

FABIAN REVIEW

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MILIBAND'S MAJORITY

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FABIAN REVIEW

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Winning in a recovery

Labour should celebrate economic good news but show it's the only party for long-term economic prosperity—*Andrew Harrop*

ECONOMIC HEADLINES ARE a tricky business when political parties are in opposition. The easy temptation is to treat bad news as good, and good news as bad. So how should Labour respond now that the economy finally appears to be on the mend?

It's true that much is still wrong, with housing costs spiralling, pay stagnant and millions not working for as many hours as they wish to; but Labour must avoid always being 'glass half empty'. The party should celebrate good news and where possible draw the links to its own legacy in government.

Take, for example, the largely unheralded announcement that the number of households where no one works had reached its lowest level since records began. In terms of family life chances, this is perhaps a more important measure than unemployment, and its low level is a credit to past Labour policies, for example the party's support for lone parents.

The politics of a 'recovery' election won't be easy, of course. The right wing media will talk up the government's handling of the economy and George Osborne will try to use a nascent housing bubble and debt-funded consumer spending to create the veneer of prosperity. But this is not mission impossible. Labour has come to power in similar circumstances, in 1964 and 1997, and it's sometimes said that voters are more likely to turn to an untested Labour opposition when the economy is in reasonable health.

Labour can win the economic debate by showing it is the only party which has positive answers on family living standards and long-term economic prosperity. The party will use the next two years to highlight the gradual erosion in standards of living, but now it must also start to announce convincing solutions for relieving pressurised

family budgets, which are more persuasive than a Tory offer of pre-election tax cuts. That should mean short-term steps like a higher minimum wage and better support to help work pay for parents.

But it also means unveiling policies which show that only Labour is truly seeking to shift the economic balance of power in favour of ordinary people. Fabian research published this month shows the public is overwhelmingly suspicious of a return to 'business as usual' and believes prosperity for families will not return without radical change in the way the economy works. Labour must define itself as the party of 'change' against 'more of the same'.

Fiscal policy will provide another dividing line. In November, projections for future government revenue will be revised upwards for the first time since the coalition came to power. George Osborne's instinct will be to spend the extra money on faster deficit reduction or tax cuts. But Labour will be able to argue for an alternative, without being accused of hidden tax plans. The party should demand that the proceeds of growth are used to prevent the fraying of the services people value most and to increase investment geared to the future, which is gradually declining as a proportion of spending.

To prove Labour is the party of long-term prosperity it could promise to use the extra revenue only to support the most productive areas of public spending, ploughing money generated from economic recovery back into investment in education and infrastructure. This commitment would supplant Ed Balls' current proposal for a one-off stimulus for capital spending, which is being overtaken by events. Labour can show that it is the party of economic responsibility and long-termism by promising the first call on the extra money from recovery should be spending for our economic future. **F**

Shortcuts



PAINTING THE TOWN RED

With Labour's localisers in the ascendancy, *Richard Speight* highlights the role that our small towns will play if Labour is to win back power and make a difference to people's lives

There is a growing ideological strength and intellectual creativity amongst the forces of Labour's localisers. Jon Wilson's pamphlet *Letting Go*, published by the Fabian Society this time last year, has opened new areas of debate. The LGA Labour group report *One Nation Localism* has highlighted areas where Labour-run local authorities are making significant change happen despite savaged budgets. And the community organising revolution taking place within the party offers the promise of campaigning grounded in people's locally lived experience rather than centrally determined 'dividing lines'.

While the consensus for a renewed localism is growing, consensus about what form it will take seems further away. But it is vital for Labour's chances of forming the next government that the town is its heart.

Glancing at Labour's 106 target constituencies will make apparent the nature of the task. Places like Cambridge, Great Yarmouth, Redditch, Peterborough, Harlow, Crawley, Hastings and Rye, Gloucester, Lincoln and Carlisle feature heavily. The key political battleground is in the streets of our small towns. Labour's campaign in 2015 will succeed or fail on whether Labour can win over voters in Britain's new towns, market towns and seaside towns.

The political challenge is stark. In 1997, Labour had political representation in 19 of the 20 designated new towns in England; that number has fallen to eight. Where the lack of significant boundary changes make direct comparison possible, Labour's average vote share in English new towns exceeded their average vote share in England as a

whole by approximately 12 per cent in 1997 and mean turnout was 2 per cent higher than the average. By 2010, Labour was still outperforming its English average in new towns by 7 per cent but turnout had dropped two points below the turnout for England as a whole. In 1997, 17 Labour MPs represented English seaside towns with a population of over 40,000; by 2010 that number had reduced to just seven.

An exclusive focus on regeneration and infrastructure in the major cities of the UK risks marginalising the towns of Britain even further, creating 'train-window towns', the British political equivalent of flyover states in the USA

The rise of UKIP with its nebulous anti-establishment rhetoric puts additional focus on the problem. The 2013 local election results saw UKIP gaining the majority of votes in seaside towns in Great Yarmouth and South Thanet constituencies and polling in the twenties in Harlow, Lincoln, Hastings and Rye, Northampton North, Kettering, Redditch and Dartford. The old certainty that UKIP was a threat to Cameron's right flank and a boon to Labour was smashed by 2013's county council results.

How can a renewed localism answer this challenge? Many of the options on the table leave a lot to be desired. Regional and sub-regional agencies proved wildly unpopular and enthusiasm for more regional democracy seems still to be out for the count following the knockout blow of the North East regional assembly referendum defeat. And the growing interest in combined authorities and city regions seem designed to answer the technocratic challenge of declining local authority revenue, not the political legitimacy crisis.

We need a localism that doesn't just talk about our cities. An exclusive focus on regeneration and infrastructure in the major cities of the UK risks marginalising the towns of Britain even further, creating 'train-window towns', the British political equivalent of flyover states in the USA. There may be a place for large-scale infrastructure projects like HS2, but Labour needs a strong focus on the kind of infrastructure that matters in our towns and should back measures

like mutually-owned or social enterprise bus companies.

We need a localism that is sympathetic to local conditions. The Department of Work and Pensions' jobcentre system is an example of this kind of unresponsive service, where there is little reflection of local circumstances, inadequate deployment of local expertise and a one-size-fits-all approach. Local authorities should be given more powers, working in partnership with local schools, colleges, employers and third sector organisations, to end the centralised pigeonholing of our current service for those out of work.

And above all we need to put people back into the political process. Fabian polling from last summer indicated that 70 per cent of people believed that greater oversight of public services by local people would improve services. Labour should boost institutions that enable people to hold their services to account and create new bodies where necessary to ensure that people can help shape the services for their towns.

Our towns are valuable. The civic pride and sense of place that they engender can be a powerful impetus for achieving progressive change. But we will not harness it if people living in towns feel as if they are being bypassed and ignored by national government. Their value must be recognised in Labour's localism. ■

Richard Speight is media and communications manager at the Fabian Society and a Labour councillor in Thurrock



A NEW ERA

Defining the relationship between market and state is the new task for Fabianism, argues *Seema Malhotra*

The founding Fabians would have railed against 'responsible capitalism' as inherently >>

>> oxymoronic. In the first Fabian essay on socialism, George Bernard Shaw states with *fin de siècle* certainty that “shareholder and landlord live alike on the produce extracted from their property by the labour of the proletariat.” The key contribution of Fabians since has been to move socialism on from the quasi-Marxist view of capitalism, and to explain that a strong society can exist alongside markets, that greater equality can sit alongside the ownership of property, and that work can be fulfilling without being exploitative.

When Ed Miliband talks about a ‘responsible capitalism’, he recognises that markets make fine servants, but poor masters. The financial crash, as with each crisis of capitalism, creates the conditions for radical reform of systems, processes, regulations, cultures and institutions. Labour has led the debate about banking reform, and Miliband’s speech at Google in June firmly laid out the challenge of corporate responsibility. Business can be successful at the same time as working for the common good. This is Labour’s historic opportunity.

Companies are going to have to do something different in order to create a different future, rather than recycle the past

We’ve come a long way since I organised a Young Fabian conference back in 1999 with Dr Janice Dean (now at Warwick University) on the ethics of good business. Then, following the 1997–8 crisis in the Asian economies, the role of corporate governance was under scrutiny. We debated ways that reform of company governance could lead to an improved capitalism: more ethical, more long-termist, more concerned with community sustainability, more environmentally-aware.

Since the 1990s, many companies have adopted improved governance and a more ethical stance. But we are reminded daily, from tragic avoidable deaths in Bangladeshi sweatshops, to the unscrupulous high-street ‘legal loan sharks’, that many have not.

An incoming Labour government will have to tackle these issues, by working with business and many others; indeed many business leaders and investors will welcome reform. As Chuka Umunna has argued, the behaviours of responsible capitalism are “not only for the good of the community, the workforce, or the environment... but for the good of business itself. Rather than seeing these kinds of obligations only as things that

add cost, many are discovering that if they are built into the business model: they save costs.”

Individual companies must take up the lion’s share of the work. Governments cannot run companies. A recent event run by the thinktank Reform showed that many British firms are making impressive progress on employee engagement, social responsibility and environmental sustainability. For example, Steve Waygood of Aviva Investors, has argued that market failure in the capital markets might be corrected by more informed investors, and more corporate transparency. He says: “Information asymmetry could be addressed in part by mandating companies to report on their sustainability issues throughout their reports and accounts on a comply or explain basis.”

We need a new paradigm that is a combination of carrot and stick on corporate responsibility. Companies are going to have to do something different in order to create a different future, rather than recycle the past. What needs to emerge from this debate is a menu for decision makers as what becomes voluntary change, mandatory reporting or mandatory change. Publishing pay ratios, for example, between the highest and lowest paid has been a discussion for over 30 years in the party. Even reporting can change attitudes and behaviour within an organisation. You’d be surprised how much those at the top probably don’t even know about their organisations because no one has ever asked the question.

But changing the rules of the political game and ensuring compliance with reformed taxation rules is just one side of the coin. The other side is a new framework to support decision making and reporting that has the chance of giving our companies new tools and better information to make decisions for a more sustainable outcome.

The debate on responsible capitalism is a signal for a new era. Not just of a policing role and taxation role of the state, but for a new-style state to be a partner in success: an entrepreneurial state, that crosses new boundaries in expertise and relationships between the public and private sectors; a state that leads in creating the right environments, and deploying resources in new ways. In an era of reduced expenditure, and growth in entrepreneurship and innovation across the world, the changing role of the state and its relationship with the market is an exciting challenge for Fabians. ■

Seema Malhotra MP is the chair of the parliamentary Labour party BIS Group, parliamentary private secretary to Yvette Cooper MP, and member of the Fabian Executive



JUSTICE FOR ALL

Labour’s fight to save legal aid is about preserving social justice in times of austerity, writes Charlotte Proudman

The Labour party pioneered a new system of welfare in the 1940s when Clement Attlee’s post-war Labour government introduced the Legal Aid and Advice Act 1949. Since the 1940s legal aid has been vital in upholding the rule of law, providing representation to the most marginalised in society and holding the government and public bodies to account. But this is now under threat: in an attempt to save £220 million per year by 2018, Chris Grayling, the justice secretary, has proposed further severe cuts to legal aid.

The proposals are made soon after the implementation of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders (LASPO) reforms on 1st April 2013. The LASPO reforms have undoubtedly damaged access to justice in civil law. With fewer people entitled to legal aid in family and civil law there are more litigants representing themselves in court, many of whom are profoundly vulnerable individuals, clogging the court system and leaving court with an unsatisfactory outcome. Meanwhile individuals unable to navigate the legal system are left isolated and without legal protection.

Considering the prevailing injustice of LASPO, the government’s latest proposals have sparked fierce opposition from judges, lawyers, charities and citizens. 16,000 responded to the government’s recent ‘transforming legal aid’ consultation which ended in June this year. According to Grayling “the [legal aid] system has lost much of its credibility with the public”, yet the evidence suggests the contrary. A poll from the Bar Council of over 2,000 people conducted by ComRes in May 2013 found seven out of 10 people were concerned that cuts to legal aid could lead to innocent people being convicted and 67 per cent agreed legal aid is a price worth paying for living in a fair society.

One of Grayling’s most controversial proposals was price-competitive tendering for criminal legal aid contracts. Solicitors

firms were expected to bid for legal aid contracts alongside non-legal competitors such as G4S. Contracts would have been awarded to the lowest bidder rather than the most experienced. After tireless opposition from the Labour party, lawyers, and third sector organisations, Grayling announced on 5 September 2013 that he planned to drop price-competitive tendering, the most controversial proposal to cut legal aid.

Without access to legal aid, targeted sections of society will be left without recourse to the law

However, Grayling is still pursuing drastic legal aid cuts. Under the proposals, a residence test will be introduced where anyone who has not lawfully resided in the UK for a continuous 12 month period, with the exception of British armed service personnel abroad and asylum seekers, will no longer be eligible for civil legal aid. In practice this means victims of human trafficking, as well as many other vulnerable immigrants, will not have access to justice.

In a bid to restrict legal aid for prisoners, it is proposed prisoners will no longer be eligible for legal aid unless their case directly relates to whether they should be in custody. Prisoners subjected to unlawful treatment in custody for instance, will not be eligible for legal aid under the government's proposals.

Finally, funding for judicial review, which holds the government and public bodies to account will be curtailed. The government's proposed cuts to legal aid will erode the accountability of public bodies to ensure equality and fairness. Various cases and reports, such as the Stephen Lawrence case and the Scarman Report in 1981, show that inequalities occur in policing, sentencing and the treatment of prisoners. The criminal justice system is deeply ingrained with inequalities: without access to legal aid, targeted sections of society will be left without recourse to the law while public bodies responsible for such victimisation will not be held to account.

In opposing the government's proposals, Labour has taken a pragmatic approach. Labour accept financial savings need to be made but unlike Grayling, Sadiq Khan, the shadow justice secretary, has drawn on his experience as a solicitor and devised counter-proposals which preserve justice and make financial savings. Proposals include addressing the cause of money loss in the justice system by reviewing the courts, crown prosecution service and judiciary to

cut out inefficiency and bureaucracy. One example might be extending Magistrates' Courts case load by giving them the power to give sentences of up to 12 months (rather than six months) for single offences, as opposed to transferring to the Crown Court, which would save money as magistrates are unpaid.

It is felicitous the Labour party has taken on the fight of saving our justice system; after all fairness and equality are its core values. In striving for the preservation of justice, the Labour party have provided the public with a vehicle of opposition and showed that it is possible to prioritise social justice in times of austerity. **F**

Charlotte Rachael Proudman is a barrister at 1 Mitre Court Buildings and policy advisor to Rob Ffello MP, shadow junior minister for justice



THE STORIES WE TELL

We must continue to defend the filmmaker's right to say things we disagree with, argues *Rachael Jolley*

Film is both a reflector and a creator of the societies in which we live.

As the British Board of Cinema Classification publishes a report marking the centenary of the introduction of film censorship, it's worth looking back at how films have changed society, have opened up healthy debates, and have pushed back against laws that were holding social change in check.

Cinema (and its cousins, documentary and reality footage) holds a mirror to our lives; and the narratives within it have the power to change attitudes. Importantly then, we must continue to allow films to be shown that reflect the many and varied aspects of nations, and showcase the different attitudes within them.

Film, like other forms of national conversation, must be allowed to open up arguments and air them, even if some people feel offended by them. Films and other dramas, plays and novels are there to test ideas, to provoke and to stimulate.

