industrial relations open to trade unionism, and is transparent in its governance.

Even if the take home cash is the same, most people would rather have a fair wage at work than a tax credit top-up. We need a labour market of higher skills and greater productivity, in which more people get fair returns from work rather than depend on expensive state compensation for a failing labour market.

The ‘good company’ has a strong balance sheet but sees its success as part of a wider national success story; one Ed Miliband has called ‘patriotic business’. So here Blue Labour’s emphasis on placing Labour’s mission in the particular story of England and of Britain can be central to the way we do business as a nation.

The left’s resistance to a national story has been out of step with the majority. The search for British values in many New Labour focus groups always came up with the generic – tolerance, democracy, and respect for the rule of law – which somehow never captured what it feels to be British.

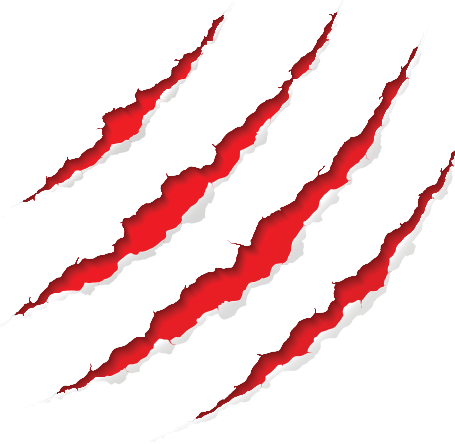
Real national identities are always stories about who we were, and who we want to be. Labour has to be part of that story. But national identities are created by drawing on history, not discovered in it. The ‘real’ Britishness of even 50 years ago was homophobic, sexist and racist. Today it’s not uncommon to hear acceptance of diversity touted as a British value. Our understanding of the Second World War, and of modern Britain, changed when we chose to put the 2.5 million Indian volunteers alongside the Dunkirk story.

It is now important to tell the story of what our country could be like, and how the peoples of this country can make it so. It is a progressive politics which draws on the history of our nations, but we must understand we can write our own story. If we want to make the liberal municipalists a model for a more robust localism, let’s do so and not put them outside our family. If we want to claim entrepreneurship and small businesses as a route to social mobility and an enrichment of our lives, let’s do so and not believe that only the traditions of co-operatives and the Workers’ Educational Association are ours.

Blue Labour has forced us to ask not just what policies we want, but what and who we stand for, and what part we have to play in the story of our nation. For that we should be grateful. ■

Addicted to law?

Too often when in government, Labour saw the statute book as the solution to its political problems. In the future, legislation should be Labour's last resort writes **Will Straw**



Will Straw is Associate Director for Strategic Development at the Institute for Public Policy Research

The murder of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman by Ian Huntley, in August 2002, shocked Britain. After his conviction it was revealed that Huntley had previously been investigated for one act of indecent assault on an 11-year old, four acts of underage sex and three rapes. Although he had only been charged with one of these alleged crimes and was never convicted, the police had come to regard him as a potential serial sex offender. A sample of his DNA was held by the police. But this record, including the allegations against him and a conviction for burglary had not been properly considered when he applied for a caretaker job at Soham Village College.

Home Secretary, David Blunkett, set up an inquiry to look into what lessons could be learned. It was found that Humberside Police had deleted information about Huntley's previous behaviour, while Cambridgeshire Police had not followed vetting guidelines. As a result, rules around how police share information were tightened. But although Huntley had been caretaker of a different school and knew the girls through their teaching assistant, Maxine Carr, Labour introduced primary legislation to create a new process for vetting over nine million people who worked or volunteered with children.

As implementation of the scheme approached in 2009, the outcry was deafening. It was revealed that Watford Borough Council planned to ban parents from its adventure playgrounds because they had not been given a Criminal Record Bureau (CRB) check. The NHS was criticised for insisting that each trust carry out its own checks regardless of whether an employee had already received one. Philip Pullman, the popular author, called the plans "outrageous, demeaning and insulting" and said he would not appear in schools again because of it. And it emerged that Lord Carey, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, had needed five separate checks.

The saga seems to epitomise the criticisms levelled at the Labour Government about its overweening statecraft and addiction to legislation. Critics have argued that New Labour was illiberal in its instincts, managerial in its problem solving,

and molycoddling in its implementation of policy. The result, they claim, was a disempowering state where decisions were taken centrally, removing all common sense from risk assessment and enforcement.

Blame for this has been laid squarely at the Fabian Society's bright red door. "Labour was the child of a cross-class marriage between a decent working-class Dad and an educated middle-class Mum," writes Maurice Glasman, the scion of 'Blue Labour'. 'Mum' was the Fabian Society, Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation and the Anglican Church, with "all the advantages of class – resources, eloquence, confidence and science – and none of the experience of hardship". The result was "technical complex policies" and a party "increasingly dominated by middle-class policy technocrats".

A related criticism comes from those concerned with civil liberties and human rights. John Kampfner, chief executive of the Index on Censorship, wrote in 2009 that, "The 12 years of New Labour have seen an erosion of civil liberties without precedent in modern British history". A year earlier, Shami Chakrabarti, Director of Liberty, wrote that Labour was "the most authoritarian government in living memory".

The charge has appeared to stick and during the Labour leadership election, Ed Miliband conceded that, "in government we were too draconian on aspects of our civil liberties. We have to be able to say we won't go back to ID cards. Stop and search went too far." Labour's new leader went even further at conference: "too often we seemed casual about [civil liberties]. Like the idea of locking someone away for 90 days – nearly three months in prison – without charging them with a crime. Or the broad use of anti-terrorism measures for purposes for which they were not intended."

But if in the cold light of opposition the policies seem so wrong, why were they pursued in government? Was there something in New Labour's DNA that made it adopt these policies at the expense of individual freedom or is there a more complicated story about the pressures on a government of the centre-left?

Libertarians have long taken the view that liberty is at odds with egalitarian aims, a notion which has been fundamentally rebuked by social democrats. As Dr Stuart White, a politics fellow at Jesus College, Oxford, has written, "poverty – the most extreme and alarming manifestation of economic inequality – seems to reduce liberty quite directly". John Kampfner shares the view that egalitarianism is a means of delivering greater individual freedom. However he has been critical of Labour's "meddling in people's lives", which

he told me was driven by a belief that “the state knows better than you do that you need to be protected”.

But while liberty and equality need not be in conflict in a social democratic or ethical socialist framework, there has always been justification for the encroachment of one group or individual’s liberty at the expense of another’s. As JS Mill set out in his famous ‘harm principle’: “ the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others.” Labour’s former Home Secretary Jacqui Smith told me that many of Labour’s policies which have since been criticised – such as closed-circuit television cameras and Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) – were implemented to

protect the liberties of those who were the least economically and socially powerful.

