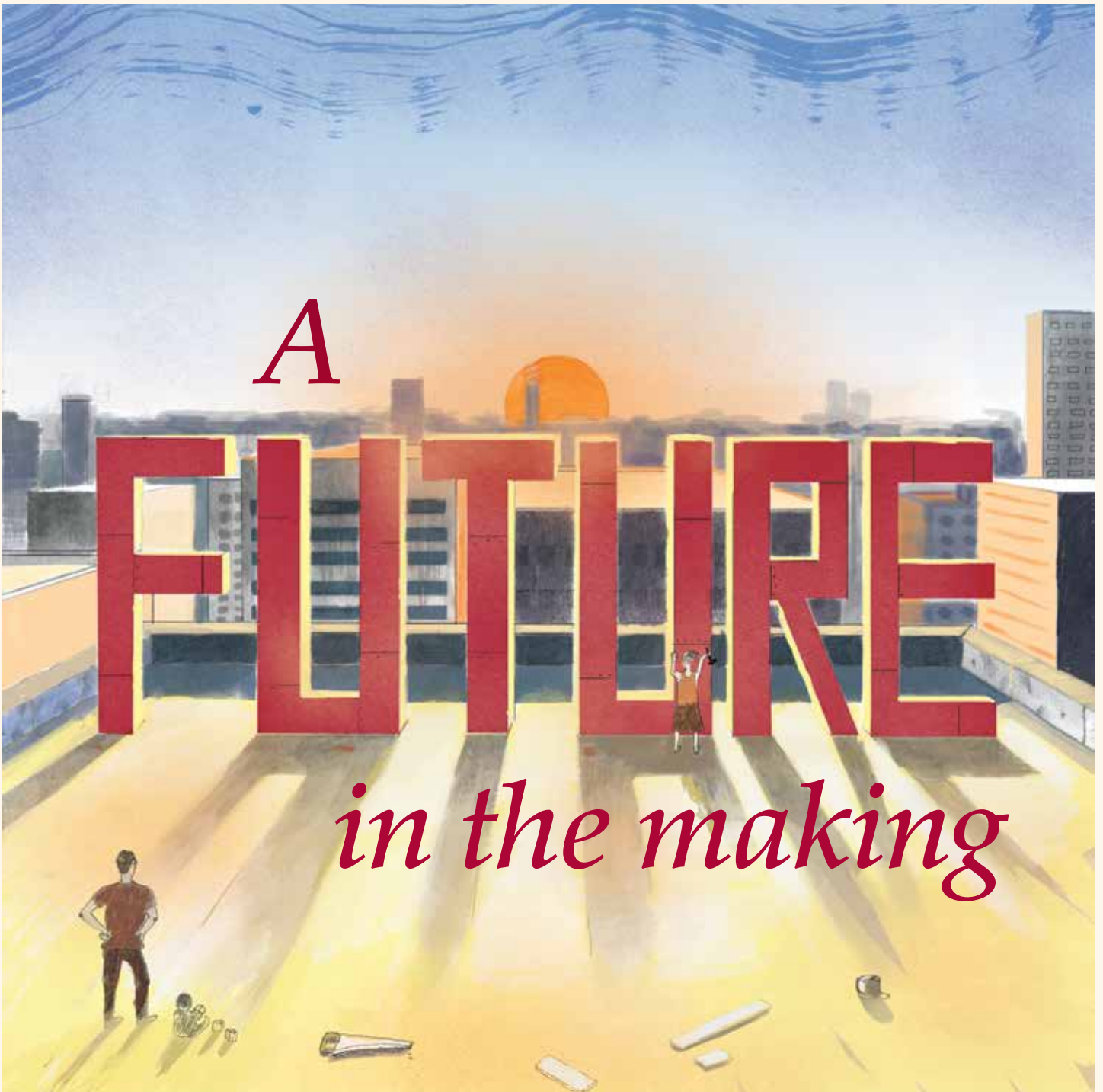


# FABIAN REVIEW

*The quarterly magazine of the Fabian Society*

*Autumn 2014 / [fabians.org.uk](http://fabians.org.uk) / £4.95*



*How the next Labour manifesto can reshape Britain, by Andrew Harrop **p8** / Margaret Hodge and Dan Jarvis on the challenges facing a new generation of Labour MPs **p12** / Mary Riddell speaks to shadow international development secretary Jim Murphy **p14** / How Ed Miliband can take his ideas to the max **p20***

A large, blue, 3D-style arrow pointing to the right, containing the main headline text.