But if film reflects, or refracts, versions of our societies and ways of life – be it commercial Hollywood, or arthouse, or documentary, or even the film we use in social networking – it is also a creator of new modes of behaviour, of new ways of living, as well as an indicator of the robust nature of the society itself. When, in the 1930s Hollywood movie *It Happened One Night*, Clark Gable removed his shirt and revealed that he was wearing no under-vest, the sales of those garments dropped substantially during the next year, as American men, wanting to be men like Gable, chose to do without them.

Film histories will pick out individual films from individual countries that have had a direct impact on changing societal practice or the law, or which have appeared at a moment to catch the tide of change. In Poland in the 1980s, for example, *A Short Film About Killing* is widely believed to have assisted in ending the use of the death penalty. In Britain, the 1960's film *Victim* was the first to feature an openly homosexual lead character, an act of considerable courage by the actor, Dirk Bogarde, then a matinee idol, at a time when to be actively homosexual was illegal and punishable by prison.

The 1960s brought social realism and a new cool to working class accents. Those new cinematic heroes began the first steps to breaking down other social and class norms, such as BBC presenters being forced to lose their local accents. While there wasn't a censor saying cinema stars must be a bit posh, there was something almost revolutionary about people going to the flicks and seeing somebody who they could identify with, as the centre of attention on screen. And in the United States, when Sidney Poitier appeared in *Guess Who's Coming To Dinner* it pushed back at public attitudes about mixed marriages being unacceptable. The 1960s was an era of great cultural change and in the UK as new wave films arrived so too did a raft of social legislation, from the Abortion Act to the Divorce Reform Acts; film was reflecting and changing society.

What we know from this is that the stories that are told about a country by its own citizens and by others are important. We also know there will always be authoritarian figures who want everything their own way; they want their narrative to be the only one allowed to be heard.

Jean-Pierre Bekolo's film *Le President* was recently banned in Cameroon because it discussed the end of 80 year-old president Paul Biya's reign, and that was speaking and thinking the unthinkable. In the last 18 months, Malian musicians have been suffering from the censorship of sounds, with >>

>> a crackdown on forms of music, right down to musical ringtones on phones, resulting in violence against those who did not conform. These kinds of decisions tell a story about society and about the governments that make them.

In Britain, we are still struggling. A new Bollywood production *Madras Café*, a drama about the role of the Tamil Tigers in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, has been pulled from the playlist at Cineworld cinemas because the chain worried about offending some people, following protests by Tamil groups. But surely no single community should have the right to demand the withdrawal of a piece of art or film. In a democratic nation we should be a bit more thick skinned and be able to cope with criticism of our beliefs, culture or history; and celebrate the ability that we can discuss and debate. Cinemas are businesses and have the right to play whatever they choose. But in the UK, like in other countries, the decisions we make about the stories we show are an indication of the freedom of the nation, the society we live in today, and its robust belief in its citizens to make their own choices; and choices about what films they see or do not should not be imposed upon them. **F**

Rachael Jolley is the editor of Index on Censorship magazine



SAVING TIME

Politicians must work with the pensions industry to encourage people to save again in insecure times, writes *Otto Thoresen*

The financial crisis of 2008 not only shook our faith in financial institutions; it also exposed the lack of financial resilience among the public. A general lack of financial capability in the population at large, coupled with a dependency on short-term credit to cover financial emergencies, was a bad starting point for us as a nation and we are being faced with other more deep-seated and long-term challenges.

Our population is ageing rapidly, and retirees are not being replaced with younger

workers at the same rate. With the decline of final salary pension schemes, many people are left facing retirement with lower incomes than they had hoped for. And with continued pressure on discretionary income, we face a looming crisis of millions of workers reaching retirement with little or nothing to live on beyond the state pension.

As the long-term savings and pensions industry changes to meet the challenge of insecure times, there are some key factors which will determine the future health of the nation's pension savers in the years to come.

Auto-enrolment, the plan conceived under the last Labour government to automatically enrol all workers earning above £9440 per annum into a workplace pension, was introduced last year with cross party support, and will be rolled out in stages up to 2017. Workers can opt out, but Department for Work and Pensions figures recently demonstrated a promising average drop out rate of just 9 per cent amongst those employees who were part of the first phase of auto enrolment. This is a key element of improving future outcomes for the generations to come and we must all work hard to ensure that it is as effective as possible.

With millions of people being brought into pension saving for the first time, the pensions industry has been modernising its practices. Contrary to the impression sometimes created by Gregg McClymont MP, the shadow pensions minister, and others, pension charges have been falling steadily for the last decade, and now stand at an average of just 0.52 per cent for new auto enrolment schemes. The Association of British Insurers (ABI) agreement on the disclosure of charges and costs will ensure providers disclose clearly all charges and costs to customers from 2015, to help them have confidence they are getting value for money from their provider.

A further regular criticism from Labour is that defined-contribution pensions schemes do not afford their members the benefits of economies of scale. This is simply wrong, as customers of the large insurers have access to the economies of scale of administration systems which support hundreds of thousands of employees in similar pension plans across the country. These providers compete with each other in an open market to offer better value at lower cost, with the resulting reduction in charge levels. Competition also has created a number of specialist providers offering more sophisticated solutions to people wishing to take more control of the investment strategy of their pension fund.

Purchasing an annuity is one of the most important financial decisions most

people will ever make; it is vital they are given all the information they need to make this decision and the time in which to do so. Insurers are doing more than ever to make certain customers understand the importance of shopping around for their annuity so people get the best possible value from their pension pots. All members of the ABI who sell annuity products must now encourage customers to consider other providers and are promoting choice – from joint annuities, which cover spouses, to enhanced annuities, which pay higher income to those who have health conditions. All of this gives more options for customers and a better likelihood that they will get the best deal for their circumstances.

It is vital if people are to better engage with pension saving and planning for their retirement that financial education and literacy in this country improves. An informed consumer is more able to make financial decisions and to plan ahead to weather the storms of periods of financial uncertainty.

The government has announced that financial education will be part of the school curriculum. This is welcome, but we need to see a plan from both government and opposition to better inform people of all ages on how to manage their budgets, plan for the future and provide for their retirement. Only then will we see customers taking control of their financial affairs.

As the pensions sector moves to improve trust, and works with customers to improve their outlook for retirement, this needs to be matched with clear information for the public from politicians. Some of the rhetoric from Labour in opposition does not match the reality of a modernising pensions industry that is evolving rapidly to meet different consumer expectations. Moreover, through auto-enrolment we are only just beginning to encourage people to save again and politicians need to ensure that their criticism does not become dogmatic and serve to put people off saving altogether. Politicians need to ensure people feel informed about what the state will provide, the important role saving through pensions will play in providing retirement income, and the support the tax system gives to such saving, alongside other means of providing income in retirement. In the meantime, it is vital that financial education is successfully embedded in the school curriculum, and that future generations can build up their resilience. **F**

Otto Thoresen is Director General of the ABI, and headed the Thoresen Review into financial advice under the last Labour Government, which led to the creation of the Money Advice Service



FUTURE POSSIBLE

While policymakers should not be fatalistic about redirecting the path of British capitalism, ambition should be accompanied by realism about what can be achieved, writes *Rob Tinker*



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It's often said that politicians' outlook is insufficiently long term to promote good policymaking. The calculation involved in managing the electoral cycle and disruption caused by ministerial churn encourage a stop-start approach which is out of sync with the future needs of the country.

Whether agreeing a plan for social care or upgrading crumbling infrastructure, short termism has bedevilled solutions to the UK's big and complex problems.

There is a strong element of truth in this account. But as the past five years have shown, events beyond the control of government can also truncate its planning horizons. Since 2008 ministers have poured their efforts into measures designed to stabilise the economy and grow national output. Quarterly movements in GDP have assumed an almost totemic significance.

One can argue that this is only sensible during an exceptional period, as we are living through today. But neither can it last. If economic 'rebalancing' or 'responsible capitalism' are to animate policymaking in the next parliament, policymakers need to refocus their perspective on the future and work on the basis of the outcomes they wish to achieve.

This will not be easy. For one, there will be less room for manoeuvre on the fiscal side as all parties have committed to sharp reductions in spending after 2015. Further, a weaker relationship between growth and increased living standards means parties must attend to the sources and reach of GDP, not just delivering gains.

In addition however, policy needs to take account of a number of other constraints that will be present in the next

parliament and beyond: the uncertain magnitude of policy interventions; the future shape of the economy; and the trade-offs involved in competing policy objectives. No government wants to admit it has to make trade-offs, but developing a realistic account of the choices it faces will improve policy and strengthen accountability.

This realism will first involve some modesty about what can be achieved in the short to medium term. This is not a call to be unambitious. Instead it is to appreciate that whether one's aim is responsible capitalism or economic rebalancing, change will not occur within a five year parliament.

A recent report for the TUC looking at the declining share of national income going to wages illustrates this point well. Analysing the combined effect of increasing the national minimum wage, moving towards a living wage, increasing collective bargaining coverage and reducing unemployment, the authors estimate that only around 25 per cent of the drift in the 'wage share' that has occurred since 1980 could be reduced.

This sobering analysis shows how entrenched some of the social and economic trends of the last 30 years have become. But we also need an account of how the anticipated shape of the economy will affect policymaking today. Research undertaken last year for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation offered a pessimistic picture of the outlook for poverty and inequality. It suggests that by 2020 measures of both are set to rise and will be exacerbated by changes in the structure of employment. We know from elsewhere that without significant intervention by government, the UK's large low-wage

service sector is set to remain a feature of the economy. Understanding trends such as these in more detail needs to inform the distributional interventions of future administrations.

Finally, policymakers will need to understand how their aims and ambitions interact, and sequence actions accordingly. The outcome of a policy is not isolated in its effect, and where pulling a lever might deliver benefits on one level, negative feedback may occur at another. For instance, the current focus on shifting the balance of job creation away from the public sector is likely to worsen the regional and spatial imbalances which have long divided the UK. While upgrading the skills profile of the population can have a positive impact on measures of absolute poverty, without other targeted interventions the consequences for inequality are less benign. A tyranny of unreflective targets should be avoided, yet by articulating a clear sense of direction and priorities government can negotiate this tricky landscape.

Economies are not static and have been shown to change over time. So while policymakers should not be fatalistic about redirecting the path of British capitalism, ambition should be accompanied by realism. This is an issue for the coalition government, whose sense of purpose has been absent save for the cuts to public spending it has made since 2010. But perhaps it is most important for Labour, who having set the agenda on economic reform and living standards now need to show what change will resemble if it returns to government. **F**

Rob Tinker is a researcher at the Fabian Society

Miliband's majority

For months now the Labour leadership has been rocked by events, but see beyond them and the fundamentals of the election remain favourable to Labour. The combination of the Great Recession and the coalition government has opened up a historic opportunity to unite middle class and working class voter groups behind a radical policy agenda, argues *Marcus Roberts*



*Marcus Roberts is
deputy general secretary
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THERE WILL BE voters who go to the polls on 7th May 2015 who weren't alive when Tony and Cherie Blair posed outside 10 Downing Street on 2nd May 1997. They will have no memory of an event which is a moment of history as distant from them as Margaret Thatcher's 1979 election victory was for the voters of 1997. Tony Blair understood that then: he did not try to win the election that Jim Callaghan lost, nor to reconstruct Harold Wilson's winning electoral coalition. If Ed Miliband seeks to emulate what Blair did in 1997, he too must build his own political majority for the era in which he seeks to govern.

There are important challenges – especially in rebuilding Labour's reputation on the economy, and on Miliband establishing himself as a prime minister in waiting with the electorate. But there are also solid reasons why the book-makers currently make him favourite to win the general election. The Labour leader has a much stronger chance of winning a majority than the Westminster orthodoxy acknowledges. Indeed, the most intelligent Conservative commentators from Lord Ashcroft to Paul Goodman, editor of *ConservativeHome*, acknowledge that David

Cameron faces greater hurdles to secure a majority than Ed Miliband does.

This essay sets out a plausible strategy for Labour's next majority, one that is secured through winning 40 per cent of the popular vote in May 2015, despite the challenges of a fragmenting electorate. Others have proposed varying theories emphasising this or that voter bloc, but none have drawn together all the strands of an electoral coalition tailored to the leadership of Ed Miliband.

Labour's next majority means winning over Conservative voters but they are not likely to be the dominant source of the votes Labour needs for a clear victory. To insist that a winning Labour strategy must always and only target Tory switchers is now a matter of political superstition borne of old habits. It is not supported by the psephological evidence for 2015, which is radically different from that of 1997.

Miliband has two great new opportunities that rely on a different strategy. The first is his strong appeal to Lib Dem voters feeling betrayed by the coalition. The second is Labour's strong focus on new voters and people who didn't



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vote in 2010. Put the two together and the electoral coalition needed for a majority begins to take shape.

Sticking with Labour

There is a debate within Labour circles as to what the party's core base of support is. Optimists argue that 2010 was the lowest it could go whilst pessimists believe support could fall still further.

The answer is that 2010 was Labour's core vote – but it was a core vote hard fought for and hard won. And each of these votes must be earned again. The organising the party did in seats like Birmingham Edgbaston and Edinburgh South allowed Labour to achieve a 1992 sized share of seats on a 1983 sized share of votes. To retain this core of support the party must understand its 2010 voters in attitudinal and psephological terms and craft its strategy for their retention accordingly.

To establish the starting point for a 40 per cent strategy we must first assess how many of Labour's 2010 voters will vote Labour again in 2015. This number is reduced by both deaths and defections. Previous Fabian analysis showed that Labour

can expect to lose roughly 500,000 voters to death between 2010 and 2015. This is equivalent to a loss of 2 per cent of votes cast.¹

The second source of loss for Labour's 2010 vote comes from defections. In particular, some sceptics argue that Labour's core vote come 2015 will be diminished due to the loss of those voters biased to favour the governing incumbent. They argue that the stability offered by Gordon Brown and Alistair Darling is not matched by that of Ed Miliband and Ed Balls. But such arguments fail to address the deeply anti-Tory streak of these voters. The re-toxification of the Tory brand (from the millionaires' tax cut to assaults on the NHS) has only confirmed in their eyes the dangers of Cameron's Conservatives.

In this respect, Miliband's 'same old Tories' attack line and the work of grassroots activists in caring for existing Labour supporters is critical to ensuring that the overwhelming majority of Labour 2010 voters turn out for the party again come 2015.

Thus combining both generational churn and the anti-Tory nature of the 2010 vote, Labour can look with

confidence towards a core vote of at least 27.5 per cent from which it can build.

Winning Liberal Democrat voters

For Labour to reach 40 per cent its biggest share of new supporters will come from the Liberal Democrats. Depending on likely Lib Dem performance, Labour can expect to add anywhere from 3 to 7 points of support. Achieving 40 per cent calls for a 6.5 per cent gain from the Lib Dems – an ambitious but plausible goal given that they are the largest available pool of new supporters who are most attitudinally aligned with the Labour party of Ed Miliband.

The question then becomes: what is the likely Lib Dem showing in 2015 and how much of the ex-Lib Dem vote can Labour claim? With the Lib Dems routinely polling at or around 11 per cent (down from 23.5 per cent in 2010) this may seem a simple task at first but we must assume that a number of current Lib Dem defectors will return to the fold come 2015. Labour must keep the Lib Dem vote at or under 15 per cent to have a large enough pool of ex-Lib Dem votes to fish in. Labour must then win between 60–75 per cent of these ex-Lib Dem voters. Analysis of polling over the last year shows Labour to routinely be claiming at least 60–66 per cent of ex-Lib Dems who have switched to a different party, with these voters telling pollsters they are extremely unlikely to switch from Labour come 2015.