It is worth addressing these two policies in turn. Britain now has a quarter of the world’s CCTV cameras but that in itself is not an argument against them. In 2008-09, CCTV helped the Metropolitan police bring a charge, summons or caution in 23,000 cases – a decent haul. Critics point out that the number had fallen over a five year period but that is partly due to declining crime levels. Indeed, the policy splits civil liberties advocates. While Alexander Deane, former Director of Big Brother Watch, claimed that “the experiment with CCTV has failed”, Shami Chakrabarti of Liberty says that “CCTV has its place” while criticising them on grounds of cost.



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ASBOs are an altogether more difficult policy area. They were introduced in 1998 to deter “conduct which caused or was likely to cause harm, harassment, alarm or distress.” The National Audit Office found in 2006 that after receiving an intervention, including in some cases an ASBO, 65 per cent of individuals did not re-engage in antisocial behaviour. This rose to 86 per cent after the second intervention and to 93 per cent after the third. Critics claim this blurs the picture and explain that 55 per cent of ASBOs were breached. Put another way, it means that 45 per cent were successful, which is not a bad return, given that much of the behaviour went unchecked before their introduction. Perhaps the greatest evidence of the

The difficult truth for politicians – as well as the public and media – is that bad people do bad things and sometimes there is little that the state can do to prevent it

policy’s success can be found in Theresa May’s decision to re-label them as Criminal Behaviour Orders despite claiming to have abolished them.

On the other hand, Chakrabarti believes that the policy has trivialised criminal behaviour by “blurring the lines between naughty kids and criminals”. While she accepts that ASBOs may have moved problems from one place to another, they have not necessarily stopped them from happening altogether. That aside, the policy has certainly been undermined by overzealous enforcement, including in some cases on individuals with a history of mental illness.

By returning to those policies that Labour’s leadership now accept were wrong, is it possible to explain why the party lost sight of its liberal roots?

Labour’s rejected policies can, perhaps, be put into three categories. First, there are those instances where the naked politics of triangulation prevailed over an evidence-based approach to policy making. ID cards are a case in point, as the Government was never able to articulate clearly the intention of the policy. Indeed, the lack of a principled commitment to their implementation was exposed when Labour’s negotiators were so quick to drop the proposal when they went into coalition talks with the Lib Dems.

Gordon Brown’s attempt to increase pre-charge detention from 28 to 42 days is another example. Sir Ken Macdonald, who was then head of the Crown Prosecution Service, told *The Times* that 42 days were not needed and unlikely to find favour with the judges who would have to approve them. “In our experience, the 28-day limit works well,” he said. Indeed, it is well known in Westminster that the plan to extend the period to 42 days was without intellectual merit and entirely geared at creating a dividing line with the Tories as the election approached.

A second group of policies appear to be those that are pursued following a criminal or terrorist act where the clarion call that ‘something must be done’ encourages a new piece of legislation rather than the more politically risky strategy of breathing deeply and looking for lessons learned rather than new rules. The extension of CRB checks following the Soham murders fit the bill here. Millions of adults have been inconvenienced by the policy. But although tighter checks – or, indeed, more attentive record keeping by police forces – might have prevented Ian Huntley from becoming a

school caretaker, they would not necessarily have prevented the murders since the girls went to a different school. The difficult truth for politicians – as well as the public and media – is that bad people do bad things and sometimes there is little that the state can do to prevent it.

David Cameron appeared to recognise this following the shooting dead of 12 people in Cumbria last June by Derrick Bird. “Of course we should look at [gun ownership]”, said the Prime Minister, “but we should not leap to knee-jerk conclusions on what should be done on the regulatory front. We do have some of the toughest legislation in the world.” Nonetheless, Jacqui Smith believes that it is harder for Labour politicians to do nothing because they have to prove they are ‘tough on crime’ to a hostile media.

Control Orders are perhaps another example where new, tough-sounding rules do not actually do the business. Seven of the 45 suspects believed to be on Control Orders have disappeared. Another was able to attend a high-level conference featuring then Justice Secretary, Jack Straw, Nick Clegg, and Scotland Yard’s assistant commissioner John Yates in 2009. The Coalition’s difficulty devising an alternative policy suggests that there is no simple solution to dealing with these people – many of whom are foreign nationals who cannot be deported to their own country. But focusing greater resources on surveillance budgets and allowing telephone tap evidence to be admissible in court might be a good way to bring at least one of them to prosecution.

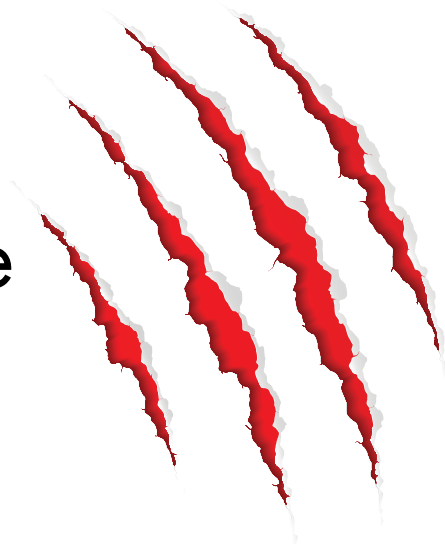
A third category includes policy areas where a more localist approach could be used to reach the same outcome with a greater degree of public legitimacy. Maurice Glasman has criticised the smoking ban as “the most authoritarian, nightmarish, anti-English and anti-pleasure thing.” But the policy is expected to save 40,000 lives over 10 years and is arguably Labour’s greatest public health achievement. In the United States, smoking bans are determined on a state-by-state basis but the number keeps on increasing as the public health benefits become clearer to see. Public health, as opposed to crime and terrorism, might well be an area where a more localist approach – allowing some areas to lead by example rather than forcing a decision everywhere at the same time – becomes appropriate.

A future Labour Government must avoid the pitfalls of the Blair and Brown era while retaining the right to create new laws where they are truly the only way to address a new or persistent problem. A set of principles should help underpin when a universal, centrist approach would be justified. First, ministers should justify whether there is really a problem that needs addressing in order to avoid fiascos like ID cards and 42-days. Second, they should ensure that a legislative approach – rather than tighter enforcement of existing rules or closer working between different government agencies – is absolutely necessary. Third, they should explain why a national rather than a local approach is the right answer.