**We're helping  
to transform  
the lives of  
offenders**

A large, green, 3D-style arrow pointing to the left, containing the first sub-headline text.

**People caught up in the Criminal Justice System  
are amongst the most marginalised in our society,  
often with multiple and complex needs, resulting  
in consistently high rates of reoffending.**

Voluntary sector organisations have played an active and vital role in criminal justice and community safety for over a century. More than just providers of services; they are advocates, campaigners, sources of vital information on service user need, a critical eye on existing services and innovators that drive social change.

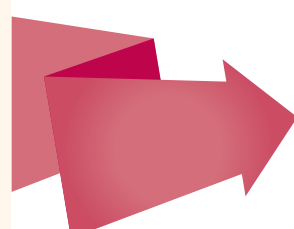
At a time of transformation in the Criminal Justice System, and in public services more widely, the sector's is an essential voice for political thinkers, policy-makers and commissioners to hear.

A large, blue, 3D-style arrow pointing to the left, containing the second sub-headline text.

**Clinks is the membership body that supports, represents and  
campaigns for the voluntary sector working with offenders.**

Clinks aims to ensure the sector and all those with whom they work, are informed and engaged in order to transform the lives of offenders.

Through our communications networks we connect with **over 12,000 people** working in the voluntary sector and criminal justice. Our popular weekly ebulletin, Light Lunch, goes out to over **8,500 people each Friday** and is the ideal way to stay up to date with developments, resources and opportunities relating to the voluntary sector working with offenders.

A large, red, 3D-style arrow pointing to the right, containing the call to action text.

**If you do one thing today, make sure you sign up for our free,  
weekly Light Lunch ebulletin at [www.clinks.org/fabian](http://www.clinks.org/fabian)**

# FABIAN REVIEW

Volume 126—No. 3

## Leader

Andrew Harrop 2 A kip in the teeth

## Shortcuts

Paul Richards 3 Harold's lessons for Ed  
Rachel Briggs 3 Who guards the guards?  
Anya Pearson 4 Riding the new wave  
Lindsay Judge 5 Credit where it's due  
Simon Danczuk 6 Sawdust not stardust  
Mark Leonard 7 The 'in' crowd

## Cover Story

Andrew Harrop 8 The future of government  
Dan Jarvis 12 Look forward  
Margaret Hodge 13 Beyond the frontbenches

## Interview

Mary Riddell 14 National interest  
18 Fabian Fringe Timetable

## Feature

Roger Liddle 20 Hanging together

## Feature

Marcus Roberts, Jeremy Cliffe, Rowenna Davis, Mary Riddell, George Eaton, David Clark, Emma Burnell and Stefan Stern 22 To the max

## Policy Pitch

James Watkins 28 Faith in the economy

## Books

Sarah Hutchinson 30 The determination of a quiet man  
32 Fabian Society section

**FABIAN  
SOCIETY**

### **FABIAN REVIEW**

Fabian Review is the quarterly journal of the Fabian Society. Like all publications of the Fabian Society, it represents not the collective view of the Society, but only the views of the individual writers. The responsibility of the Society is limited to approving its publications as worthy of consideration within the Labour movement.

Editor, Ed Wallis  
Assistant Editor, Anya Pearson  
Cover illustration © Kenn Goodall / bykenn.com  
Printed by DG3, London E14 9TE  
Designed by Soapbox, www.soapbox.co.uk

ISSN 1356 1812  
review@fabian-society.org.uk

### **FABIAN SOCIETY**

61 Petty France  
London SW1H 9EU  
020 7227 4900 (main)  
020 7976 7153 (fax)  
info@fabian-society.org.uk  
www.fabians.org.uk

General Secretary,  
Andrew Harrop  
Deputy General Secretary,  
Marcus Roberts

Events and Partnerships  
Partnerships and Events  
Manager, Felicity Slater

Events and Partnerships  
Assistant, Ciara Dunne

Editorial  
Editorial Director and Senior  
Research Fellow, Ed Wallis  
Assistant Editor, Anya Pearson  
Media and Communications  
Manager, Richard Speight

Research  
Senior Researcher, Cameron Tait  
Researcher, Rob Tinker  
Research Fellow, Daisy-Rose  
Srbliin

Membership  
Membership Officer,  
Giles Wright  
Local Societies Officer,  
Deborah Stoate

Finance and Operations  
Director of Finance and  
Operations, Phil Mutero

Fabian Women's Network  
Ivana Bartoletti,  
fabianwomen@fabian-society.org.uk



© Kenn Goodall / bykenn.com

## A kip in the teeth

UKIP is on the march, but Labour is the only party that can bridge Britain's great divides—*Andrew Harrop*

**I**F THE SCOTS vote 'no', next year's election is Labour's to lose. For the forthcoming Clacton byelection confirms both that UKIP will not implode before next May and that the Tories are more interested in ideological warfare than reaching out to undecided voters in marginal seats.