As tall an order as this may seem, Labour has two great advantages in achieving this. The first is that, as previous Fabian Society research has demonstrated, Lib Dem converts are closely aligned attitudinally with Labour 2010 voters² thanks to the repositioning of Labour on a range of issues (civil liberties, apologizing for the Iraq war etc.) by Ed Miliband. Secondly, as Progress noted in its *Marginal Difference* report by the leading psephologist Lewis Baston, the Lib Dem vote is efficiently distributed in Conservative versus Labour marginal seats, meaning there is a large pool of available yellow votes to help turn blue seats red in the key battleground seats of 2015.

In order to keep the Lib Dem vote below 15 per cent, Labour must be unrelenting in its attacks not just on the Conservatives, but on the coalition itself. For two years the party's communications have stressed the phrase 'Tory-led government' but such messaging must be careful not to let the Lib Dems off the hook. Explaining the Lib Dems role as the enablers of government cuts, the NHS reorganisation and the millionaires' tax cut will be important to retaining Labour's Lib Dem converts.

Combined with Labour's core support, Lib Dem converts look set to take Labour to the mid-30s and likely largest party status. But Lib Dem converts, whilst necessary, are not sufficient for a Labour majority. For that another large pool of voters is needed.

Non voters and new voters

New voters represent the second largest pool of supporters required for Labour's 40 per cent strategy. They are divided into three categories: first time voters newly on the electoral roll, young voters who did not vote in 2010 and working class voters who despite historically

self-identifying as Labour have become less likely to vote since 1997.

Labour needs to add at least 5 points to its 2010 showing from this new voter pool. Nearly half of this will come from generational churn, as first time voters replace Labour voters who have left the electoral roll. But the remaining two and half points or so of new voters that Labour needs must come from increasing turnout amongst young voters above the normal rate of churn and by increasing turnout amongst working class voters who sat out the 2010 election.

To achieve this Labour will need a policy offer focusing on making university affordable (in contrast to the coalition's tripling of tuition fees), tackling record levels of youth unemployment and greatly expanding vocational training. Organisationally, Labour will need to live up to Ed Miliband's rhetoric of promising "the largest voter registration drive in a generation", evidence of which is scant to say the least.

In the case of older 'new' voters who sat out the 2010 election, Labour will need to deftly handle their concerns on tough issues like immigration and welfare. These voters also worry about Labour on spending and have deep doubts about the power of politics to deliver change.

To re-engage this challenging group, Ed Miliband should draw on Blue Labour-esque ideas like the equal role of responsibility to fairness in Labour's story, of the role that contribution has to play in welfare and the importance of integration to immigration. In policy terms, the living wage, vocational training, tackling the living standards crisis and the urgent need for cheaper rents and greater housing supply will help Labour make a meaningful offer to what might be called blue collar non-voters.

But policy generosity must be matched with credibility and thus Labour must be prepared to demonstrate how its plans are fully costed and genuinely affordable – by specifying in advance its spending priorities and what the balance will be between cuts in other areas, targeted tax increases and justifiable borrowing for much needed infrastructure like transport and housing.

Organisationally, the party must continue to embrace a return to its community organising roots. The training work conducted by Arnie Graf to reintroduce Labour to low turnout communities not just through leaflets or even canvassing, but through local community campaigns that build local capacity and reconnect the party with communities is essential to strategic success.

It is important to note that the new voter pool proves a far greater challenge than the Lib Dem converts, as the attitudinal convergence between new voters and Labour is weaker than that of ex-Lib Dems and Labour. Furthermore there are splits within the new voter coalition Labour requires: whilst younger voters tend to be socially liberal and progressive (perfect for Ed Miliband's liberal-left appeal), working class new voters tend to be more socially conservative and have more Conservative party-esque attitudes to issues like welfare, immigration and crime. Lastly, older voters are more likely to be entrenched in their non-voting habit than young voters.

Nonetheless, we can see how the addition of five points of new voters to Ed Miliband's electoral coalition takes Labour to within touching distance of 40 per cent and in all likelihood a technical majority.

Ex-Conservative voters

To reach 40 per cent and a working majority Labour must win one point from the Conservative party. This is the smallest percentage of new support Miliband must win over but it comes from the smallest available pool. Nonetheless, it is essential to Miliband's hopes for a working majority.

The reason why these numbers are as small as they are essential is two-fold. Firstly, it is to do with the available pool of prospective blue to red converts. Even during this midterm period, only around 4 per cent of 2010 Conservative voters have currently switched to Labour. Contrast that with a potential pool of 10–13 points of Lib Dem 2010 voters or 4–8 per cent of potential new voters for Labour.³

Secondly, the Tories' inevitable bombardment on issues like welfare, immigration, borrowing, taxation, the deficit and 'prime ministerialness' will take its toll. Labour can expect to see blue to red converts and considers switch back to the blues the closer the election comes.

But to retain just one point of these Conservative converts, Labour can play on Cameron's re-toxification of the Tory brand. Miliband can make the case to these voters that whilst they understandably gave Cameron a chance in 2010 when they thought Labour was out of touch and the Conservatives had truly changed, the government's record gives the lie to Cameron's old promises. It is for these voters that the 'same old Tories' line may prove most salient.

This sliver of ex-Conservative voters, when combined with the larger pools of ex-Lib Dems and new voters, will deliver Ed Miliband a working majority of roughly 30 seats.

Bringing together the Miliband coalition

Taken together we can see how an electoral coalition of Labour 2010 voters, combined with large numbers of ex LibDems and new voters, alongside a carefully targeted slice of 2010 Conservative voters amounts to 40 per cent and thus a majority. This coalition can be summed up as the fusion of progressive, liberal middle class voters and small c-conservative working class voters.

The message, policy, organisation and leadership that will deliver this election coalition will not be easy for Labour but must be embraced if 40 per cent is to be achieved. In practice this means the following: in messaging, 'one nation' must move from being an answer in search of a question to become a coherent response to the deliberately divisive politics of a Conservative party that gleefully pits people against one another. In policy, Labour must offer the 'bright primary colours' that Jon Cruddas spoke of when Miliband originally appointed him to lead the policy review. Specifically this means proposing a short but radical manifesto that focuses on a few big ideas like a million affordable homes in one parliament, the integration of social care and the NHS, universal childcare and renationalising the railways. And in organisation it means a Labour party of hundreds of thousands of activists having millions of conversations with voters, rather than a desiccated ma-

chine of a few tens of thousands delivering leaflets read less by voters than pizza offers.

Because for Labour to fuse a coalition of white collar and blue collar voters together to win 40 per cent it must combine policy and politics in a movement which excites mass participation. Hence the need for big ideas to mobilise around, because movements aren't fuelled by small politics.

Obviously a coalition that demands us to include both liberal, middle class voters and small c-conservative working class voters will require an extremely careful balancing act. Miliband must show non-voting C2DEs that he shares their concerns whilst not engaging in the kind of populist rhetoric that may lose him critical liberal ABC1 support. So too on welfare Miliband has made strong running by linking the idea of responsibility at the top and the bottom of society, connecting unjustified bankers bonuses with those who abuse the welfare system.

However, the combination of the great recession, the creation of the coalition and the living standards crisis, presents common problems shared by both of these groups. Progressive liberal middle class voters find themselves struggling with the same questions over bills and making ends meet as small c-conservative working class voters in a way that they never did in the heady days of New Labour. This provides Ed Miliband with the opportunity to present a common politics that appeals to both very different groups. Because the problems are the same, the solutions can be the same.

Critical to this argument is an understanding that just targeting one voter bloc will not work. Rather, Labour needs an all-of-the-above strategy in which all the building blocks come together to win Ed Miliband his majority. This strategy calls for Labour to prioritise Lib Dem votes but also requires the addition of some Tories and a large measure of new voters too.

In 1997 a swing voter strategy was as logical as it was efficacious. That is no longer the case. As that great arguer of numbers John Maynard Keynes once said: "When the facts change, I change my mind. What do you do?"

Well, when the numbers change, I change my strategy. What do you do? ■

Notes

1. www.fabians.org.uk/the-youth-vote-grey-vote-and-generational-churn/
2. See Lord Ashcroft's Project Red Alert, <http://lordashcrofthpolls.com/2012/11/project-red-alert/> and 'What are the Lib Dems For' <http://lordashcrofthpolls.com/2013/03/what-are-the-liberal-democrats-for/>, and Andrew Harrop's 'Ed's Converts' www.fabians.org.uk/2015-victory-in-labours-grasp-as-ed-unites-the-left/
3. Ed's Converts www.fabians.org.uk/2015-victory-in-labours-grasp-as-ed-unites-the-left/ and "Fabian Society analysis of 2013 YouGov tracking polls"

For a full report on Labour's strategy to win a majority in 2015, visit www.fabians.org.uk/publications

Why Labour?

Despite a fitful economy recovery, we know that the next government will continue to face tight constraints in what it is able to achieve. But tough times can be liberating too: unable to simply throw money at problems, political parties are being forced to think differently about how they can realise their goals in office. Often this means looking beyond policy and focusing on how politics looks and feels. In an era of low public trust and high insecurity, people are instinctively sceptical that simple policy fixes can possibly have any impact on the real concerns they face in their lives. Importantly though it's a reason for radicalism. The Labour party can and must be much more forthright in trying to change the rules of the game, so that problems get resolved before they become expensive.

So what are the things Labour can do in 2015 that will make a difference? For each of Labour's emerging big ideas, we asked a Labour candidate contesting a key seat why it matters and what it will mean to their prospective constituents. With *Jessica Asato, Polly Billington, Rowenna Davis, Kate Godfrey and Anna Turley.*



1. INTRODUCE UNIVERSAL CHILDCARE

Arguments for universal childcare have been around ever since investing in early years became a political priority under the previous Labour government. Many believe that the high cost of providing a universal system of childcare rules it out as an option in these straitened economic times. I beg to differ and here are three key reasons why Labour's policymakers should be looking at it as a serious manifesto commitment.

First, introducing universal childcare will save the state money, rather than increasing borrowing over a parliamentary term. The IPPR has worked out that there is a net return to the government of £20,050 (over four years) in terms of tax revenue minus the cost of childcare for every woman who returns to full-time employment after one year of maternity leave. So this policy would be a prime example of why it's right to invest now to save later.

Labour has consistently made the argument that we should prioritise spending which reduces the deficit. According to the TUC, women are the majority of underemployed workers and the number of underemployed women workers has risen by 40 per cent since 2008. By enabling women to go to work, the net benefit to the exchequer is £4,860 per mother who is in paid employment.

Second, universal childcare is important to redress the inequalities women face when it comes to childcare and the cost to their earnings potential. I've lost count of the number of mothers I've met on the doorstep who have left work to look after their children because the figures just don't add up. If you spend all week away from your kids, just for your entire salary to be spent on the childcare, it's no wonder that mums (and it's still mostly mums), choose to do the childcare themselves.

The gender pay gap stubbornly persists in this country, which means that it is usually the mother in a family who chooses to forgo her job, rather than the father who has higher earning power. If women don't have to choose between their job and childcare, it is less likely that women will compound the inequality gap in pay by dropping out of the job market just when they need to be rebuilding their career.

Third, we know that high quality, affordable childcare, is incredibly important for a child's life chances, particularly those from the most disadvantaged backgrounds. The effective provision of pre-school education (EPPE) study found that children who attended high quality early years education achieve higher results in language, reading and numeracy, even once family background had been accounted for. This was one of the reasons for introducing Sure Start, but making the provision universal could help to once and for all break the link between parental income and a child's life chances. It goes without saying that every parent wants their child to have the best start in life – what better signal could Labour send that we want to help them?

The gender pay gap stubbornly persists in this country, which means that it is usually the mother in a family who chooses to forgo her job

On the doorstep it is easy to see why an offer of state-funded childcare for children between 1 and 5 years old would appeal: it would pay for itself in increased tax revenues; it would give women and men a real choice about how they raise their children; and it would contribute to their children's future wellbeing. While real terms average wages have fallen by £1,600 a year under the current government, average childcare costs have increased by more than 6 per cent – more than double the rate of inflation. It is the East of England and the South East which have seen the biggest rise in childcare costs over the last year – precisely where Labour needs to win seats to form a majority government. **F**

Jessica Asato is PPC for Norwich North and chair of the Fabian Society



2. BUILD A FAMILY OF HOMES

Getting the vote out in council estates in Essex is never a straightforward matter. Last April I found a floating voter behind the door of a council flat. He wanted to know why he should vote for us. I explained our local offer:

a school standards hit squad, a council tax freeze and more council homes. He cocked his head on one side and raised an eyebrow. "Ah yes," he said, "but houses for who?"

And that is where a straightforward pledge simply to build more homes will founder. Building more homes will help people achieve their two main goals: greater financial security and the fulfilment of ambition to do better for themselves and their children. But unless we provide some transparency so that people can feel reasonably confident they might have a crack at living in one, big numbers with lots of noughts on the end won't convince many people that they will benefit from a massive house building program.

Nationally we need a house-building programme that will create jobs and provide the 250,000 homes we need each year. Locally the cost of the homes and the need for community is paramount. That is the only way we can win the consent we need to achieve it, in the communities where we will need to build.

We need to offer homes for families, as a 'family' of homes – or at least a variety of tenures that people feel are within their reach. There will be 3,600 more households in Thurrock by the time of the next general election. These households will be diverse. Streets lined with the 'starter homes' or high density flats won't do justice to a growing and modernising community. So we need a variety of new homes and a variety of ways people can access them.

If we are to see tenures suitable for different families in different stages of their lives, we need to make sure all tenures meet the needs of both security and ambition. So those living in private rented homes should be at least confident rent rises would be regulated and landlords licensed, so that the community can know which homes are the responsibility of private landlords, when they fall into disrepair or the neighbours from hell move in. Private renting doesn't need to mean extortionate rents and bad conditions, and those doing so should be able to save enough to move on to home ownership in the future.

If we really want to solve the housing crisis, we will need to take the heat out of the market by building more homes. The political reality is the middle classes want a chance to see their offspring with a secure home and the chance to move up, without jeopardising their own security in later life. And we should be clear that away from the metropolitan buzz, living near your mum and dad is helpful and often means when the chips are down you will have a network to help. The left forgets community resilience at its peril. >>

>> What happens to the country happens to Thurrock first: that is true of de-industrialisation, big council estates, one of the first mega-shopping malls at Lakeside, intense immigration and the risk of a race to the bottom on skills and wages. When we get the answers right we can ensure the whole country benefits. Building homes can be an important part of meeting these challenges, but the Labour party will only have a chance to do that if we can convince people that the homes will be for them, built for their security and for their ambitions for themselves and their children. **F**

Polly Billington is PPC for Thurrock



3. CAP INTEREST RATES

A mum is tapping on her phone in Southampton. A few clicks on the new Wonga app and she can get a loan. She knows the interest rates are crazy, but the kids are going back to school and they need new uniforms, and the rent hasn't gone away. Her pay packet's not enough; loans are essential to cover the cracks.