Perhaps the most striking reason for adopting this new approach is that it could be a vote winner. With a centralising instinct to its ‘tough on crime’ mantra, Labour managed to simultaneously lose both *Guardian* reading liberals and salt of the earth centre-ground voters. 42 days appalled the first; CRB checks inconvenienced the second. A future approach that is more honest about risks and smarter about implementation will be critical to persuading voters that Labour has changed. After all, the advancement of egalitarianism – whether reducing economic inequalities or improving dignity and quality of life for the dispossessed – need not come with a big stick. ■

The real life of the state

The current debate about the role of the state is muddled and misguided argues **Alison McGovern** – it’s a second-order discussion that neglects the true question of how Labour uses the state to make its values reality



Alison McGovern is MP for Wirral South

The accusation that Labour was too reliant on the state has formed a central part of the coalition Government’s critique of its predecessor. But it’s also a charge regularly heard from within party, as ‘Blue Labour’ conservatives and New Labour modernisers join in asking whether Labour’s love of Whitehall’s levers disempowered communities. The answer to this question is that it did not. But to be credible, Labour must re-establish exactly what the state is working for and be clear that the state is a means for realising our values rather than an end in itself. We need to investigate how well Labour used the power of government to achieve its goals during the last Labour administration, and be ready to make change happen when we return to government.

States of confusion

The Conservative Party say the Blair and Brown Governments crowded out civil society, adopting an all-encompassing ‘nanny state’ at the expense of local charitable forces. Similarly, the Blue Labour narrative says Labour devalued English cultural identity by favouring, as Jonathan Rutherford says, “humanity in general” above those in our backyard, and the market over tradition, culture, and historic English institutions.

The Tories are wrong, of course. Under successive Secretaries of State, Labour expanded the role of the charitable and social sector, and Gift Aid changed fundraising forever. Where people gave to charity, the state backed their choices, not just in theory, but with hard cash. The Tory attack on public services punishes local government most of all, so Conservative calls for localism whilst removing the foundation on which these depend, shows either a lack of attention to detail or that their stated policy is just a front.

But what’s wrong with Labour’s internal critics? For me, Blue Labour is based on a fundamental mistake. They are trying to articulate Labour’s values using narrative, without analysing what it is we really stand for.

Maurice Glasman and Jonathan Rutherford tell us a story about Labour’s past. It’s an argument from history and comparison with other societies, which concludes that we used to value culture and identity more than markets, and that’s the politics we should return to. Yet there is no answer to the most important question: why?

This matters for our account of the state. Though Blue Labour academics argue against over-arching abstract ends such as ‘equality’ and ‘liberty’, a universal state requires universal justification that can be understood and accepted by all – ‘humanity in general’ if you like. The Blue Labour account is just narrative – and not always an accurate narrative. It relies on the hidden premise that the past was better than now. It describes the historic values of the Labour movement but doesn’t ask the prior question of what our values ought to be and what it is we are trying to achieve.

Tony Blair and Gordon Brown’s articulation of New Labour understood and espoused a more analytic approach. The famous ‘Clause IV moment’ was not merely an effective tactical row. It was a restatement of values. It analysed what Labour is for, how our values differ from Conservatives’ and sought to put that fundamental difference at the forefront of political debate.

Proponents of modernisation therefore did not cede to arguments of public against private sector. Rather they established the greater political cause for which the Labour movement is designed: its progressive mission to address deficits of power, wealth and inequality. All parts of society, government, business, charities, and the new ‘social enterprises’ could play a part in this greater cause.

We now need a new conversation about Labour’s relationship to the state in 2011 and to establish which values should guide our use of statecraft.

Why dignity is Labour’s mission

The starting point for this discussion shouldn’t be we should be more or less statist, rather the analytic question: what is right and wrong for us? What makes us different from the Tories?

In my view, dignity and autonomy are fundamental. Our moral values arise from a clear recognition that in our desire to flourish and live good lives, we strongly desire others should do so too. The sympathy, empathy, and compassion we feel for each other connects us all. In her pamphlet, *The Politics of Decency*, Hazel Blears quoted Barbara Castle as saying that “socialism was about the quality of human relationships”. We want for each other the dignity of a good life, free from the shame of inequality or deprivation. This, to me, is Labour’s core value that all policies should be tested against.

So, where does government come in? How does the state promote this mission? Firstly, let’s clear up the idea that anyone really thinks that government’s role should be fundamentally cut back or reduced – even hardened right-wingers want an active state. Margaret Thatcher may have wished to ‘roll back the frontiers of the state’, but her appetite for privatisation did not transfer to shrinking armed forces or police powers. And Conservatives today still support an expanded state in many

areas: unaccountable stop and search powers for police, and the curbing of private sector development through increased planning restrictions, to give just two examples.

At the time of disasters or crises – floods or fires, failures of child protection, threats to national security – no one expects government to stand idle. Those who say we need less activist government – an end to nanny state – are covering up their real argument: not whether the state should be smaller but what its priorities should be.

So we all accept government's role in our lives. And assume then that for Labour, government's role is to increase dignity – rebalancing deficits of social capital and enabling all to flourish. The question then is: how successful was the last Government, and what needs to be Labour's future policy?

The 'real-life' state

My view is that our policies were good, and achieved a huge amount towards this goal. Where there were problems, it was not due to poor policies; rather, where government worked against the dignity of citizens, it was poor execution. It was not a question of what we did, but how we did it. Labour's ambitions were not always matched by the quality of delivery.

For example, take tax credits. Rather than handing out income support benefits, Labour wanted people to see the benefit in their pay packet, reinforcing the pride people rightly feel in earning a living. And yet, the practice of this policy left something to be desired. In 2006/7, 1.3 million families were overpaid by HMRC and faced the stress of the state seeking its money back through 'clawback' repayments.

At the last election, people receiving tax credits were quick to tell me how much they valued the back-up in their pay packet. One man explained that when he had been made redundant, extra funds his wife saw through tax credits gave him the leeway to start his own, successful business. But that doesn't mean we can't ask questions about all the people left feeling frustrated and disempowered by a government bureaucracy that was on occasions unresponsive and probably unprepared. The policy was a shining example of Labour values: demonstrating solidarity and back-up for those who work hard. We supported the aspiration of working people to succeed. But the 'real life' of the state let us down. This has to change next time.

My message for Ed Miliband would be this. Your values – looking after the 'grafters', addressing longstanding inequality in power and wealth, giving people the dignity of a decent life – have to go all the way through government. A policy written in Whitehall is one thing – making Labour values the thread that runs all the way through the delivery chain is another. And we cannot give up on this challenge. No amount of Blue Labour narrative will make your policies fly if people's experience of the state doesn't live up to expectations.