Yet Labour remains in an unsatisfying, becalmed position. Its probable victory owes more to the electoral system and the internal dynamics of other parties than to anything Labour has done itself. As a consequence, the party risks scraping into Downing Street without having built a new long-term coalition of voters who can sustain it in office.

This is the true significance of UKIP for Labour: the Kippers may be more of an immediate menace to the Tories, but they appeal to many who should see Labour as a natural home. In particular, it is UKIP, not Labour, that has cracked how to win the support of people who had given up on voting. That's why UKIP's recent success threatens Labour's long-term prospects. Parties always lose fair-weather supporters once elected to office; so Labour will need to tap new reservoirs of support to avoid defeat in 2020, should the party win by a whisker next year.

If Labour governs competently it may pick up a few safety-first voters who favour incumbency. If it is radical too it will retain the growing ranks of left-leaning 'Obama' voters, who make up Labour's 'new' core – like urban, liberal graduates and ethnic minorities. Alone however they are too few to win elections in Britain.

So a sustainable voting coalition must also mean re-earning the support of Labour's 'old' core of white non-graduates: the people the party was founded to

serve. All through this parliament Labour has worked hard to craft an economic offer for this group – people facing precarious work and squeezed living standards. In the process the party has discovered that policies squarely to the left of New Labour can unite a broad spectrum of potential supporters.

But Labour has failed to build emotional bridges and regain credibility. The policies are good, but for 'old' core voters, the party sounds grating, managerial and culturally remote – when anyone notices it at all. By contrast UKIP's high energy politics has cut through, especially on social and cultural themes, and for the first time UKIP is gaining traction in Labour heartlands.

So unless action is taken now, the number of people who, like Gillian Duffy, are socially conservative but tribally Labour will dwindle each year. A national response is needed, including a much clearer election prospectus for pensioners, but also local renewal. Labour must become the party of community and dedicate itself to five years of pavement politics, by seeing through its tentative internal reforms.

Labour faces a genuine dilemma in appealing to its diverse coalition of potential voters. The party cannot compete in an arms-race of socially conservative policy making, so instead it must change the way it looks, sounds and feels. This is not about the message, but having a broader range of messengers, with a candour and energy the public can't fail to notice.

Labour is the only party that bridges Britain's great divides of geography and class. But to build the foundations for long-term success it must resemble all its supporters and unite its broad constituency through understanding, passion and leadership. **F**

# Shortcuts



## HAROLD'S LESSONS FOR ED

Fifty years on from the Wilson government, Miliband is facing a similar set of challenges

—Paul Richards

By the time Ed Miliband came into the world on Christmas eve 1969, Harold Wilson had been prime minister for five years, at the helm of only the second-ever majority Labour government. Fifty years on from Wilson's first election, what lessons are there for Labour's next prime minister?

Britain's place in the world, the size and shape of its economy, its dominant cultural and social attitudes, were all markedly different from today. Wilson was a new leader, attempting to win an election after 13 years in opposition. Britain was enjoying economic growth, young people walked into well-paid jobs, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones could be heard from every teenager's bedroom. Wilson's version of socialism, with its appeal to classless modernity and the white heat of technology, suited the zeitgeist. By contrast, Ed Miliband faces an austere, divided Britain, uncertain of its future.

Yet the similarities are there too. Harold Wilson was an unlikely leader, standing in February 1963 following the shock death of Hugué Gaitskell. Standing against James Callaghan and George Brown, he did not win on the first ballot. 129 of Wilson's parliamentary colleagues did not want him to be leader. In the second ballot he secured 144 votes against Brown's 103, in a contest Tony Crosland characterised as a choice between "a crook and a drunk". Wilson faced a Tory cabinet chock-full of Old Etonians, led by a 14th Earl.

Labour's 1964 manifesto promised a 'new Britain', with full employment, a faster industrial expansion, distribution of industry through the country, an end to the chaos in transport and travel, a brake on rising prices

and a solution to the balance of payments problem. The answer was 'a national plan' and the weapon was the Department for Economic Affairs.