It's expensive to be poor. And it's lonely. The mum I met in Southampton – let's call her Karan – didn't even want to tell me her real name. Others tell me they lie to cover up their debts. They can't afford to go out and they fall out with friends over cash. It's time to build a movement that ends this isolation and limits the debt. It's time to bring people together to fight for a British interest rate cap.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, should be applauded for taking the lead in this campaign. Parliament may not have had the courage to introduce a formal cap on rates since the 1500s, but in the wake of the financial crash, attitudes have changed. Now that we the public own over 80 per cent of RBS and our taxes underpin the entire British banking system, we have a right to regulate interest. The present system is the worst case of the cash rich exploiting the very poor for the highest rates they can get away with. Democracy should protect people from this exploitation of power. The next Labour government should change the law.



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But our movement shouldn't just exist to pressure politicians to pass legislation: it's also about building positive alternatives in our communities. In Southampton, our Labour party is working with local residents, churches and Movement for Change to prevent the debt that looks set to spike in the run up to Christmas. As people seek out loans for presents and extra food for the holidays, we're looking at setting up a credit union stall outside every pay day loan shop in the city for one weekend. This will give people a positive alternative to legal loan sharks, not just at Christmas, but throughout the year.

If enough local people join the credit unions, then they have more resources to offer better deals to more people

Campaigning in this way is so much deeper and more meaningful than a simple legal change that gets implemented automatically by a manifesto designed by an elite minority. If enough local people join the credit unions, then they have more resources to offer better deals to more people. We'll also help educate and inform each other about the alternatives to the likes of Wonga and Speedy Cash that litter our high streets. We'll be able to provide debt advice and links to other services. Most importantly, we'll be able to build relationships with people in the community, and ask if they want to join Labour not just for this campaign, but for others that go hand in hand with it. Campaigns for a living wage or more affordable transport for example, all help

cut the need for debt by addressing the root causes of the problem.

This is the politics Labour needs to practise. A movement that is grounded in people's real concerns around their basic living costs. A movement that works with people like Karan to build an alternative, rather than doing things for her. A movement that isn't afraid to use state power to challenge unbridled capital and power that exploits people, but also believes in building positive alternatives that help our communities to help each other by helping themselves. This way our organising will determine our policy, and build a better politics and a more hopeful and prosperous Britain. **F**

Rowenna Davis is PPC for Southampton Itchen



4. CARE FOR THE WHOLE PERSON

Two years before the election, the NHS is under attack. A&E delivery is falling apart: 11 hospital trusts joining those of us in special measures and 20 more in financial crisis, while the NHS has been told to find £24.25bn of recurrent savings by 2016 – almost a 25 per cent reduction.

In my home town of Stafford, we're watching our core services being packed up. The draft plan produced by special administrators working at Mid-Staffs requires the loss of an intensive care unit, maternity and paediatric services; the permanent downgrade of our accident and emergency.

We're an easy target: the history of our hospital is held not just against us but against the NHS across country. But that Stafford Hospital is not our Stafford Hospital. Following years of work and community commitment, our Stafford Hospital is one of the best performers in the West Midlands: fifth in the country for patient satisfaction and a valued community resource.

As we fight to keep services here in Stafford, we're coming up against the great repetitive question: 'Well, what would you do differently?'

In Stafford the integration of health and social care gives us an answer. Better, it

gives us an answer which passes the test for instant recognition of value, setting people nodding.

For many of us, the distinction between services designed to support the whole care of the person already feels unnatural. Changes to our environment, relationships, finances and mental health, or those encountered naturally in our ageing and dying, all are intimately related to our health and part of a whole.

Those of us who see the needs of an ageing population forcing clinical demand upwards, while services are reeling from increasing pressure on acute and emergency services, believe access to hospital beds must be protected. For others, accessible integrated care supported by communities and families is a kinder way through difficulty.

Like many families, we've seen the difference that could be made in our own home.

Before my grandmother died, she remembered everything about making dinner for my grandfather except to turn off the gas; everything about making a cup of tea but to boil the water.

Struggling to accept help, she went into a secure dementia unit, my physically frail grandfather into hospital earlier than any of us would have wished. In the months before he died, he contracted measles, pneumonia, recurring colds: all of the painful and debilitating infections against which a compromised immune system has no defence.

The care offered to my grandmother was in a form that was hard for her to accept. For my grandmother, to be involved with social services was an admission that she was struggling with the tasks she saw as the responsibilities of a lifetime. Care badged as medical or integrated support would have been not just more appropriate, but more tolerable.

And it would have been easier to understand.

Without family support, my grandmother would simply have shut the door on public care, confused and overwhelmed by the complexity of my grandfather's needs; the need to understand new financial arrangements; the intricacy of support applications and assessments; the unaccustomed visitors to her home.

Our systems are too difficult to navigate. The barriers to understandable and accessible care too high.

Simpler integrated services will make life easier at the times when it is difficult enough. As a policy, 'whole person care' could make a real difference not just for

people like my grandparents, but for the families and the people who support them.

In the two years to 2015, that's got to be worth campaigning for. **F**

Kate Godfrey is PPC for Stafford and was recently appointed head of partnerships and events at the Fabian Society



5. REGIONALISE THE BANKS

As Labour starts to shape its manifesto for the 2015 election, we know that ideas for economic growth will have to be at the heart of it. If a 'one nation' economy is the vision, then it has to be growth that will benefit the whole country, rather than further increase current geographical disparity. Too many regions are still struggling to create jobs and get their economies moving, and the idea that growth is recovering now will be laughable in many parts of the country.

[Local banks] can drive greater competition and encourage a more personal and flexible relationship with local SMEs to help drive business confidence

Since the crash of 2008, trust in the banking sector has been at an all-time low and there has been a crisis in lending. Moreover, the major banks have for too long been overly concentrated on investing and supporting growth in the south – particularly London and the south east.

So a movement has been gathering momentum recently, with support from all political parties, but particular interest from Ed Miliband, to establish a new generation of local banks. Local banks that are more responsible and accessible, more reactive to local economies, and more willing to take a lead in supporting small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). They could play a crucial role in helping the north east, for example, take control of its own economic revival.

As IPPR North's Northern Economic Futures Commission showed, the single biggest barrier for business growth is access to finance, particularly for SMEs. Growth in

lending over the last three years has been negative.

Yet we know SMEs play an important role in driving economic growth, particularly through creating employment. They create the bulk of the opportunity for those who are currently shut out of the labour market, accounting for 92 per cent of all movement from unemployment into private sector employment. In the UK, new firms create one third of all new jobs, and small firms create another third. In Germany and France, the economic contribution of medium size businesses is approximately twice as much as the UK. Local banks could provide the necessary support for local businesses and SMEs to create jobs in areas like the north east and fulfil our potential to be one of the most powerful economies in northern Europe.

Historically the north has had a lower level of SME activity compared with the rest of the UK. In 2007, businesses in the greater south east attracted 41 per cent of all investment, despite making up only 32 per cent of the total number of businesses in the country; in contrast, the whole of the north received just 23 per cent.

Other barriers to business growth identified by our research included low levels of confidence and ambition, an absence of growth strategies on the part of businesses, and a reluctance to take on risk. Local banks could play a key role in supporting businesses to overcome these limitations. They can build relationships in a way that is more flexible and responsive than the 'big six', who currently have over 75 per cent of the UK market. They can drive greater competition and encourage a more personal and flexible relationship with local SMEs to help drive business confidence.

There are many issues to be explored, not least the regulatory and governance models, any potential role for the state in capitalising them and links with proposals for a national bank, whether they could fund infrastructure projects as well as small business lending, and what scale 'local' could mean.

We know investment in the local economy by both businesses and government is a key driver for productivity and growth. It can help compensate for current underinvestment in SMEs and help build confidence, giving northern businesses the power and the finance they need to thrive. A new generation of regional banks will give the north the chance to drive its own economic revival. If we want to make a one nation economy a reality, here is one powerful way to help do it. **F**

Anna Turley is PPC for Redcar and senior research fellow at IPPR North

The missing link

Labour has embraced Ed Miliband's call for a more 'responsible capitalism', but its policies can sound more like technocratic changes than a radical programme for reform. It is a reshaped economy that will bring together the disparate parts of Labour's story, argues *John Denham*



John Denham is MP for Southampton Itchen

THAT ED MILIBAND is likely to be the next prime minister, as polls consistently show, says how far Labour has come from our defeat in 2010. Building the broad coalition of support New Labour enjoyed 20 years ago is tougher now. The electorate has polarised: some are more fearful and socially conservative, some are more open to radical change. And the economic and political challenges facing Britain are much more profound.

The global banking crisis revealed an economy too dependent on the riskier parts of financial services and with much excellence but too little depth elsewhere. While living standards rose sharply in Labour's first ten years, today's problems – shrinking wages, a growth in low paid, low productivity jobs, and too little investment in the most essential and competitive parts of the economy – have been apparent for some time.

Ed Miliband's distinctive response combined pride in Labour achievements with insistence that our approach to the economy, public services and politics must change. In *The Shape of Things To Come*, published by the Fabian Society last summer, a diverse group of authors considered how Ed's politics might shape a Miliband government. In a remarkably coherent set of essays, they returned repeatedly to three powerful and interlinked themes.

Labour would challenge neo-liberal pessimism, using active state policies to create the conditions for business success and a dynamic, competitive and fairer economy. Faster growth and greater wealth creation were essential but we also needed work to deliver fairer incomes and opportunity without over-reliance on tax funded transfers. The authors recognised that only a different economic model – what Miliband calls 'responsible capitalism' – could deliver improved living standards and job security whilst enabling unavoidably tight controls on public spending in general and social security in particular.

Secondly, the era of constrained public spending would expose the limited ability of centralised targets and markets

to drive higher productivity in public services. *The Shape of Things To Come* sketched out a new approach, with greater decentralisation, pooling of budgets and closer collaboration between services, and greater reliance on democratic oversight and frontline staff to improve services.

Finally, the authors reasserted some older Labour traditions: linking fairness to the idea of contribution as well as right; recognising that the benefits of migration had to be balanced with acceptance of the limits of change and sharp awareness on the impact in the poorest; valuing the importance of community and workplace organisations.

Change in each area depended on change in the others, making a coherent radical programme, not piecemeal reform. A social security system rewarding work and contribution needs us to move back towards full employment. In turn, this needs child support spending to be shifted into affordable childcare. Similarly, while incomes would be raised by living wages, widespread improvements in living standards would require a more general assault on cartels and market abuse, and developing long-term sectoral policies to create better jobs and tackle Britain's long tail of badly paid work.

Many of our themes and policies have been reflected by Miliband, shadow cabinet members and leading policy review figures over the past 15 months. Yet the perception persists that Labour lacks policy or a clear narrative.

Ed Miliband's 'one nation' speech was an audacious attempt to tell a national story, embracing many areas of policy and providing a sharp contrast with the coalition's divisive policies. One nation values would underpin a Labour government: '*One nation: a country where everyone has a stake. One nation: a country where prosperity is fairly shared. One nation: where we have a shared destiny, a shared endeavour and a common life that we lead together*'. This framework could link issues as diverse as tax policy, apprenticeships, housebuilding and other policies raised by *The Shape of Things To Come*. It reflected the views of Helen

Goodman, Rick Muir and Rowenna Davis that Labour had become too technocratic; driven by target and measurement and not by the more complex human relationships, which must ultimately shape public services and the quality of life in our communities.

The subsequent history of 'one nation' shares a common pattern with other big themes from *The Shape of Things To Come*. It has clearly influenced Labour policy and argument, but its role giving coherence to Labour's message remains under-developed. It makes only perfunctory appearances in frontbench speeches. Few shadow cabinet members have explored its potential or how its values link to their briefs.

In *The Shape of Things To Come*, Nick Pecorelli said Labour's story needed to reach beyond instinctively progressive voters to the socially conservative and to those whose aspirations have been replaced by uncertainty. Several authors recognised that Labour remained vulnerable on issues like welfare and immigration, where some voters feared Labour's liberal instincts were out of step with their own values.

On both issues Labour's frontbench have sought approaches which address popular concerns but are consistent with a Labour ethos.

Miliband has resolutely defended the benefits of migration but acknowledged there are limits to the rate of change. As Andrew Harrop advocated, policy has emphasised the undermining of job security and living standards through abuse of the minimum wage, housing, agency work and employers discriminating against local workers. Labour has moved towards a target to reduce overall migration. This new approach hasn't yet influenced public perceptions significantly. Attitudes may not shift until Labour makes migration policy a part of its British story, rather than a 'difficult' issue to be approached warily.

Following Kate Green's article, Labour is now talking of 'social security' rather than welfare. Liam Byrne has re-asserted the goal of full employment. Miliband and Ed Balls have made control of costs a priority but, in contrast to the coalition, have put the emphasis on tackling factors driving up costs. Dealing with high unemployment, low pay, and the failures of the rented housing market are at the heart of Labour's plans. The living wage, house building and giving councils the power to shape housing markets are essential to Labour ability to deliver. Labour's own radical, long term cap on benefits spending can find room for steps towards a new enhanced contributory benefits system for the older unemployed with a good work record.

It's not an easy argument. Many cuts cannot be reversed. Compulsory jobs guarantees and regional benefit caps are necessary to control costs and reassure the public. Voters need to be persuaded voters that a different economy can offer more security at lower cost.

Ed Balls has acknowledged, as *The Shape of Things To Come* argued, that public spending will have to fall after the next election: despite the fitful recovery Tory-Lib Dem austerity has been as damaging to the economy as Labour warned. The scope for new spending lies primarily in capital investment in housing and infrastructure.

The coalition mishmash of fragmentation, centralisation and marketisation can't produce the improved productivity on which better public services will depend. Jon Cruddas,

chair of the policy review, has set a radical vision reflecting many of the ideas we put forward: a radical devolution of delivery and policy to local level, the pooling of local public service budgets and collaboration between services and an emphasis on investment in prevention. Liam Byrne has won new powers for councils to shift savings in housing benefit into house building, and Stephen Twigg has outlined a new role for local councils in holding all types of school to account.

Andy Burnham and Liz Kendall's ambitious plans to integrate health and social care are apparently subject to veto by a post-election zero based spending review. Some policy areas certainly need more development. Above all, though, the policy review needs to draw the current strands of thinking into a consistent philosophy for public service improvement.

But the central spine of *The Shape of Things to Come* was the long-term reshaping of the British economy. Rachel Reeves linked 'predistribution' to the politics of Ed Miliband two months before he explicitly endorsed the idea. He accepted the challenge, set by Matthew Pennycook, to build an economy that offers decent incomes and security through work itself, rather than relying on taxation and the state to support families struggling in badly paid, unproductive and insecure jobs. A year on it has touched a central nerve in British politics. Labour has talked of a 'living standards' election. Ed Balls has challenged Osborne's claims that patchy growth will benefit ordinary families while millionaires get their tax cut. The redistributive living wage now has its own momentum amongst Labour councils, some blue chip companies and union and community campaigns.

Responding to Will Hutton's endorsement of 'responsible capitalism' Chuka Umunna and others have set out proposals for a British investment bank, banking reform, a new approach to long termism in British business and in infrastructure investment. Miliband's call to change the rules of the game is reflected in plans for a reinvigorated energy regulator. Labour has highlighted the abuse of zero hours contracts.

Despite this, criticism of Britain's economic model has been more muted in the past year than previously. Labour's policies have sounded more like technocratic changes than a radical programme for reform. The coalition match each individual policy with their own language, claiming to support an industrial policy, or briefing an increase in the minimum wage. Labour's compelling message depends on the links between a reshaped economy and our ability to control public spending or manage migration or restrain housing benefit, but these are often left unstated. The systemic failures of governance linking banking, tax avoidance, price fixing, abuse of public contracts and the exploitation of migrant labour are not often drawn together.