Take choice in the NHS. Back in the 1990s the NHS was starved of funds. Labour successfully argued for a National Insurance rise to invest. But this wasn't the whole story: we said that the NHS needed to change too. Instead of just relying on the traditional family doctor, we invented the NHS walk-in centre. Instead of frustrating local variations in care, we created the National Institute of Clinical Excellence (NICE) to provide guarantees to citizens that their treatment was based on the best possible clinical knowledge. NHS Direct demonstrated responsiveness to modern communication changes and proved instantly popular and successful. And Choose and Book meant, for the first time, GPs can now say to pregnant mothers (as mine did to me a few months ago), "Well, where would you like to have this baby?"

We put power in the hands of patients. When Labour politicians talked about the vision of the best possible health

care no matter what you could afford, so many British people felt it to be true.

To argue for our model of healthcare – the NHS and all it stands for – quality of care is crucial. If people think the public sector can't take care of them properly, they'll look to the private sector to respond to their needs. If the NHS treats people without dignity or care, it completes the right winger's argument: only the market can be truly responsive to your needs. But every single time the NHS cares for a person in the manner their family would wish for – with respect and attention to detail – we beat the Tory arguments and progressive values are realised. This is why the how matters as much as the what. Policy pamphlets written in SW1 can stimulate arguments, but we'll lose the debate unless the delivery of government policy is spot-on every time.

Here's the lesson I take from this. We need to pay attention to the real-life state. The state must be genuinely empowering – not just in theory, but actually. The key to this is attention to detail. We should ask everyone who spends public money to listen and change.

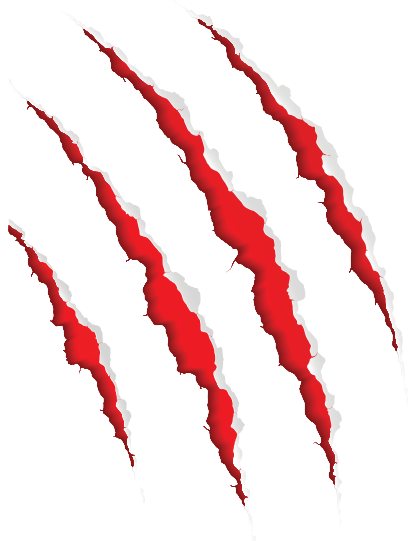
But it's more than this. Consider the last exchange you had with a government employee. Was it friendly and respectful? Did they take ownership of any problem? Were you listened to? Though they are a minority, sadly there are still too many examples when public servants treat the public as though they should be grateful they are getting anything at all. This has to end. The state doesn't necessarily undermine or disempower. But it will, if the people at the front end don't live up to public service values in practice.

My suggestion for our next Labour Government is a new set of 'UK Government Values and Behaviours'. Large companies regularly review whether the behaviour of their staff lives up to the corporate values of their company. They try to establish norms at work to make sure the practice of their operations lives up to the ethos of the company. If global multinationals can, why not the state?

Let's express our universal, progressive values in the day-to-day life of the state. Let's stop accepting poor performance. Let's ask more questions of highly paid civil servants who don't deliver and fail to take responsibility when their teams treat the public with disrespect. Blue Labour's Jonathan Rutherford places a high value on ownership. Sadly, ownership or democratic structures are not enough to give a service that meets the public's expectations of the state. Only good, responsible management in the name of universal principles like fairness and decency can do this.

In the recent recession, I've met too many people who, having tried to enquire about what possible support may be available from the Benefits Agency are treated as though they are a potential fraudster. Of course we need rigour in our benefits system – without which social security is hard to defend – but it must be delivered with thought for the individual. A woman came to my surgery because her husband had left her without funds and needed information and guidance. The benefits agency staff had spoken to her as though they already knew she was after more than her entitlement. Such instances are hopefully rare, but they're never acceptable. In my view, it was the behaviour of the state just as much as the rules we made that made people question whether Labour stood up for 'people like them'.

You don't just need a cultural narrative to prove Labour is fighting for the majority in Britain. You need to articulate Labour's values, because they speak to the majority. And then you need to make sure the next Labour Government lives up to them in word and deed. All the way from Whitehall to your front door. ■



Public sector patriotism

Labour's renewed interest in belonging doesn't necessarily mean fewer big state institutions. It could mean more argues **Tim Horton**



Tim Horton is Acting General Secretary of the Fabian Society

Who's afraid of the big, bad state? Everyone, it would seem. Of all the insults thrown around in Labour's debates over its future (and there are many), the accusation of being too 'statist' seems to be the worst of all. Here, an extra special disapproval seems to be reserved for the Fabian tradition, with its pesky role in inspiring the post-war welfare state. Over the last year, a staggering range of voices across the party – ranging from Alan Milburn on the right to Compass's Neal Lawson on the left – have argued that Labour's renewal must mean moving away from 'the state'.

Perhaps the richest of these critiques of statism has come from those within Labour who wish to champion a new politics of belonging (some of whom travel under the label of Blue Labour, some of whom don't). For them, the Fabian state is remote and disempowering, a world of big government and bureaucrats that has undermined richer sources of association: the local co-operative or the friendly society.

But far from undermining our relationships and detracting from our sense of belonging, our big state institutions can be a particularly potent source of them. In fact, a thriving politics of belonging might actually mean more rather than less state.

Institutions and the politics of belonging

The politics of belonging is very often the politics of institutions. At the heart of many meaningful relationships and feelings of attachment lies a social institution: the neighbourhood association, the sports team, the local post office, the monarchy. These institutions create and shape our relationships and identities; they express our interconnectedness.

How does this work? Most straightforwardly, institutions provide a site for us to interact. This isn't always local or face-to-face – we can argue about politics in the pub or on the comments thread of a website – but it very often is. Part of the outcry at the cuts in local authority spending is the fear of a loss of institutions, like libraries and Children's Centres, that are important vehicles of social life. (When a recent survey by parenting club Bounty asked mothers about the impact of cuts to Sure Start, half said they'd find it harder to meet other families and a third said they'd feel isolated.)

But institutions create and shape our relationships in more subtle ways too. At their most basic, they create a sense of group identity – the sense that we are all members of a club. Institutions also define how we stand in relation to one another, as workers, citizens, taxpayers, parents, shareholders, and so on. A social insurance scheme, for example, casts us as joint contributors and recipients in a collective enterprise, pooling our risks together for security.

Indeed, psychologists have shown that the way in which institutions construct our interrelationships can have a profound impact on what we think is fair. In a simple test where people are asked to divide up rewards between a group of athletes, what people think is fair depends entirely on whether they have been told the athletes are on the one hand a team or on the other individuals competing against each other.