The DEA is an abject lesson in the failure of Whitehall machinery to translate into economic change. It rose like a mighty skyscraper against the London skyline, but by 1969 it had been demolished, like so many other 1960s edifices, because it didn't work. It attempted to challenge the Treasury, and failed. Ed Miliband will do well to avoid similarly grandiose changes to the machinery of government.

The national plan included all kinds of emphases we would recognise in Miliband's leadership today: devolution to the nations and regions; measures to ease the cost of living; an end to price 'rackets'; a fair tax system, including a block on "the notorious avoidance and evasion devices that have made a mockery of so much of our tax system".

Wilson's Labour promised class sizes no bigger than 30 in all schools; an end to the 11-plus, and a rise in the school leaving age to 16 in a "massive expansion in higher, further and university education".

On housing, the party pledged fair rents, slum clearances, and a target of 400,000 new houses built a year (Ed Miliband's target is 200,000 per year by 2020). On health, they promised no structural changes to the NHS, but instead more hospitals, more doctors and nurses and no introduction of charges.

These themes are all redolent of Miliband's policies. Harold Wilson recognised that the 1960s voter was concerned with the prices of their goods and services, their rights as consumers, and their aspiration to own a decent home and see their children work in well-paid a job with prospects. The only discordant note is the section which addresses all the extra leisure time the British worker would enjoy thanks to "automation, new sources of energy and the growing use of the electronic calculating machine."

So what happened next? Wilson was buffeted by a devaluation crisis which diminished his own reputation. He kept British boots off the ground in Vietnam, but was criticised anyway for supporting the Americans. His attempts at union reform, through the white paper *In Place of Strife*, failed and would wait until Thatcher did the

job in a far less sympathetic way. Labour lost ten byelections, nine to the Tories and one to the Liberals, and lost the 1970 election on a 4.5 per cent swing.

Yet despite all the scandal and intrigues, all around us are the new universities, new towns, new motorways, new companies, new culture and liberating social reforms which were born in Wilson's New Britain.

The much-missed Ben Pimlott, in his definitive biography, wrote: "Wilson was an egalitarian by instinct and conviction." He believed "a more equal society would be a more efficient and economically successful one." Wilson modernised the economy and welfare state, and made society fairer. He reduced poverty, and lessened the gap between rich and poor. If we can say the same about Ed Miliband in ten years' time, he will stand alongside Harold Wilson as a great Labour prime minister. **F**

*Paul Richards is a political adviser and writer, and former chair of the Fabian Society*



## WHO GUARDS THE GUARDS?

The internet age demands a fundamental rethink of the oversight of our security agencies

—Rachel Briggs

The statistics are dizzying: the UK has 33 million registered Facebook users, 10 million on Twitter and 14 million on eBay. In almost every aspect of our lives, we choose to share vast amounts of personal data.

This is voluntary. But what Edward Snowden's leaks revealed is the amount of our data that is being stored and shared without our permission. While Snowden remains subject to an international arrest warrant, his actions have ignited public

debate. President Obama has commissioned an independent review and set out areas for reform to protect US citizens' privacy and civil liberties. Whether you think Snowden is a hero or a villain, we must ask searching questions about our security and intelligence agencies.

The response so far from most politicians in the UK has been predictable. First, they have talked up the supposed impact of the leaks on national security. David Cameron said in January this year: "We are in severe danger of making ourselves less safe as a result." However, the view from insiders is more mixed; former deputy director of MI6, Nigel Inkster, has commented: "I sense that those most interested in the activities of the NSA and GCHQ have not been told much they didn't already know or could have inferred."

Second, there has been blanket acceptance of the necessity of mass surveillance programmes in preventing terrorist attacks, for example. But are they really effective? We cannot answer this question because there has not been serious independent analysis of their cost effectiveness and efficacy in the UK.

Third, politicians insist on displaying unconditional deference to our security agencies, and yet their employees are public servants; fallible and subjective human beings that make bad decisions and contain bad apples just as often as any other organisation.

Our security agencies will always defend their corner, ask for more money, and request more resources, capability and kit. That's what public institutions do. The job of politicians is to provide oversight. Yvette Cooper has been a strong public advocate for strengthening the governance of our security and intelligence agencies. She has set out the challenges cogently in two public lectures, the most recent in March 2014. She is right to argue for more resources, greater powers, better political balance and higher public engagement in the work of the Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC); to point to the need for the three Independent Oversight Commissioners to take a public stance on the Snowden leaks and offer public guidance as well as private counsel; and her desire for an open debate is well-placed.