With Fabian polling showing widespread support for fundamental changes to the way our economy operates, this hesitation may be costly. An overarching message of radical reform makes it simpler to set out why Labour will be different and able to deliver on social security, public services and migration. In early September there were signs that the big picture message was coming back, making the 2013 conference a real opportunity to develop the one nation story and this key core message. ■

Taking on the competition

Bryan Gould outlines an alternative economic strategy for the next Labour government, which addresses the UK economy's fundamental problem: lack of competitiveness, not the deficit



Bryan Gould is a former member of the Fabian Society executive and of the Labour shadow cabinet who contested the Labour leadership in 1992

THE BRITISH PUBLIC have been persuaded that the most pressing problem facing the British economy is the reduction of the government's deficit. Labour's implicit acceptance of that proposition means that we can never win the economic argument, since no one will be convinced that we will be more single-minded in pursuit of that goal than the Tories.

Yet – lagging as we do substantially below 2008's output, notwithstanding an increased population, and with a deficit remaining stubbornly high – the door remains wide open for treating the deficit as a symptom rather than a cause of our real problems, and addressing those with a quite different order of priorities.

Competitiveness

The first of those issues is British industry's fundamental and endemic loss of competitiveness – the great taboo of our economic policy for decades. Yet a moment's thought should tell us that, in a post-war world that has seen the rapid industrialisation of new economic powers, it would be extraordinary if we could simply assume that our competitiveness remained intact.

Of course, ignoring the issue has not saved us from its malign consequences. Our perennial trade deficit, our comparatively slow growth and productivity gains, our greatly diminished share of world trade, our inability to grow without provoking fears of inflation, the decline of manufacturing, are all evidence of a profoundly uncompetitive economy.

When Jim Callaghan as prime minister told the Labour conference in 1976 that "you can't spend your way out of recession" what he was really grappling with was that we aren't try to escape from stagflation by stimulating the economy, because growth would inevitably create insuperable problems of rising inflation and worsening trade

deficits. The problem, in other words, was not the failure of Keynesian economics, but – as remains true today – a catastrophic, though unacknowledged, loss of competitiveness.

The new economic giants of Asia – China, Japan, Singapore, for example – to say nothing of Germany or Switzerland, have focused on trying to hold down their exchange rates so as to maintain a competitive advantage.

In our case though, even the post-financial crisis depreciation is typical of our experience of devaluation, an *ex post facto* and reluctant response to an increasingly intolerable loss of competitiveness. It is far from a considered attempt to achieve a level of competitiveness of the kind that our successful competitors take for granted as the keystone of export success.

Credit creation for productive investment

If we were to improve competitiveness, other measures would be needed to take full advantage. The most important of these is the provision of sufficient credit for investment purposes. We have grown so accustomed, after nearly four decades of monetarism, to regarding control of the money supply as relevant only to the battle against inflation that we have lost sight of how essential an accommodating monetary policy is if growth is to be secured.

The monetarist approach takes a narrowly-focused, backward-looking and static view of the economy; it treats any growth in the money supply as a dangerous beast that must be kept strictly muzzled and leashed.

As a consequence, it has become a recipe for slow growth and high unemployment. As soon as there is any sign of growth, an almost superstitious fear of inflation (which is almost always code for a potential rise in wage levels) dictates that demand must be choked off and job growth restrained.

Monetarism totally overlooks the potential of a market economy to grow and the need for investment capital to allow it to do so. Yet, while the wider economy – and manufacturing in particular – is continually denied the liquidity and investment capital it needs, there is virtually a private sector free-for-all in terms of credit creation for non-productive purposes. The commercial banks are able to create, at the stroke of a computer key, vast volumes of credit mainly devoted to lending secured, in most cases, by residential properties.

History provides compelling evidence to support Keynes' pre-war contention that "there are no intrinsic reasons for the scarcity of capital." Two striking instances come to mind where credit creation was used not to inflate the property market for private profit but to stimulate rapid industrial growth. The first is the United States at the outbreak of the second world war; and the second is Japan in the 1960s and 1970s, when Japanese industry was enabled to grow at a rapid rate so as to dominate the world market for mass-produced manufactured goods. Western economists have typically shown no interest in how this was done and are almost totally ignorant of the work of leading Japanese economists such as Osamu Shimomura and Kenneth Kurihara. More recently, China has used similar techniques to finance the rapid expansion of Chinese manufacturing.

Encouragingly, the incoming governor of the Bank of England, Mark Carney, has indicated his interest in adopting a nominal GDP target rather than inflation as the preferred goal of monetary policy – while leading monetary economists like Adair Turner and Michael Woodford are publicly debating which precise mechanisms of both fiscal and monetary policy would be most effective in extending the monetary base and thereby raising the level of economic activity.

The rationale underpinning such a strategy is a simple one: as Keynes argued, credit creation will not be inflationary if it results in increased output. And a deliberate policy of investment credit creation would bring a double benefit. As well as supporting productive investment and rebuilding a sadly weakened manufacturing base, it would encourage a welcome fall in the value of sterling, as the foreign exchange markets recognised that this was a deliberate and long-term goal of policy.

More useful banking

Enlarging the monetary base by itself will do little if we are to escape from what Paul Krugman calls the "liquidity trap". As quantitative easing has shown, it will have little impact if it simply goes into the banks' reserves: it must be directed into productive investment.

Even when that happens, our banks lend over a shorter term than banks overseas – repayment, in other words, has to be made faster. Annual repayment costs of bank loans for British firms are therefore much higher, the adverse impact on cash-flow is therefore more severe (short-term cash-flow or liquidity is at least as important to British firms as longer-term profitability), and the need to make an immediate return on investment is much greater.

An agreed industrial strategy

Shouldn't decisions such as these be taken, in any case, in the public interest and not those of self-interested bankers?

Do we not need an effective industrial strategy for Britain, agreed and supported by government, industry and the banking sector?

Such a strategy need not 'pick winners' in detail or operate in too prescriptive a manner, but would establish criteria and measures of performance that would allow the normal processes for identifying worthwhile investment opportunities to operate. It would, of course, focus on manufacturing. A competitive manufacturing sector uniquely provides a stimulus to innovation, a quick return on investment, the development of new skills and the creation of new jobs – all elements in a successful economy that have sadly eluded us over a very long time.

Restoring macroeconomic policy to democratic control

The 'independence' of the central bank was widely applauded when Gordon Brown introduced it and is still rarely questioned. The evidence, though, is that handing monetary policy over to the tender care of a central bank simply reinforces the current and increasingly discredited orthodoxy that inflation is the only concern of monetary policy and that its treatment is simply a technical matter which is properly the preserve of unaccountable bankers. Quite apart from the undemocratic nature of this approach, we have paid a heavy economic price for allowing the bankers' interest to prevail over the interests of the economy as a whole.

Macroeconomic policy requires more than tasking the central bank with restraining inflation and then allowing market forces to get on with it. Other important outcomes – full employment, a reasonable and sustainable rate of growth, properly funded public services – should be the legitimate goals of policy. The government in parliament should be accountable for the achievement of those goals; and the expectation that governments should be held to account in this way would help to broaden the whole basis of macroeconomic policy.

Full employment

Full employment as the central goal of policy would not only be the most important step that could be taken to relieve poverty and to reverse the destructive growth in inequality; it would also be a huge step towards a more inclusive and therefore more successful economy. Full employment is the hallmark of a properly functioning economy. There is, after all, nothing economically efficient about keeping large numbers out of work. Once it was accepted that full employment is achievable, the success or otherwise of economic policy would be judged according to a criterion that was easily understood by the public.

Conclusion

Each of these elements would reinforce the others and would offer a more constructive prospect both for Labour's electoral chances and for the country's economic future. A strategy that produced a more robust, competitive and efficient economy would provide solutions to many other problems as well; and for those suffering withdrawal symptoms when denied their usual diet of focusing on deficit reduction, this strategy would be the best way of dealing with that too! **F**



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Crunch time

Sadiq Khan has been Ed Miliband's troubleshooter-in-chief over a difficult summer. On the eve of a crucial conference he tells *Mary Riddell*: "All the big fights Ed's begun, he's won"



Mary Riddell is a columnist for the Daily Telegraph

SADIQ KHAN'S FAVOURITE summer holiday snapshot features him outside the Colosseum in Rome, speaking on a mobile phone in a conference call to shadow cabinet colleagues. "My wife is keeping it to blackmail me with," he says. Having curtailed his visit to a monument to indiscriminate slaughter in the ancient world, Khan was about to address the modern variant. Shortly afterwards, as parliament was recalled, he caught a plane to London to vote against the government motion paving the way to possible military action in Syria.

Any defeat of David Cameron, who had initially hoped for Labour's support, might be expected to have gratified Ed Miliband's leadership campaign manager. The PM's

instant assertion that he "got it" and thus would not, in any circumstances, bring the issue back to parliament prompted a slightly different reaction. "I was very surprised. That's Flashman Cameron, ruling out forever military action. He recognised that the British public weren't persuaded of the need for military involvement, and that if he were to lose a second vote, it would be game over for David Cameron.

"Now, who was playing the [political] interest there? Was it David Cameron or Ed Miliband? I'd say it was Cameron." So why, exactly, did Miliband choose to back the PM's decision, rather than leaving open the option for parliament again to debate the crisis, should a volatile situation change? "Because we aren't in No 10, so we haven't

got charge of the armed forces." That reason, coupled with the justification that the government is privy to better information, is unlikely to allay the worries of those Labour MPs left uneasy by Labour's reaction to the alleged chemical attack by the Assad regime.

That frisson of disquiet followed a difficult summer in which Miliband faced criticism from within and outside the party. Khan, Miliband's staunch political advocate, skirts smoothly around any suggestion that the leader and the party might be in trouble. Instead he offers a glowing character reference to an incumbent "who won the leadership contest in circumstances where nobody in their right mind would want that job."

The view at that time was, in his recollection, "that the next Labour leader who is electable probably hasn't even entered parliament. Now fast forward, and here we are – not only competitive, not only in the game but regularly five, six, seven, eight points ahead." Yet while Miliband has certainly defied the Jeremiahs by proving he could turn round his party, not all Labour sympathisers feel as bullish as Khan on the eve of party conference and following a cool encounter with the TUC.

Even Andy Burnham, one of the most senior shadow cabinet members, seemed to suggest during the summer that the party was failing to connect with the electorate. "I don't characterise Andy's comments as an attack on Ed Miliband personally." As for the hostile voices, Khan construes their attack as a compliment, believing that hostility must be an oblique tribute to Miliband's success and a mark that "actually we must be doing something right."

Such accolades do not signify blind loyalty. Among the Miliband coterie, frequently judged to be weighted towards academics with little experience of the frontline fray, Khan is a shrewd adjutant with finely-burnished political instincts. When the going gets rough – in other words, often – Khan can be relied upon as minister for the airwaves. He is, however, scrupulous in maintaining some distance between himself and Miliband.

"Since Ed became leader, I've been quite careful to treat him as the future PM. I've tried not to dine out on the relationship we built up during the leadership contest. You've got to be very careful about taking liberties, and I've never wanted to do so. Of course it's tempting, and of course people assume [I] can ask him for whatever [I] want, but it's important to treat someone who is leader of the opposition with a serious chance of being PM with respect.

"So the moment he was elected, I was conscious that I should change the way I behave around him because it affects others. Obviously we are close, but if I'm too chummy with him, that gives the impression that everyone can behave like that. So I'm quite careful not to [exploit] our friendship. You have to get and keep your job on your merits and allow Ed to come to you when he wants advice rather than always proffering it. There are some colleagues who do it differently – who keep texting him or ringing him – naming no names. Ed knows he can ask me for honest, candid advice."

In addition to his roles as shadow lord chancellor and justice secretary and minister for London, Khan has impeccable credentials as the sounding board for any Labour leader. A bus driver's son who grew up on a council estate in Earlsfield, south-east London, he is a devout Muslim and a leading human rights lawyer with a taut grip on

strategy. His long-held view is that Labour does not need an emergency manifesto and that Miliband can stay calm through the squalls "because the election is going to be in May 2015 so it means that we can do things properly."

But hard-pressed voters, denied the luxury of time, may not be content to work to the Khan calendar. People hurting in the here and now are wanting, I suggest, to know exactly what Labour has to offer them. Although Khan cites some examples of clarity from his London brief – such as criticising Thames Water for raising charges and saying that if Labour was running London today, "we would freeze fares to RPI" – he maintains that it is impossible to predict the exact conditions that will prevail in 2015.

That said, few leading shadow figures have been as precise in offering examples of what the 2015 manifesto will, or might, contain. Lowering the voting age is one such gambit. Khan, wearing his constitutional hat, recently made the case for votes at 16, but he would not – as he now adds – be content merely to enshrine that offer in the manifesto. "I'm always in favour of trying to make things perfect. My aspiration and desire is to have 16 and 17-year-olds being able to vote in the 2020 general election."

As well as considering making first-time voting compulsory, on the grounds that people who vote the first time they are eligible to do so are far more likely to adopt the habit, Khan is studying other means to engage both the potential youth vote and disenchanted older voters. The list of possible changes "which are not yet definite but which I'm working on" cover the following questions: "Do we need to vote on a Thursday? What about voting on a Saturday [instead]? I'm also keen to get [people] involved in democracy between elections. How involved are you in between: how many people are on the electoral register, for example?"

Khan's plan to swell the register involves tapping into existing databases, such as "DVLA, DWP, council tax, halls of residence ... Think of all the databases we could use to ensure we've got as complete a register as possible." In addition, he wants to "use centres of education. What about getting all young people ... before they reach the age of majority – to see if you can persuade [them] to vote for our manifesto; to get them to fill in the registration forms as part of their citizenship class? That way you would know that every single person who's 16 would be on the register."

Is his wish, in placing such a heavy focus on young recruits, to recalibrate a system that has historically favoured the grey vote? It seems so. While he believes that the state has a covenant unconditionally to protect "a state pension and free bus passes," he points out that young people have no chance of establishing such a beneficial compact. Thus, in a sign that Labour may be more radical than it has indicated so far in cutting perks to the affluent elderly, he is "more relaxed about [free] TV licences for the over-75s. The issue there is whether the administrative fee would be worth the savings you would make. We've already said we would look at the winter fuel allowance."

Khan has more drastic steps in mind to boost civic engagement. He and Jon Cruddas, Miliband's chief policy reviewer, have devised a scheme to reward good behaviour by offering bonus points allowing good citizens to increase their chances of progressing up the housing ladder. "At the moment the way you allocate finite resources is through points. If you are in overcrowded housing, with a wife and

two kids, you'll get [some] points. But if someone has more children, and is homeless, and moved last week to the area where you've lived for ten years, they will leapfrog you. Need trumps entitlement."

Under the Khan plan, a social variant of the supermarket Nectar card, "getting points for being a good citizen means you can have a transparent system where you go up that ladder and are rewarded for good behaviour." The criteria he cites include "getting involved in your FE college or hospital foundation trust, or parent teacher association, or being a special [constable]." This potentially controversial prioritising of merit over need, first aired in Miliband's 'predators versus producers' conference speech has gone far beyond airy theorising. "My wish is that we get Labour local authorities to ... pilot it to see if can happen in 2015."