Perhaps most of all, institutions can form the basis of shared experiences: it is through our large public institutions that we live a common life. Sometimes this involves interaction and physical proximity; other times it simply involves common routines. Most people aged between 30 and 45 in the UK watched the same BBC children's TV as they were growing up, and today Grange Hill and Blue Peter provide them with a powerful cultural point of reference and a set of experiences around which to bond.

Small-scale or large-scale: What is wrong with the localist critique?

Now the standard critique of the central state is that it is 'remote' and 'distant', that decisions are made a long way away in Whitehall, and this is why it cannot be the basis of meaningful relationships.

But the connections that lie behind our feelings of attachment and belonging are emotional and moral connections, what psychologists call 'affective' connections, and not necessarily physical ones. They are first and foremost felt relationships. And while it's true that these affective bonds very often emerge out of close contact, there's a big difference between affective distance and actual spatial distance, as anyone who's moved town but still supports their old football team knows.

Even when they are not places where we interact, central institutions can be just as successful at forging group identity and creating common experiences as local ones. That is why we can feel a profound sense of attachment to the large-scale and the distant. And, sure enough, from the NHS to the BBC to the RAF, some of our most deeply-loved and fiercely-defended institutions are national and central (and, whisper

it quietly, Fabian). Conversely, the local can often feel very remote when it's going wrong; disconnection is a problem for all tiers of government, and your bin-man can sometimes be as distant as any bureaucrat.

Politicians as diverse as Nye Bevan, Enoch Powell, Bill Clinton and even Ronald ('government is the problem') Reagan have all understood how people feel a sense of agency through large-scale collectivism, and harnessed this to supreme effect in their own politics. But many in the coalition and Labour don't fully get this. Take the coalition's recent attempt to sell-off forests: it was fascinating just how little voters cared for the suggestion, put forward as the acceptable face of privatization, that local communities could club together and buy bits of forest for themselves. They didn't want to. They felt they owned them already, that 'big government' owning forests meant them.

If you don't understand popular state collectivism, you'll get your politics badly wrong.

We can feel a profound sense of attachment to the large-scale and the distant. And, sure enough, from the NHS to the BBC to the RAF, some of our most deeply-loved and fiercely-defended institutions are national and central

Public sector patriotism

National institutions can often be more powerful sources of identity and belonging than local ones, precisely because they align with and reinforce national identity. In the 19th century, the French historian Ernest Renan posed the question "What is a nation?", and, rejecting all the conventional answers, was left to conclude that "the essence of a nation is that all its people have a great deal in common". And providing the basis of what Renan called "a common life" is one of the most powerful ways in which state institutions foster national identity.

We see this particularly with welfare states, especially ones like Britain's that were forged during moments of 'nation-building'; their place in our national history and identity lives on in collective memory well beyond the moment of their creation. But their nation-building role was recognised at the time too. Rab Butler believed his 1944 Education Act would "have the effect of welding us all into one nation". And, in his 1950 lecture 'Citizenship and Social Class', T.H. Marshall described these identity dynamics saying: "Even when benefits are paid in cash, this class fusion is outwardly expressed in the form of a new common experience. All learn what it means to have an insurance card".

Ultimately, this form of attachment to, and pride in, our large public institutions is a form of patriotism – social patriotism. During the recent health debate in America, Sarah Palin's attack on the NHS inflamed this patriotism and created a huge British backlash. In Britain, our identity politics is a one of 'faith, flag, family and free healthcare'.

So an appeal to patriotism is something that should form a much larger part of Labour's vision and narrative about the public sector. There were many things wrong with Margaret Thatcher's statement that "there is no such thing as society; there are individual men and women and there are families", but an often overlooked one is that it must be one of the most profoundly un-patriotic statements of any national leader.

As Nick Pearce and Gavin Kelly have put it, "It is undeniable that social democrats are most successful politically when they give voice to a sense of shared community and national pride that then underpins their programmes". And

for the Tories, whose ideology forces them to deny that we can feel personal agency through state collectivism, it is very difficult to counter this strong sense of institutional attachment.

When the state goes wrong

The truth in the critique of Fabianism lies not in any problem with the central state per se, but rather with a particular style of detached and paternalistic policymaking. Bad policy, just like unfettered markets, can ride roughshod over institutions and our relationships. But this is not 'the state'; it is the state done badly.

The politics of belonging is subtle and fragile, having as much to do with the structure and culture of institutions as with their function. So any policy approach fixated narrowly on institutional functions, that regards a pub simply as somewhere to get drinks or a library simply as somewhere that lends books, is going to miss this precious aspect of our lives. One consequence of a new focus on relationships must be to resist reducing institutions to a purely functional or economic sense of value – to resist their commodification.

Of course policymakers must focus on outcomes like waiting times and exam results. The public care about these very much indeed. But New Labour's time in office was marked by the growth of a paradigm of public-sector management (of which Public Service Agreement targets were perhaps the symbol) that focused single-mindedly on outcomes: government should set targets, and then civil servants and administrators should work towards them in the most cost-effective way. Different ways of reaching those outcomes were seen as equally valid, even if they tore apart the underlying fabric of institutions.

But how things are done matters very much to people as well. The marketisation of a service could result in more efficiency, but people may nevertheless be strongly opposed to it if they feel it damages the underlying ethos and culture of the service, something we have seen in resistance to the Government's NHS plans.

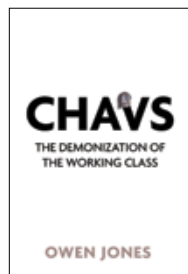
So we need a policy approach that is sensitive to the way in which institutions embody valued relationships. This may mean placing traditional criteria of efficiency, simplicity and value-for-money alongside wider notions of social value. (For some services, such as Sure Start, this relationship-shaping role is already recognised and valued, with Children's Centres often being a site of great social mix.)

Sometimes this will mean protecting national services and frameworks of common standards. Ultimately, many people still view public services through the lens of citizenship: as taxpayers we contribute on a national basis to this collective endeavour, and we expect public services to recognise that common status by treating us equally in return. This is why localism in service provision is often unpopular, as well as the diversity-and-choice agenda: because people feel it violates their belief in equal treatment. (And where service provision varies from area to area, people regard this as a problem to be rectified, not a value to be celebrated.) On other occasions, given the role of interaction in fostering meaningful relationships, a politics of belonging should mean helping localism and participatory democracy to flourish.

While it's still uncertain how this agenda will play out in Labour's own policy renewal, it can only be a good thing that the party is once again beginning to grapple with the politics of belonging. But however far we get with 'faith, flag and family', this debate will be so much richer if we avoid that other Palin strategy: of conjuring up 'the state' as a distant bogeyman. ■

Beyond the Burberry

Owen Jones powerfully describes the class hatred that lies behind the 'chav' stereotype, but his ideas for what to do about it don't convince *Jemima Olchawski*



Chavs: the Demonization of the Working Class
Owen Jones

Verso, £14.99



Jemima Olchawski is Public Policy manager at the London Borough of Newham

The Editor of this magazine and I started a mild media hoo-ha a few years ago, when we wrote in the *Guardian* and *Fabian Review* challenging the growing use of the word 'chav' amongst people who consider themselves of the liberal left. It is, we argued, snobbery, but also serves to blur the boundaries between the majority of working class people and a few individuals, held up by the right wing press as 'scroungers' and 'thugs'.

The wave of blog and breakfast television debates that followed demonstrated the enduring fascination we all have with class and how contested it remains. Owen Jones's new book – *Chavs: the Demonisation of the Working Class* – picks up this theme and runs with it, looking much more broadly at what drives attitudes to the working class and the consequences of a shift to the idea 'we're all middle class now'.

Against a backdrop of spending cuts and reform of a host of benefits, the book is certainly well-timed. Negative perceptions of those living in poverty are prevalent and increasingly frame the debate about welfare; there seems to be an insatiable appetite amongst elements of the right wing press for stories of unsympathetic characters

draining public resources with reckless and irresponsible behaviour.

Chavs opens with a powerful selection of examples of subtle and not-so-subtle class hatred and stereotyping. They will not surprise *Fabian Review* readers, but they are a sharp reminder of just how common and vicious the language of 'benefit scroungers' and the 'underclass' is.

However, beyond bringing together these examples the book does little to investigate the power of these stereotypes, or the reasons they are so instantly appealing to so many. Jones moves instead to offer a number of arguments on a range of issues from the decline in traditional working class occupations to the depth of entrenched inequality in modern Britain. His points are passionately made, but dealing with such a broad range of material leaves little room for nuance or subtlety.

Jones argues the direction of economic policy in the 1980s, which saw the UK move from a manufacturing to a service economy, was part of a Thatcher-led drive to undermine and diminish the working class. By breaking the unions and the traditional structures that enabled workers to organise, Thatcher weakened their voice. Creating a rhetoric of meritocracy enabled politicians to argue that those left behind had only themselves to blame.

Most on the left would agree that the social upheaval of this period was profoundly damaging for many communities and that the experience of unemployment has left an indelible mark on many working class people. But in his anger at Thatcher's Government, Jones risks positioning himself as a hopeless nostalgic. He goes beyond criticising the way that transition was handled and seems determined nothing should have changed at all – never mind that in a global economy Britain could no longer thrive by making things the way it used to. More than longing for the past, Jones seems convinced we should do all we can to get back there.

His is a simplistic and idealised picture of mid-twentieth century working class life – a time when men worked and socialised together in tight knit communities with a sense of pride in their work and secure in their social status. There is very little discussion of the role of women in these communities: where their experiences are considered, it is most often as wives of working men. There is no mention of the damage wrought to the health of many of those in manufacturing and heavy industry. When describing the shift to the modern

economy he emphasises the dehumanising and mundane nature of work in supermarkets and call centres – but are these jobs really worse than the long shifts many people worked, and still work, on production lines?

The target of the book then switches to a critique of New Labour. Jones argues Tony Blair zealously continued Thatcher's crusade to deny the existence of the working class. Jones is right to argue the impact of social change on community life and the issues faced by the working class – the housing shortage, the stagnation of wages and the increase in job insecurity – were not given due attention during Labour's 13

More than longing for the past, Jones seems convinced we should do all we can to get back there

years of power. But he fails to note the genuine efforts post '97 to support those living on low incomes – from the minimum wage to the massive investment in regenerating ex-mining communities. We might argue about the effectiveness of these measures, but it is disingenuous to pretend they never happened.

When it comes to constructive proposals it is hard to disagree with Jones's call for a movement for jobs, a 'good work' agenda and recognition of the real issues faced by the working class. But I'm left wondering which of the many injustices he's highlighted these are intended to remedy. He seems to put the cart before the horse: it's more likely that the existence of negative perceptions of those on low incomes will hold this agenda back, rather than these measures will succeed in changing stubborn attitudes.

The book offers an entirely political explanation of the power of the 'chav' caricature and an entirely political solution. But this is a social and psychological phenomenon. *Chavs* does not effectively investigate why this caricature has lodged itself so powerfully in mainstream popular culture or why people find it so plausible. Whilst persuasive for the converted, it's unlikely the raft of evidence Jones offers that those in poverty aren't to blame will change any minds. More fruitful for Jones's cause would be a look at how those beliefs can be shifted and how stereotypes can be broken. Until those questions are answered, there will continue to be too many nasty *Daily Mail* headlines and too little social change. ■

THE SUMMER IN REVIEW



© Pavla Kopečna

Clockwise from top left: Alastair Campbell, Chuka Umunna MP, Luciana Berger MP with newly appointed Fabian General Secretary Andrew Harrop, Alison McGovern MP

Alastair Campbell was the special guest at the second annual **Fabian Summer Gala Dinner**, which was held at Altitude 360 at the top of Millbank Tower, home of the best views in Westminster. Speaking after rising star Chuka Umunna MP, who praised his fellow members of Labour's parliamentary Class of 2010, Campbell reflected that not only had the unfolding media furor over phone hacking changed politicians' relationship with the media, but it had also given Ed Miliband an opportunity to show real political leadership. He likened Miliband's boldness to that shown by Tony Blair over 'Clause IV' in the early 90's. Campbell also hosted a raffle and signed books, the proceeds from which went to support the Fabian Society. The evening was compered by Alison McGovern MP and attendees were treated to an evening of fine dining, with each table hosted by MPs such as John Denham, Kate Green, Rachel Reeves and Tristram Hunt. ■

At the **Fabian Progressive Fightback conference** Labour's election co-ordinator, Andy Burnham was joined by one time Labour supporter and current Business Secretary Vince Cable. Speaking after the local, Scottish and Welsh elections, as well as the referendum on the Alternative Vote, Cable bemoaned how oppositional politics had become. As reported on Left Foot Forward, Cable argued that "[W]e have reverted to an extraordinarily tribal way of looking at politics ... the question is: where does it lead?" A retreat to a more polarized politics would, he suggested, benefit the Tories most. Burnham countered, to resounding applause, that it was wrong to characterise opposition to cuts as opportunistic tribalism, instead arguing that the Lib Dems needed to accept there is genuine sense of anger and betrayal felt over their broken promises. Burnham did however stress that Labour must focus its ire on "the real enemy": the Conservatives. ■

LISTINGS JULY 2011



A note from Local Societies Officer, Deborah Stoute

The Local Societies Annual House of Commons Meeting and Tea is an event which is always popular with Local Society members. There are always over 100 people at the meeting and they come from all over Britain just for this event.