As an admirer of Cruddas ("he talks straight, there's no bull, he tells it like it is, and we want the election to be a battle of big visions"), Khan also shares his interest in the idea, now common currency in America where mass incarceration has become unaffordable, that fewer people should be sent to prison. None the less, Khan's acute political sensibilities seem likely to forbid an explicit programme of jail closures.

Nor, despite his reservations about some Tory initiatives, will he pledge to reverse them. "I am opposing government plans to privatise probation. We're hoping that it hasn't happened by 2015. What I can't commit to is that if [the] operation is privatised, I'd be able to buy back the contracts. That wouldn't be a priority in 2015 for obvious reasons." On payment by results, regarded as a bedrock of rehabilitation by the coalition, he would revert to pilots. "You need a five-year period to see what happens." On legal aid, where he has forced key retreats by the justice secretary, Chris Grayling, Khan argues that the "Guildford Four, the Ghurkas, Jean Charles de Menezes's family" would or will be disadvantaged by cuts. His conference speech, however, will focus chiefly on "a criminal justice system that is in tune with the needs of victims" as well as underlining his wish for early years interventions that prevent crimes being committed later on and for intensive alternatives to custody that inspire public confidence.

None of that, I suggest, sounds very new. While Khan replies, quite reasonably, that the US – with its elected governors and judges – is conducive to state initiatives on closing jail and cutting prison sentences that cannot apply in the UK, it may also be that, in an age of falling crime, Labour is unwilling to stake too much political capital on potentially unpopular policies.

Recent events have served to underline the task facing Miliband. Khan and I meet shortly before the TUC conference and the revelation that the Labour inquiry into behaviour in Falkirk – the catalyst for Miliband's crusade to end the automatic affiliation of union members – uncovered no wrongdoing by Unite. Though the Falkirk fallout has yet to be felt, the earlier announcement by Paul Kenny, the head of the GMB, that his union's contribution to Labour funds would be slashed, has left Khan in no doubt of the battles ahead.

"My worry is that if I start telling horror stories from my days as an MP and minister, I might stop the next person coming forward"

"What Ed is saying, and I agree with him, is that we've got to engage directly with trade union members and so that means being more transparent. The obvious question is: why would you do that when you can lose millions of pounds. Answer – because we want to improve the way we do politics." Is he really so sanguine about taking that hit when the party is almost bankrupt?

"I think it's a big risk we're taking, but think of the bigger gain to be made. At the general election people will have the choice of one party [the Conservatives] funded by 30 people giving [millions] or another funded by hundreds of thousands of people giving small sums." While early polling by YouGov gave some backing to Khan's hope that the reforms would prove popular, this battle is very far from won. Miliband, as Khan stresses, is not in the business of

trying to debunk those critics who think him a soft touch. "People have been saying to Ed: to show you're tough and that you're not in the pocket of the trade unions, why don't you manufacture a fight? That's not what it's about."

Khan's own career has not lacked confrontations. Although he challenges fellow Muslims to find another country offering more rights than the UK, he has faced "a huge challenge and a huge fight. When I became a privy counsellor and asked for a Koran to swear the oath before the Queen, Buckingham Palace said they hadn't got one, and could I bring my own? I left it for the next person. I was the first Muslim MP in London, the first to attend cabinet. That's because mass migration began 40 years ago, not because I'm super-talented. I've tried never to talk too much about race.

"My worry is that if I start telling horror stories from my days as an MP and minister, I might stop the next person coming forward." What examples would he single out? "When I went to see my constituent, Babar Ahmad [long detained without trial in the UK], I was bugged, and when I voted for same sex marriage, some Imam from Bradford put a fatwa on me. It was frightening. You don't want your wife and children [Khan has two young teenage daughters] to face that sort of stuff. But you never play the victim card."

In the political arena, this conference may ultimately determine whether Ed Miliband and his party are destined to become victims or survivors. Khan, the loyal lieutenant, has his own ambition, to be "the first Tooting MP to become lord chancellor." In addition, he has an eye on the London mayoralty. "If the ball was to come loose at the edge of the box, and I had the best shot at goal and thought I could score, then I'd probably shoot."

For the moment (and though some would dispute the scoreline), his focus is on the leader's tally of victories. "Nobody said he would win versus Murdoch ... or taking on the energy companies. Nobody said he would win on defeating the government's attempts to write a blank cheque on getting involved in Syria. All the big fights Ed's begun, he's won."

The question is whether Miliband, with pressures crowding in on him, can win in 2015. Sadiq Khan is adamant that the doubters are mistaken. This conference will show whether he is right. ■

Policy pitch

The work crisis

A basic income is a better way to support the new economy and good jobs, rather than a jobs guarantee which props up bad jobs and insecurity, argues *Frances Coppola*



We face a work crisis. Traditional skilled, secure, well-paid jobs are disappearing due to automation, replaced by low-skill, low-paid and insecure jobs. Unemployment is high, under-employment even higher. We work longer hours to earn less: inflation is outstripping wage rises, and the median wage is falling. Despite cuts to in-work benefits, more and more people are becoming dependent on some form of state assistance. The link between work and income is broken.

For young people, the link between education and work is also broken. We have the most highly educated young people in history, but all we offer them is low-skilled insecure work, interspersed with periods of unemployment. Such waste of talent has social and economic costs. People who are unable to find secure work are unable to put down roots and plan for the future. Unused skills atrophy, resulting in a permanent loss of productive capacity in the economy. Studies show that people denied productive work early in their careers never fully recover. Youth unemployment and under-employment is terrible both for them and for society as a whole.

Various bodies, including the TUC, call for government to guarantee jobs for all who want them. But others want government to provide everyone with a basic income and let them find or create their own work. Both sides genuinely want to ensure that people have the means to live. But underlying these two positions are fundamentally different aims. A job guarantee aims to ensure that everyone has a paid job, but perhaps gives less consideration to the best use of people's abilities; whereas basic income aims to support people into jobs that best suit their skills and personalities, whether or not those jobs are 'paid' in the traditional sense.

Many of those who call for jobs guarantee think that people have to be provided with work or they won't do anything productive. But Ruth Patrick's research shows that most people on JSA want to work: it is shortage of suitable jobs and lack of support that prevents them from working. For most people, work is important for their wellbeing. Quite apart from the financial stress it causes, unemployment is associated with depression

and mental health problems. There is simply no need to force people to work.

But many forms of productive work are unpaid – particularly those traditionally done by women. Can anyone really argue that caring for children is not 'work'? But if it is done by the children's parent, who gives up paid work to do it, it is not only unpaid but it is a real cost to the family. A job guarantee by itself would do nothing to ease the financial pressures on such families, though it would at least ensure that one parent is working. But we would still have working families dependent on state benefits, and we would still have downwards pressure on wages because of expectation by both employers and employees that the state would top up wages. And we would probably still have misuse of skills: guaranteeing someone 'a job' is not the same as helping them to find the right job. The government's Work Programme makes this mistake.

Those who are genuinely interested in promoting the cause of labour should be supporting basic income

Caveats aside, guaranteeing a job for everyone who wants to work is perhaps a good thing. But it is not an alternative to basic income.

A job guarantee would eliminate the scourge of unemployment, but it would still leave people suffering the consequences of long hours in boring jobs. If people don't

have to work to survive, most will find or create work that fulfils them and benefits others, and we will all be the richer for it. Consider an unemployed person who volunteers as an adviser for a local housing charity. We would all surely agree that they are doing a socially useful job. How would a job guarantee scheme enable such a person to continue doing their valuable work? In effect they already have a job. What they need is a basic income.

Those who are genuinely interested in promoting the cause of labour should be supporting basic income. If workers can afford to turn down badly-paid jobs that don't use their skills, employers will be forced to design work better. Using skilled and talented people to perform basic unskilled functions because it is cheaper than automation is not a good use of human capital: if we really want a vibrant and productive economy, we need to create incentives for employers to treat people as the valuable assets they really are. And society will for the first time pay for the numerous productive activities that at present go unpaid.

Basic income is not cost-free. Chris Dillow demonstrated that it could actually work out cheaper than the current benefits system, but only if the present system was completely dismantled, which would mean large job losses in the public sector. But giving people a basic income will encourage some of them to create new, innovative businesses. And it will enable others to study and train, developing new skills required in an information-based, digital world and qualifying them for higher-paid jobs. In the longer run these benefits would more than offset the costs.

Perhaps most importantly of all, basic income will enable people to adapt as the nature of work changes, maintaining their dignity and preserving their liberty even when times are hard. Many of the jobs of the future currently go unrecognised and unpaid. Supporting people to do work that we can't currently imagine will help to bring about our transformation into the creative, knowledge-based, caring society of the future. ■

Frances Coppola is a former banker turned financial writer and blogger

Books

Style and substance

As Labour returns from its 'summer of silence', two books offer dramatically different paths to take. Labour's renewal needs to be as much about how we do things as it is about what we do, argues *Jon Wilson*



Jon Wilson teaches history at King's College London and wrote the Fabian pamphlet Letting Go

"Their confidence in being on the winning side of history made progressive people unbearably smug and superior but they felt isolated and beleaguered in their own country since it was so much less progressive than they were". Christopher Lasch's remark, quoted by Anthony Painter, sums up the trouble with the unelectable half of the present-day Labour party.

The Labour party's summer doldrums this year were caused by our party's continuing doubts about its direction. Two books, published almost simultaneously by I.B. Tauris, make the case for two diametrically opposed courses of action.

On the one hand, the case for statist social democracy is made by many of the essayists in Roy Hattersley and Kevin Hickson's collection *The Socialist Way*. These self-professed progressives tell us Labour needs to be more confident about its principles, most importantly the virtue of using central government action to create a more equal society.

Hattersleyite politics start with a deeply ambivalent approach to the attitudes of the British electorate. The credit crunch and austerity have, we're told, forced the nation leftwards. But when popular attitudes get in the way of their principles, state socialists aren't afraid to tackle them head on and wage a war of ideas on the electorate. William Keegan, Ruth Lister and Michael Meacher all argue that politicians need to "change public attitudes" to the economy, poverty and the environment in their respective contributions.

Behind the belief in central state power as the sole driver of social change is a reliance on big powerful forces, that plot and plan in places far removed from the houses and workplaces where we experience our everyday existence. Hattersley agrees with the pessimistic prognosis of his mentor Anthony Crosland (again quoted by Painter), that social democracy needn't involve "a busy bustling society in which everyone is politically active". Most people prefer simply to "lead a full family life and cultivate their gardens", forgetting that having families and tilling



The Socialist Way – Social Democracy in Contemporary Britain

Roy Hattersley and Kevin Hickson (ed)
I.B. Tauris,
London, 2013



Left Without a Future – Social Justice in Anxious Times

Anthony Painter
I.B. Tauris,
London, 2013

gardens create relationships with political worlds outside. Agreeing, nonetheless, with this demeaning account, Hattersley's 'socialist way' offers no path for people to have more power over their own lives. Instead it simply demands that people trust the moral principles of the politicians they elect to sort everything out.

Our latter-day Croslandites write as if they've just woken from a deep, 40 year sleep, and have missed the massive decline in people's trust in big institutions, whether large corporations, trade unions run by distant bosses or Whitehall bureaucrats. It's that decline that buttressed Thatcherism's claim to give people power to shape their own lives through the market. Our party's tragic failure to offer an alternative form of people power helped Labour into self-imposed political exile before 1997, and contributed to defeat in 2010.

What's missing from the Hattersleyite account is the idea that there might be any kind of conversation that could create a common good, that would bring Labour politicians and the rest of us together to act to make things better. In *Left Without a Future*, Anthony Painter offers a different path for Labour, intent on creating a form of common purpose with people power at its core.

For Painter, social justice isn't something that can be defined and counted in the abstract. Socialism can't be plotted onto the axes of a gini coefficient graph. Instead, it starts with our experience, particularly of being able "to pursue a life of [our] making": our capacity to work with those around us to have a sense of control over own lives.

Painter's politics begin with individual self-flourishing, and the aversion we feel to being dominated by others. This is a problematic shared by many on the right as well as the left. But, unlike liberal Conservatives, Painter argues that self-flourishing comes from our participation in collective institutions that are local enough for us to feel an active part of. Co-operation is his key concept.

There's a realistic, humble tone to the book, in tune with a public mood that distrusts bold pronouncements



© Leo Reynolds

without real action. Yet Painter makes a practical case for a radical restructuring of power in British society. His call is for a “major programme of institution-building”: the creation of local co-operative banks, a new layer of technical education and a dense network of locally-run mutual institutions to give people control over housing and energy and nurture, and connect us to worthwhile work.

Labour’s project should be to create local democratic institutions that give people a sense of vocation and power, and embed the market in the social fabric of Britain’s towns and cities. That project now forms an important part of Labour’s policy review, and needs to become clearer and sharper in the coming months. But it can’t only be led by national politicians. Organising and institution-building offer a route for activism that Labour party members, bored by leafleting and voter ID, might at last be enthusiastic about. It’s a programme where Labour can lead action by allying with non-party institutions with the same drive. All that, of course, requires a change in the way we think about power and activism we’ve barely started.

These two books show two dramatically different paths for Labour to take. Ultimately, Hattersley and Hickson’s 1960s social democracy offers moral certainty, but no practical politics to organise around. His introduction calls

Painter, rightly, challenges an old Labourist attempt to divide Britain into classes based on objective economic interest

for Labour to have vision and principles, but doesn’t tell us what those are.

Thankfully, Hattersley and Hickson are unable to keep their coalition of bossy state socialists together between the covers of even one book. The best essays are those which challenge the book’s main arguments. Raymond Plant makes the case for the dispersal of state power across localities and voluntary groups. In an intelligent attempt to have his cake and eat it, Andrew Harrop argues that state power should be used to promote local autonomy, responsibility, and the mutual support which comes when people lead “shared lives”. In chapter 13, Simon Slater challenges the case David Walker makes in chapter 11 for centralism by arguing for the devolution of more power to local government. Andy Burnham’s ‘whole person care’ relies on giving local democratic bodies the power to direct health and social care; John Denham’s progressive patriotism begins with historic pride in our towns and cities.

When self-professed social democrats can’t agree if Whitehall has too little or too much power, it’s hard to see what the principles they exhort us to follow actually mean in practice. *The Socialist Way* might save the moral conscience of its contributors. But without an answer to the question ‘what would you do now’ it will simply sustain the left’s beleaguered isolation.

If the state socialists have principles with no programme or politics, Painter’s “institutionalism” is the right programme without a clear enough political strategy. Painter, rightly, challenges an old Labourist attempt to divide Britain into classes based on objective economic interest. His account instead is of a country divided into networks and tribes based on subjective forms of attachment, to place, occupation, style, mode of consumption. What’s absent is a compelling story about the political practice able to bring tribes together into common action.

Left Without a Future is right to reject the *a priori* righteousness of the smug progressives. Its author listens, and hears what people say and feel. But the missing word is association. The missing story is about the process through which people who are disconnected and powerless meet, talk and act together in pursuit of a common good that’s shaped by the conversation. As a leader of vocational institutions in Hackney, Anthony Painter has done exactly that in practice. My biggest critique of *Left Without a Future* is that the tone of this impressive real world political record doesn’t adequately inflect the language of the book.