The meeting is always stimulating – and being a Fabian audience, people are not backward in coming forward – and the tea afterwards is a good way for an annual catch up with fellow Fabians and to meet MPs and Peers.

This year's event (details right) promises to be fascinating, with Lord Roy Hattersley, Paul Richards and Kate Green MP talking about how Fabian values inform Labour Policy. It's a typically Fabian tradition to combine the political with the social. Many Local Societies have summer social and garden parties at this time of year, as can be seen from the listings, so the meeting/tea format is a good combination.

And as is usual for Labour events (but unusually for the House of Commons I believe) there's a raffle during the Tea with interesting prizes which are highly sought after. Many years ago, before I worked at the Society, I won a tie which Paul Boateng had donated with a picture of a steam engine on it and which played 'The Runaway Train' when pushed. You too could be so lucky!



BEXLEY

Regular meetings. Contact Alan Scutt on 0208 304 0413 or alan.scutt@phonecoop.coop

BIRMINGHAM

All meetings at 7.00 in the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Margaret Street, Birmingham. Details from Claire Spencer on virginiaisawithc@gmail.com

BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT

All meetings at The Friends Meeting House, Wharnccliffe Rd, Boscombe, Bournemouth at 7.30. Contact Ian Taylor on 01202 396634 for details or taylori@bpc.ac.uk

BRIGHTON & HOVE

Summer Garden Party. 2.00 Tickets £7.50. Details of this and all meetings from Maire McQueeney on 01273 607910 email mairemcqueeney@waitrose.com

BRISTOL

New Society formed. Contact Ges Rosenberg for details on grosenberg@churchside.me.uk

CANTERBURY

Please contact Ian Leslie on 01227 265570 or 07973 681 451 or email i.leslie@btinternet.com

CAMBRIDGE

Details from Kenny Latunde-Dada cambridgefabiansociety@hotmail.co.uk

CARDIFF AND THE VALE

Details of all meetings from Jonathan Wynne Evans on 02920 594 065 or wynneevans@phonecoop.coop

CENTRAL LONDON

Regular meetings at 7.30 in the Cole Room, 11 Dartmouth Street, London SW1A 9BN
Details from Ian Leslie on 01227 265570 or 07973 681451

CHISWICK & WEST LONDON

Details from Monty Bogard on 0208 994 1780, email mb014f362@blueyonder.co.uk

COLCHESTER

1 July, 7.00 for 7.15
Debate on the Future of the NHS
Details from John Wood on 01206 212100 or woodj@madasafish.com
Or 01206 212100

DARTFORD & GRAVESHAM

28 July. Graham Smith from Republic on 'Republic 2025: Abolishing the Monarchy in our Lifetime?' Details from Deborah Stoute on 0207 227 4904 email debstoute@hotmail.com

DONCASTER AND DISTRICT

New Society forming, for details and information contact Kevin Rodgers on 07962 019168 email k.t.rodgers@gmail.com

EAST LOTHIAN

Details of this and all other meetings from Noel Foy on 01620 824386 email noelfoy@lewisk3.plus.com

FINCHLEY

30 June. Frances Crook, Director of the Howard League for Penal Reform on 'A Penal Policy Fit for Labour' Enquiries to Mike Walsh on 07980 602122

GLASGOW

Now holding regular meetings. Contact Martin Hutchinson on mail@liathach.net

GLOUCESTER

Regular meetings at TGWU, 1 Pullman Court, Great Western Rd, Gloucester. Details from Roy Ansley on 01452 713094 email roybrendachd@yahoo.co.uk

GREENWICH

New Society forming. If you are interested in becoming a member of this local Society, please contact Chris Kirby on cckirby@hotmail.co.uk

GRIMSBY

Regular meetings. Details from Maureen Freeman on m.freeman871@btinternet.com

HARROW

Details from Marilyn Devine on 0208 424 9034. Fabians from other areas where there are no local Fabian Societies are very welcome to join us.

HAVERING

13 July. Mandy Richards and Cllr Umesh Desai on the 2012 Mayoral Campaign 15 September. Margaret Hodge MP. Details of all meetings from David Marshall email david.c.marshall.t21@btinternet.com tel 01708 441189

HERTFORDSHIRE

Regular meetings. Details from Robin Cherney at RCher24@aol.com

HORNSEY AND WOOD GREEN

New Society forming. Contact David Chaplin – chaplind@gmail.com

ISLINGTON

For details of all meetings contact Dab Staycey on dan_stacey@hotmail.com

LEEDS

New Society forming. If you would like to become a member of this new Local Society, please contact Bryony King on bryonyvictoriaking@hotmail.co.uk

LEICESTER

New Society forming. Please contact Annie Moelwyn-Hughes on anniemh@tiscali.co.uk

MANCHESTER

Details from Graham Whitham on 079176 44435 email manchesterfabians@googlemail.com and a blog at http://grmanfabians.blogspot.com



MERSEYSIDE

(Formerly Wirral Fabian Society)
Anyone interested in forming a new Fabian Society, please contact Alan Milne – alan@milne280864.fsnet.co.uk

MIDDLESBOROUGH

New Society hoping to get established. Please contact Andrew Maloney on 07757 952784 or email andrewmaloney@hotmail.co.uk for details

NEWHAM

Regular meetings. Contact Tahmina Rahman – Tahmina_rahman_1@hotmail.com

NORTHUMBRIA AREA

For details and booking contact Pat Hobson at pat.hobson@hotmail.com

NORTHAMPTON AREA

New Society forming. If you are interested in becoming a member of this new society, please contact Dave Brede on davidbrede@yahoo.com

NORWICH

Society reforming. Contact Andreas Paterson – andreas@headswitch.co.uk

NOTTINGHAM

New Society forming. Contact Dr Arun Chopra – arun2111@hotmail.com

PETERBOROUGH

Meetings at 8.00 at the Ramada Hotel, Thorpe Meadows, Peterborough. Details from Brian Keegan on 01733 265769, email brian@briankeegan.demon.co.uk

PORTSMOUTH

Regular monthly meetings, details from June Clarkson on 02392 874293 email jclarkson1006@hotmail.com

READING & DISTRICT

For details of all meetings, contact Tony Skuse on 0118 978 5829 email tony@skuse.net

SHEFFIELD

Details and information from Rob Murray on 0114 255 8341 or email robertjmurray@hotmail.com

SOUTH EAST LONDON

27 July, Summer Social, 7.00
28 September, Heidi Alexander MP
30 November, Loretta Minghella, Director of Christian Aid.
Regular meetings contact Duncan Bowie on 020 8693 2709 or email duncanbowie@yahoo.co.uk

SOUTHAMPTON AREA

For details of venues and all meetings, contact Eliot Horn at eliot.horn@btinternet.com

SOUTH TYNESIDE

For information about this Society please contact Paul Freeman on 0191 5367 633 or at freemanpsmb@blueyonder.co.uk

SUFFOLK

24 July, Garden Party, 12.00
Regular monthly meetings, details from John Cook on 01473 255131, email contact@ipswich-labour.org.uk

SURREY

Regular meetings at Guildford Cathedral Education Centre Details from Maureen Swage on 01252 733481 or maureen.swage@btinternet.com

TONBRIDGE AND TUNBRIDGE WELLS

For details of this and other meetings contact John Champneys on 01892 523429

TYNEMOUTH

Monthly supper meetings, details from Brian Flood on 0191 258 3949

WARWICKSHIRE

New Society forming. Details from Ben Ferrett on ben_ferrett@hotmail.com

WEST DURHAM

The West Durham Fabian Society welcomes new members from all areas of the North East not served by other Fabian Societies. It has a regular programme of speakers from the public, community and voluntary sectors. It meets normally on the last Saturday of alternate months at the Joiners Arms, Hunwick between 12.15 and 2.00pm – light lunch £2.00. Contact the Secretary Cllr Professor Alan Townsend, 62A Low Willington, Crook, Durham DL15 0BG, tel, 01388 746479 email alan.townsend@wearvalley.gov.uk

WIMBLEDON

New Society forming. Please contact Andy Ray on 07944 545161 or andyray@blueyonder.co.uk if you are interested.

YORK

Regular meetings on 3rd or 4th Fridays at 7.45 at Jacob's Well, Off Micklegate, York. Details from Steve Burton on steve.burton688@mod.uk

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MEETING AND TEA

'Labour's Future – What Can we Learn from the Fabian tradition?'

Speakers include Lord Roy Hattersley, Paul Richards, Tim Horton and Kate Green MP.

House of Commons Committee Room 10 and after tea at 4.00 in Members Dining Room.

Tickets £16 from Deborah Stoaate, Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, SW1H 9BN, debstoate@hotmail.com or ring 0207 227 4904

Cheques payable to the Fabian Society please.

FABIAN QUIZ



MODERN CLASSICS



IN DEFENCE OF POLITICS

Bernard Crick

"His seminal work ... it has a new significance today"

The Guardian

Penguin has kindly given us five copies of the new Modern Classics edition of Bernard Crick's defence of politics as the only way of holding a free society together. To win one, answer the following question:

What year was 'In Defence of Politics' originally published?

Please email your answers and your address to:
review@fabian-society.org.uk

or send a postcard to:
Fabian Society
Fabian Quiz
11 Dartmouth Street
London SW1H 9BN

Answers must be received no later than Friday 15 September 2011

NOTICEBOARD

Fabian Executive Elections

Call for nominations.

Nominations are now invited for:

- 15 Executive Committee places
- 4 Local Society places on the Executive
- Honorary Treasurer
- Scottish Convenor
- Welsh Convenor
- 12 Young Fabian Executive places

Election will be by postal ballot of all full national members and local society members. Nominations should be in writing and individuals can nominate themselves. Local society nominations should be made by local societies. At least two of the 15 national members and one of the four local society members elected must be under the age of 31 at the AGM on 12th November 2011. Nominees for both national and Young Fabian elections should submit a statement in support of their nomination, including information about themselves, of not more than 70 words.

Nominations should be sent to:

Fabian Society Elections
11 Dartmouth Street, London SW1H 9BN

Or they can be faxed to: 020 7976 7153 or emailed to:
phil.mutero@fabian-society.org.uk.

Please write the position nominated for at the top of the envelope, fax or subject line of the email. **The closing date for nominations is Monday 15th August 2011.**

Young Fabian Executive Elections

If you are interested in becoming a member of the Young Fabian Executive, there are two ways to be selected. You can either enter the elections that are soon to take place by writing a short statement or you can stand for co-options later in the year where up to 5 additional people are recruited to defined roles by 12 the elected executive members.

The Young Fabian Executive is committed to being open and inclusive and encouraging diverse members to stand for election and co-options. To inform people of the processes, how to enhance your chances of success and to answer any additional questions about the roles, we will be hosting a Webchat at 7pm on Monday 25th July and a meeting in

London on Tuesday 26th July at 6.30pm. Please check the website or the update for further details or contact Exec Member and Member Involvement Officer, Preth Rao on prao@youngfabians.org.uk to RSVP.

AGM Resolutions

Any full member, national or local, may submit a resolution to the AGM. The deadline for resolutions is 15th August 2011. They should be addressed to the General Secretary at the address above or emailed to phil.mutero@fabian-society.org.uk. Resolutions will be circulated in the Autumn issue of Fabian Review and amendments will be invited. Please contact Phil Mutero at phil.mutero@fabian-society.org or phone 020 7227 4911 for more information about the above.

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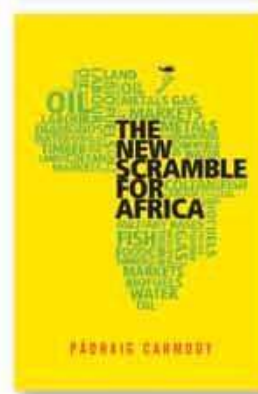
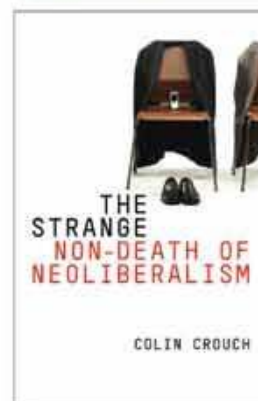
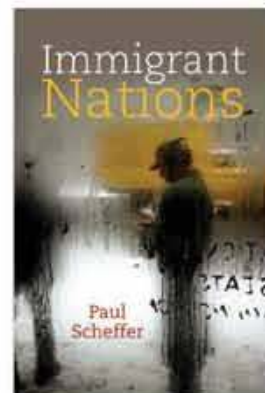
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