To assert the need for local institutions that give people a sense of purpose and power is the right place to start. But Labour’s renewal needs to be about how we do things as much as what we do. It’s about style: bringing people together to create those institutions, and then telling engaging stories about what’s happened. This requires a different form of leadership. Now, our political leaders are hampered by their limited experience of a life outside politics, hamstrung by a narcissistic political culture obsessed by abstract policy pronouncements rather than stories of real action. The direction we need to move is clear, and being followed by some – but the baggage we carry makes the journey difficult. But crafting a better language and a better political practice is the only way to give the left a future. **F**

LABOUR'S CHOICES: ONE NATION IN TOUGH TIMES

All events in the Coast View Rooms of the Mercure Brighton Seafront Hotel, unless stated otherwise.

	TIMING	INFORMATION	SPEAKERS	PARTNERS
SUNDAY	12:30–13:30 <i>Norfolk Suite</i>	ROAD TO FULL EMPLOYMENT Our panel will debate if and how Labour can move towards full employment. This event will mark the launch of our new pamphlet with Liam Byrne MP.	Liam Byrne MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions), John Park (Strategy and Political Director, Community), Liz Snape (Assistant General Secretary, UNISON)	 
	18:00–19:30	FABIAN QUESTION TIME Public Spending Choices Our traditional Sunday night event. No speeches, just the opportunity to quiz our panel on the issues of the day.	Andrew Harrop (General Secretary, Fabian Society), Alison McGovern MP, Alan Milburn, Rachel Reeves MP (Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury), Mary Riddell (Daily Telegraph – Chair)	
	19:30–20:30 <i>Norfolk Suite</i>	THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH FABIAN WOMEN	Ivana Bartoletti (Fabian Women's Network – Chair), Fiona Hathorn (Managing Director, Women on Boards UK), Councillor Sarah Hayward (Leader, Camden Council), Seema Malhotra MP (Chair, Parliamentary Labour Party Business Group), Deborah Mattinson (Co-founder, BritainThinks), Chuka Umunna MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills – invited)	
MONDAY	19:45–20:45	DEVOLUTION Constitution and reform What next for the UK after the Scottish Independence referendum? This event will launch a brand new cross-party pamphlet on our constitution. SCOTTISH FABIANS WELSH FABIANS	Sarah Boyack MSP, Margaret Curran MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland), James Hallwood (Associate Director, The Constitution Society), Marcus Roberts (Deputy General Secretary, Fabian Society – Chair), Owen Smith MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Wales)	  
	08:30–09:30 <i>Norfolk Suite</i>	GIVING BIRTH IN AUSTERITY BRITAIN The future of maternal health FABIAN WOMEN YOUNG FABIANS	Ade Adeyemi (Young Fabians Health Network – Chair), Rosalind Bragg (Director, Maternity Action), Elizabeth Duff (Senior Policy Adviser, NCT), Samara Hammond (Chief Executive, AMREF UK), Jamie Reed MP (Shadow Health Minister), Jon Skewes (Director for Policy, Employment Relations and Communications, Royal College of Midwives)	
	12:30–14:00 <i>Norfolk Suite</i>	WHAT'S THE ANSWER TO POPULISM? Our cross-party panel looks at the rise of populism and anti-politics feeling and asks what mainstream parties must do to regain the political initiative and win the trust of a sceptical public.	Evan Harris (Liberal Democrats), Sunder Katwala (Director, British Future – Chair), Sadiq Khan MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Justice), David Lammy MP, Zoe Williams (The Guardian)	 
13:00–14:00	RESPONSIBLE CAPITALISM AND WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY Giving workers a real voice In the era of big business, how can a Labour government challenge corporate culture to get better worker representation on company boards? How can we make responsible capitalism work in practice?	Nita Clarke (Director, IPA), Seema Malhotra MP (Chair, Parliamentary Labour Party Business Group – Chair), Frances O'Grady (General Secretary, TUC), Tom Powdrill (Head of Communications, PIRC), Chuka Umunna MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills)	 	

ROUNDTABLES

by invitation only (events@fabians.org.uk)

THE PRACTICAL AND PUBLIC POLITICS OF INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

With Roberta Blackman-Woods MP and Tom Greatrex MP

MESSAGE FOR EUROPE: Building for 2014

With Emma Reynolds MP

Partner:

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES
FONDATION EUROPEENNE D'ETUDES PROGRESSIVISTES



ALL OF THE ABOVE? Energy strategy post-2015

With Caroline Flint MP

Partner:



Energy for generations

TIMING	INFORMATION	SPEAKERS	PARTNERS
15:30–17:00 <i>Norfolk Suite</i>	YOUNG FABIANS PAMPHLET LAUNCH YOUNG FABIANS	Lord Stewart Wood (adviser to Ed Miliband)	
17:30–21:00 <i>War Pub, 157 King's Road, BN1 1NB</i>	YOUNG FABIANS CONFERENCE RECEPTION YOUNG FABIANS	Labour front-bench speakers throughout the evening	
18:00–19:00	ECONOMIC QUESTION TIME The big issues for business No speeches, just questions from the audience. This is your opportunity to quiz the panel on the economy and offer your views on what Labour's economic message should be.	Jeremy Cliffe (The Economist – Chair), Isabel Hardman (Coffee House Blog Editor, The Spectator), Michael Izza (Chief Executive, ICAEW), Joe Twyman (Head of Political and Social Research, YouGov), Chuka Umunna MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills)	
18:00–19:00 <i>Norfolk Suite</i>	SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY Building better partnerships between government and industry How can government and industry work more effectively to address problems in society? Can the two work together to find innovative solutions to localized problems? This event will launch a brand new Fabian report on responsible capitalism.	Hilary Benn MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government), Rowenna Davis (PPC, Southampton Ichen), John Denham MP, Sonia Sodha, Ed Wallis (Head of Editorial, Fabian Society – Chair)	
19:30–20:30	PREVENTING A LOST DECADE How can we make Europe work for growth? With much of Europe continuing to experience economic standstill, our panel will discuss what should be done to get Europe's economies moving again.	Larry Elliott (The Guardian – Chair), Matthew Elliott (Chief Executive, Business for Britain), Charles Grant (Director, Centre for European Reform), Stephen Radley (Director of Policy, EEF), Catherine Stihler MEP	
TUESDAY 12:30–13:30 <i>Hall 7, Room D, Hilton Metropole, Kings Road, BN1 2FU</i>	WHAT NEXT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND FOREIGN POLICY? FABIAN WOMEN	Kate Allen (Director, Amnesty International UK), Stella Creasy MP, Samira Hamidi (Afghan Women's Network), Kerry McCarthy MP	
17:30–19:00	TOGETHER A whole person vision for the NHS and social care How can Labour bring the NHS into the 21st century and secure its long-term future? A panel of experts debate Andy Burnham's proposals to merge health and social care.	Caroline Abrahams (Director of External Affairs, Age UK), Andy Burnham MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Health), Karen Jennings (Assistant General Secretary, UNISON), James Lloyd (Director, The Strategic Society Centre), Michael White (The Guardian – Chair)	
18:00–19:00 <i>Norfolk Suite</i>	JUST ONE NATION? Labour's policy on an in/out referendum As the issue of Europe rears its head once again, how should Labour respond to calls to support an in/out referendum on EU membership?	Mike Gapes MP, Lord Maurice Glasman (Blue Labour), Helen Goodman MP, Peter Kellner (President, YouGov), Axelle Lemaire (Parti Socialiste Députée – Chair), Graham Stringer MP, Keith Vaz MP	
19:15–20:30	SPIN ALLEY Debating the leader's speech Come and debate the leader's speech as a panel of top politicians give their spin on Ed's performance. The original and best forum for first reactions to Miliband's speech.	Jessica Asato (PPC, Norwich North – Chair), Jackie Ashley (The Guardian), John Denham MP, Michael Jacobs (Political Quarterly), Marcus Roberts (Deputy General Secretary, Fabian Society)	

LAND, COMMUNITY AND A POPULAR ENVIRONMENTALISM

With Mary Creagh MP

Partners:   

NEXT ECONOMY: How do we build a culture of responsible capitalism?

With Chris Leslie MP

Partner: 

PRESERVING THE NETWORK: Debating the place of post offices in the community

With Ian Murray MP

Partner:  **NFSP**
The voice of the UK's post offices

Green, green grass of Hove

As the Labour tribe descends on Brighton, *Maire McQueeney* assesses the uneasy relationship between the reds and the greens

Friday the 13th marked the opening of the autumn political conference season when the Greens meet for a long weekend at the Brighton Metropole, soon followed in Brighton & Hove by the Labour party women's conference and Labour conference itself. And by the time it finishes on Wednesday the 25th we should all know if Brighton Pavilion's Member of Parliament has been charged with an offence against the Public Order Act, for ignoring an instruction given by a police officer to leave the fracking protest site in Balcombe last month.

The last time Labour gathered in Brighton, in 2009, the city council was led by a Conservative minority administration with a cabinet system of governance. Labour and Green councillors worked together where possible and notably made joint amendments to the Tory budget in 2010. Since then, the Green challenge successfully delivered them both the parliamentary seat for Brighton Pavilion in 2010 and local government control in 2011.

The 23 Green seats, won on a 33 per cent share of the vote, assured minority control and the opportunity to abandon the cabinet system for a committee system of governance, looking forward to implementing open and transparent government in Brighton and Hove.

Since taking control of the council, the Greens have suffered a series of bruising internal rows, including a failed take-over bid in May. News spread on Twitter and blogs that the Greens lacked collectivism and even displayed 'Thatcherite individualism'. The Green group reduced to 22 as a councillor voted against same-sex marriage and, following a panel of enquiry, now holds her seat as an independent.

Labour, with 32 per cent of the vote, retained 13 seats in 2011 and many local

Labour members acknowledged the need for renewal across our unitary authority. After many months of discussion and debate, May 2013 saw a well-attended first AGM of the Brighton, Hove & District Labour party elect a full Executive Committee, voted for by members from across the city. Constituency GC meetings disappeared, replaced by branch meetings and bi-monthly city-wide meetings at venues throughout the city. Successive elections have seen the Labour vote increase both against Tories & UKIP and last year Labour held East Brighton ward with 56 per cent of the vote.

And the Greens themselves were taken unawares on July 11th when, following a vigilant and well-supported campaign, Labour & Cooperative candidate Emma Daniels, with a 12 per cent swing, overturned a majority of 1000 in the Hanover & Elm Grove by-election. First-time candidate Emma had taken a 'safe' Green seat, ensuring the Brighton Greens on-going mid-term blues as their ruling group reduced to a disunited 21 councillors. The Green party has since called in mediators, "to remedy the current malaise and move forward."

While the Green group reflects on its divisions, their 'war on car users', as the Tories style it, grows local disquiet about exorbitant on and off-street parking charges and the increased roll out of a 20 mile per hour speed limit across the city; while residents question if the initial trial has been evaluated and, if so, when are we likely to read the results. Labour calls for genuine dialogue with opposition parties on these and other controversial matters.

Autumn will bring the eagerly awaited answer to Labour's official request for two extra committee seats lodged soon after

the Hanover & Elm Grove by-election. The ruling group's power will be watered down and it will have to work with opposition parties to get key policy voted through, especially when Tory government cuts are biting deeper into local services.

In future, Brighton's importance to answering the perplexing question of how Labour beats the Greens may be to have demonstrated that once the Greens came of age as a party of local government, they too had finally created an essential yardstick for local residents to judge them by performance. ■

Maire McQueeney is secretary of Brighton and Hove Fabian Society



© Neil Hothing

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

South Western Regional Conference

Labour's Policy Review – Shaping the Next Manifesto

Saturday 5 October
Miramar Hotel, Bournemouth

Speakers include John Denham MP, Lord Maurice Glasman, Andrew Harrop, Lord Jim Knight, Fiona MacTaggart MP, Mike Gapes MP, Dr Howard Stoate, Patrick Diamond, Ivana Bartoletti, Rowenna Davies and Jessica Asato

Tickets bookable from website. Details and tickets by post from Ian Taylor on 01202 396634

For information about all these events, please contact Deborah Stoate on 0207 227 4904 or at debstoate@hotmail.com

Noticeboard

Fabian Society AGM 2013

Venue: Conference Hall, Mary Sumner House (Mother's Union), 24 Tufton Street, London, SW1P 3RB

Date: Saturday 16th November 2013, 13:00–16:30

13:00 Doors open

13:15 Debate: 'Reforming the Labour Party: Building a 21st Century Movement'

14.15 Tea and Coffee

1.45 Annual General Meeting

1. Apologies
2. Minutes of 2012 AGM
3. Matters Arising
4. In Memoriam
5. Election results
6. Annual Report 2012–13
7. General Secretary's Report and Forward Programme
8. Treasurer's Report
9. Appointment of Auditor
10. Resolutions
11. Date of next AGM
12. Jenny Jeger Prize
13. AOB

16.30 (approx) Close of meeting, followed by an informal social at the Westminster Arms, 9 Storeys Gate, Westminster.

Note: Members must register in advance to attend the AGM. A registration form is available on the Fabian Society's website.

AGM Resolutions

Proposed by the Treasurer and Executive Committee 2013:

- The Full rate for members and associates shall be £42 per annum or £3.50 per month.
- The Concession rate for students, retired people and the long-term unemployed shall be £21 per annum or £1.75 per month.
- The annual rate for Publication Subscriptions shall be £95 (£125 Overseas)
- The annual rate for Constituency Labour Parties shall be £42

The following is proposed by Peter Stern:

1. This annual general meeting calls on the Executive Committee to transfer the holding of future annual general meetings to a suitable date, in an earlier part of the year.
2. All members should be sent a notification of annual general meetings on a single sheet of paper.
3. The Fabian Review should include at least one page for members' letters.

Proposed by Alex Adranghi, seconded by James Hallwood

The word 'disability' shall be added to the existing list of grounds upon which the Society shall not discriminate. Amend Rule 2, by inserting 'disability' into the first sentence of paragraph 2, so that it reads "irrespective of race, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability or creed".

Proposed by Ade Adeyemi, seconded by Colm Flanagan

This resolution calls for an amendment of the rules by updating the word 'chairman' with 'chair' in all references.

Proposed by Ellie Cumbo, seconded by Claire Leigh and Alex Adranghi

This resolution calls for an amendment of Rule 5 by removing the words "have the right to" from the forth sentence so that it reads "The chairman of the meeting shall accept emergency resolutions and amendments with the consent of the meeting".

Fabian Fortune Fund

WINNER:

Irene Threlkeld £100

Half the income from the Fabian Fortune Fund goes to support our research programme. Forms and further information from Giles Wright, giles.wright@fabians.org.uk

We would like to pay a special tribute to Seema Malhotra MP as she steps down from her role as Director of the Fabian Women's Network after 8 highly successful years. In 2005 there was a conversation on the Fabian Executive about the shortage of women on Fabian panels and on our committees. Seema led a small research team and found that we had no less than 70 Fabian women in parliament, 15 Fabian Women ministers and six Fabian women members of the Cabinet. She recognised that the problem wasn't the number of women. We just needed a new way to invite them to become involved. She used her amazing networks and motivational skills to launch the Network.

It has been a network that has gone from strength to strength with numbers now exceeding 2000. Seema has not just given the network direction but has acted as a real role model for so many women. This has been particularly evident since we founded the mentoring and political education programme and above all since she became an MP. We are delighted that Seema will now be taking on the role of President so that the new Director and her Committee will still benefit from her insight and guidance and patronage.

Andrew Harrop

ANNUAL REPORT 2013



Jessica Asato, Chair of the Fabian Society

It has been an honour to chair the Fabian Society through the past year. It was a Young Fabian conference on Europe in 1998 that persuaded me to join the Society, so it was a great pleasure for me to open the Society's timely and thoughtful conference on Europe in February this year.

The team have worked very hard to keep up the level of events produced by the Society. We've held over 40 events in the past year including 24 meetings through the 2012 Party Conference season. Our New Year Conference saw over 1,000 delegates listen to Ed Miliband and a stellar line-up of speakers.

I'm particularly pleased that the Society has grown its regional programme of events and new societies. In November last year the Scottish Fabians hosted their first AGM and a meeting on developing a vision for industry in Scotland. In March 2013, speakers including Lord Glasman, Angela Eagle MP and Baroness Lister addressed the inaugural Northern and Midlands Regional Conference in Sheffield.

The Young Fabians continue to run an impressive series of events, the quarterly magazine *Anticipations* and policy commissions, all as volunteers and on a shoe-string. If you have children or grandchildren interested in politics, make sure you get them involved! I was particularly impressed with the Young Fabians boat party this year on its 15th anniversary – over 120 people, and no one over board!

Can I also pay tribute to the Fabian Women's Network under the leadership of Ivana Bartoletti? It provides a welcoming space for women of all ages to debate policy

and find each other in a movement that can be off-putting. Please do read a copy of *Fabiana*, the Fabian Women's Networks's magazine, if you haven't already.

The biggie this year has been managing a move from our offices in 11 Dartmouth Street. It was sad to say goodbye to the building which the Society bought in 1928 with a loan facilitated by George Bernard Shaw. The new offices on Petty France provide a much better working environment for staff and I hope if you visit you'll agree that it represents a good move for the Society.

Financially, this has been another tough period for the Fabians, but the staff have risen to the challenge. We have managed to publish 18 reports covering pensions, the over 50s, whole person care, housing and Europe, among many others. The impending Future Spending Choices Commission, I am sure, will provide real food for thought and direction for Labour as the manifesto process wends its way to a conclusion. I hope, like me, you all enjoyed the Fabian Review redesign which kept the quarterly publication fresh but distinctive!

Finally, I would like to thank the staff team, ably led by Andrew Harrop and Marcus Roberts, and the Executive Committee, for going the extra mile to ensure the Society continues to dominate debate on the left and in the Labour party. The work of the Society in 2013–14 will be crucially important to the future of Labour in the UK and how radical our vision for society should be. I do hope you will continue to support our work and join in with our exciting programme.

Treasurer's Report

This year has been one of change for the Society's finances. A determined effort by the Executive Committee and staff to expand potential new streams of funding, and a rigorous focus on getting the best out of our limited resources, has helped to continue a steady and solid financial performance.

The disposal of the historic Dartmouth Street offices and the move to new premises in Petty France has also allowed the Society to end the financial year in a positive position. Both the move itself and the technical setup of the fantastic, and modern, new offices have been excellently managed by the staff at the Society.

The general secretary, Andrew Harrop, and Phil Mutero, the head of finance and operations oversaw the process with a determined eye for detail, and secured a good deal for the Society at every stage of the process.

On behalf of the Executive Committee I'd like to thank them for their hard work this year, beginning an exciting new era for the Society at Petty France. We still face significant challenges in relation to expanding our income to allow us to undertake all the activities we would like.

Our three sections research, editorial and events have worked hard to meet their financial targets in difficult financial circumstances. Their efforts have helped to keep our financial performance on track and we hope to see more growth in revenue in the year ahead.

As the budget shows, we were incredibly lucky to receive generous donations and legacies this year which made an important contribution to our end of year position.

Over the coming year our focus will be continuing the Society's steady move towards surplus, and our objective remains to build a reserve to ensure the Society's future financial stability.

Whilst the wider financial situation will continue to be a limit on our ability to grow, the Executive Committee – and our chair Jessica Asato – are determined to see

Research and Editorial

Age UK, Barrow Cadbury Trust, Bicom, Betterworld, Crisis, Cuadrilla, Dartmouth Street Trust, FES, FEPS, Groundwork, JRRT, NAPF, RSPB, TUC, Unison, WWF, The Webb Memorial Trust, Woman's Institute, Woodland Trust

Conferences, Receptions, Lectures & Seminars

EEF, Electoral Reform Society, HSBC, ESBI, FEPS, European Commission, Food & Drink Federation, The Howard League for Penal Reform, ICAEW, IOE, KPMG, PCG, TUFM

Trade Unions

Amicus, Community, CWU, FBU, GMB, PCS, TGWU, TSSA, TUC, TUFM, UNISON, USDAW

Partner Organisations

Compass Institute of Education, the Guardian, the Independent, the Observer, E Sharp, Left Foot Forward, Progress, Labour List

a healthy and positive balance sheet in the financial year ahead.

Finally, I would like to thank the very dedicated Fabian Society staff, Executive Members, and volunteers for their time and hard work this past year. In particular, I'd like to thank last year's outgoing treasurer, Nick Butler, who has served the Society for many years and continues to do so.

David Chaplin

Financial Statements

These accounts are an extract from the financial statements and may not contain sufficient information to allow a full understanding of the financial affairs of the society. For further information the full financial statements and auditors report should be consulted. Copies of these can be obtained from the Fabian Society, 61 Petty France London SW1H 9EU.

Auditors Statement

We have audited the financial statements of The Fabian Society for the year ended 30th June 2013 which consists of a balance sheet, income and expenditure account and notes to the accounts. In our opinion the financial statements give a true and fair view, in accordance with United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice, of the state of The Fabian Society's affairs at 30th June 2013 and of its income and expenditure for the year then ended.

Knox Cropper
Chartered Accountants
8/9 Well Court
London
EC4M 9DN

Registered Auditors

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 30 June 2013

	2013	2012
	£	£
INCOME		
Individual members	172,653	171,265
Institutional Affiliations & Subscriptions	7,315	14,651
Donations	162,751	63,275
Publication Sales	3,347	3,086
Conferences & Events	132,716	129,574
Publication sponsorship & Advertising	62,572	64,775
Research Projects	104,175	153,500
Rents	7,304	31,034
Bank interest, royalties & miscellaneous	2,118	626
Sale of Property	1,341,841	0
Total Income	<u>1,996,792</u>	<u>631,786</u>
EXPENDITURE		
Research Projects	35,923	35,213
Staff costs	381,479	340,162
Printing & Distribution	82,448	67,478
Conferences & Events	99,636	95,392
Promotion	7,131	5,130
Affiliation Fees	3,653	2,754
Postage, Phone & Fax	9,808	8,918
Depreciation	2,771	3,516
Travel	2,159	1,735
Other	9,105	5,300
Stationery & Copying	12,408	10,110
Legal & Professional	13,170	7,502
Irrecoverable VAT	5,501	3,763
Premises	30,661	36,805
Website & Database	8,006	5,849
Bad Debts	17,198	2,902
Total Expenditure	<u>721,057</u>	<u>632,529</u>
Surplus/(Deficit) before Tax & Transfers	1,275,735	(743)
Transfers from Reserves	0	0
Surplus/(Deficit) before Taxation	1,275,735	(743)
Corporation Tax	(100,488)	0
Surplus/(Deficit) for the year	<u>1,175,247</u>	<u>(743)</u>

Listings

BEXLEY

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

BIRMINGHAM

17 September: Joint session with West Midland Co-Operatives on 'Mondragon'. Regular meetings at 7.00 in the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Margaret Street, Birmingham. Details from Claire Spencer on virginiaisawitch@gmail.com

BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT

25 October: Huw Irranca-Davies MP, Shadow Minister for Food and Farming. 7.30. Meetings at The Friends Meeting House, Wharmcliffe Rd, Boscombe, Bournemouth at 7.30. Contact Ian Taylor on 01202 396634 for details or taylorbournemouth@gmail.com

BRIDGEND

Society re-forming. Members or potential members should contact Huw Morris at huwjulie@tiscali.co.uk or telephone 01656 654946 or 07876552717

BRIGHTON & HOVE

Details of all meetings from Maire McQueeney on 01273 607910 email mairemcqueeney@waitrose.com

BRISTOL

Regular meetings. Contact Ges Rosenberg for details on grosenberg@churchside.me.uk or Arthur Massey 0117 9573330

CAMBRIDGE

Details from Feng Ding at cambridgefabians@gmail.com
Join the Cambridge Fabians Facebook group at www.facebook.com/groups/cambridgefabiansociety

CARDIFF AND THE VALE

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

CENTRAL LONDON

Details from Giles Wright on 0207 227 4904 or giles.wright@fabians.org.uk

CHATHAM and AYLESFORD

New Society forming. Please contact Sean Henry on 07545 296800 or seanhenry@live.co.uk

CHISWICK & WEST LONDON

26 September: Andrew Lewin on 'Labour and Generation Y. Promoting Opportunity for Young People'. All meetings at 8.00 in Committee Room, Chiswick Town Hall. Details from Monty Bogard on 0208 994 1780, email mb014fl362@blueyonder.co.uk

COLCHESTER

20 September: Professor Paul Whiteley on 'Is the Party Over for Labour? The Decline of Party Activism in Contemporary British Politics'. 7.30 at Friends Meeting House, Church St. Details from John Wood on 01206 212100 or woodj@madasafish.com Or 01206 212100

CUMBRIA & NORTH LANCASHIRE

Meetings, 6.30 for 7.00 at Castle Green Hotel, Kendal. For information,

please contact Dr Robert Judson at dr.robertjudson@btinternet.com

DARTFORD & GRAVESHAM

Regular meetings at 8.00 in Dartford Working Men's Club, Essex Rd, Dartford. Details from Deborah Stoate on 0207 227 4904 email debstoate@hotmail.com

DERBY

Details for meetings from Alan Jones on 01283 217140 or alan.mandh@btinternet.com

DONCASTER & DISTRICT

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

EAST LOTHIAN

25 September: Professor Trevor Davies on 'Devolution 2. Labour's Radical Alternative. Details of all meetings from Noel Foy on 01620 824386 email noelfoy@lewisk3.plus.com

EDINBURGH

Regular Brain Cell meetings. Details of these and all other meetings from Daniel Johnson at daniel@scottishfabians.org.uk

EPSOM & EWELL

New Society forming. If you are interested, please contact Carl Dawson at carldawson@gmail.com

FINCHLEY

Enquiries to Mike Walsh on 07980 602122 mike.walsh@ntlworld.com

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

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

GRIMSBY

Regular meetings. Details from Pat Holland – hollandpat@hotmail.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.

HASTINGS & RYE

Meetings held on last Friday of each month. Please contact Nigel Sinden at fabian@sindenql.com

HAVERING

Details of all meetings from David Marshall email david.c.marshall.t21@btinternet.com tel 01708 441189 For latest information, see the website <http://haveringfabians.org.uk>

HULL

Secretary Deborah Matthews can be contacted at HullFabians@gmail.com, on Twitter at @HullFabians or on 07958 314846

ISLINGTON

Details from John Clarke at johnclarke00@yahoo.co.uk

LEEDS

Details of all meetings from John Bracken at leedsfabians@gmail.com

MANCHESTER

Society reforming. Details from Rosie Clayton on rosie_clayton@hotmail.co.uk

The MARCHES

Society re-forming. If you are interested, please contact Jeevan Jones at jeevanjones@outlook.com

MERSEYSIDE

Please contact Phillip Brightmore at p.a.brightmore@gmail.com

MIDDLESBOROUGH

Please contact Andrew Maloney on 07757 952784 or email andrewmaloney@hotmail.co.uk for details

MILTON KEYNES

Anyone interested in helping to set up a new society, contact David Morgan on jdavidmorgan@googlemail.com

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

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

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE

Any Fabian interested in joining a North Staffordshire Society, please contact Richard Gorton on r.gorton748@btinternet.com

NORWICH

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

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Details from Lee Garland. secretary@nottsfabians.org.uk, www.nottsfabians.org.uk, twitter @NottsFabians

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 meetings. Details from Daniel Greenaway at daniel.idris.greenaway@gmail.com

READING & DISTRICT

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

SHEFFIELD

Regular meetings on the 3rd Thursday of the month at The Quaker Meeting House, 10, St James St, Sheffield.S1 2EW Details and information from Rob Murray on 0114 255 8341 or email robertljmurray@hotmail.com

SOUTH EAST LONDON

26 September: 8.00. Kitty Ussher 105 Court Lane, Dulwich SE21 7EE For details, contact Duncan Bowie on 020 8693 2709 or email duncanbowie@yahoo.co.uk

SOUTH WEST LONDON

Contact Tony Eades on 0208487 9807 or tonyeades@hotmail.com

SOUTHAMPTON AREA

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

SOUTH TYNESIDE

20 September: Emma Lewell-Buck MP
14 October: Shobha Srivastava on 'Problems facing Indian Students wanting to study in UK'. For information about this Society please contact Paul Freeman on 0191 5367 633 or at freemanpsmb@blueyonder.co.uk

SUFFOLK

Details from John Cook on 01473 255131, email contact@ipswich-labour.org.uk

SURREY

Regular meetings at Guildford Cathedral Education Centre Details from Robert Park on 01483 422253, robert@park.titandsl.co.uk

TONBRIDGE & TUNBRIDGE WELLS

For details of meetings contact John Champneys on 01892 523429

TYNEMOUTH

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

WARWICKSHIRE

20 September: AGM plus John Slinger on the Syrian Crisis.
31 October: Professor Tony Wright, former MP for Cannock Chase.
28 November: Mike O'Brien. PPC for North Warwickshire. All meetings 7.30 at the Friends Meeting House, 28 Regent Place, Rugby Details from Ben Ferrett on ben_ferrett@hotmail.com or <http://warwickshirefabians.blogspot.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@dur.ac.uk

WIMBLEDON

Please contact Andy Ray on 07944 545161 or andyray@blueyonder.co.uk

YORK

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

FABIAN QUIZ



THE LAST VOTE
Phillip Coggan

In *The Last Vote*, Philip Coggan shows how democracy today faces threats that we ignore at our own risk. Amid the turmoil of the financial crisis, high debt levels, and an ever-growing gap between the richest and the rest, it is easy to forget that the ultimate victim could be our democracy itself. Tracing democracy's history and development, from the classical world through the revolution of the Enlightenment and on to its astounding success in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Coggan revisits the assumptions on which it is founded. What exactly is democracy? Why should we value it? What are its flaws? And could we do any better?

Penguin has kindly given us five copies to give away. To win one, answer the following question:

Who was Prime Minister at the time of the passing of the Great Reform Act in 1832?

Please email your answer 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 15TH NOVEMBER 2013



EEF, THE MANUFACTURERS' ORGANISATION, IS DELIGHTED TO BE SPONSORING THE FOLLOWING FABIAN SOCIETY FRINGE EVENT AT THIS YEAR'S LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE:

PREVENTING A LOST DECADE: HOW CAN WE MAKE EUROPE WORK FOR GROWTH?

Featuring: Catherine Stihler MEP, Larry Elliott (Economics Editor, *The Guardian*), Charles Grant (Director, Centre for European Reform), Matthew Elliott (Chief Executive, Business for Britain), Stephen Radley (Director of Policy, EEF)

When: 19:30 – 20:30, Monday 23 September

Where: Coast View Rooms of the Mercure Brighton Seafront Hotel, 149 Kings Road, Brighton, BN1 2PP

**This event is outside the conference secure zone and open to all who want to attend.
For further information contact Daniel Stevens on daniel.stevens@fabians.org.uk**

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