But Labour's case for reform must go much further – we need a fundamental rethink of the oversight of these agencies.

One of the most concerning of Snowden's revelations was that of TEMPORA, a formerly secret computer system used by GCHQ to access large amounts of personal data. The most shocking thing about TEMPORA relates not to where the line

was drawn in the sand between the competing aims of security and privacy, but rather the systemic absence of good governance over the decision making process.

According to a former cabinet member, Chris Huhne, the only politician that was aware of it was William Hague, the then foreign secretary, and it was not discussed at the National Security Council. This all happened while the communications bill was being debated in parliament. TEMPORA had already given GCHQ many of the powers that went on to be rejected by elected representatives, but without their knowledge.

### The response so far from most politicians in the UK has been predictable

The governance of our security and intelligence agencies is not just outdated on technological and resource grounds. The whole system is underpinned by a misplaced deference that fails adequately to question the efficacy and cost effectiveness of these agencies – let alone to challenge their underlying principles. It is therefore worrying that Labour recently appeared to reverse its approach by defending Drip legislation to reinforce mass surveillance in a decision-making process rightly criticised for being rushed and oblique.

This is not an agency bashing argument. Institutions without external challenge tend towards group-think that can drive down standards; future leaks are inevitable and will erode public trust; and there is already evidence of weakened soft power as a result of their practices. Even former heads of the ISC, MI5 and MI6 have voiced concerns.

As we watch events unfold in places like Iraq, Syria and the Ukraine, there is no doubt that we need effective security and intelligence agencies more than ever – and a governance system for them that is fit for purpose.

Just as importantly, that system must help rather than hinder our attempt to strike the right balance between national security and individual privacy and liberties. This is probably the greatest political challenge of the internet age, and should be natural Labour territory, but will take a generation to deliver in full. Now is the time for resolve rather than U-turns. The stakes are just too high. **F**

*Rachel Briggs OBE is research director at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue and director of Hostage UK*



### RIDING THE NEW WAVE

Labour has much to learn from the feminist movement in countering political apathy—*Anya Pearson*

This year, spurred on by social media and the effects of the recession, a new wave of feminism is continuing to gather strength at an impressive pace. Over 200,000 signatures have now gathered on the No More Page 3 petition nationwide, lads' magazine *Nuts* finally pulled down its shutters, and previously unknown groups like Daughters of Eve, who campaign against female genital mutilation, are gaining wider attention.

As our formal political channels fall further into disrepute (just 18 per cent of people trust politicians to tell the truth) and our political parties struggle to offer inspiring solutions to the challenges people face in their daily lives, this increasingly vibrant wave of feminism seems to be everything that party politics is not. It's dynamic and accessible; designed to encourage active instead of passive participation from supporters; and it's run by people from all walks of life. Most of all, it's autonomous, driven largely by single issues, with no party line to step behind.

The Labour party achieved a great deal for women while in office, from a national minimum wage that brought a million women out of poverty, increased maternity and paternity provision, to flexible working and sure start centres. It's the party of social justice, equality and tolerance. It should be the staunch ally of feminism. But relations are currently cool at best. As women prove they can address the issues that affect them without the help of MPs, it might appear that Labour is in danger of becoming an irrelevance for this generation of feminists who care passionately about inequality and social justice but do not identify with the party politics of yore.

Yet Labour can still be a vehicle for contemporary social activists to achieve lasting, systemic change in their fight for equality. The trick, as Colin Crouch wrote recently in the *Fabian Review*, is for the party to embrace the "groundswell" caused by social movements which has led to "widespread pools

of implicit support for social democratic values” while respecting – valuing, even – their autonomy and lack of partisan loyalty. This may be difficult for a party which has become centralised and hierarchically rigid, but it is essential if the party is to become a genuine movement again.

Feminism can teach Labour valuable lessons about political participation and engagement outside the mainstream. In return, feminism stands to benefit from a healthier relationship with the party. Its campaigners must recognise that in the age of neoliberalism and historic concentrations of power in the hands of the few, the transformative political action they want needs to be routed through government by working collaboratively.

First, Labour should take seriously the extent to which online campaigning is igniting the interest of thousands of women who did not previously consider themselves ‘political’ at all. It has helped women who feel alienated and excluded from mainstream and political structures find a voice and a support network. Lisa Clarke, a 40 year old nurse from Nottingham who started working for No More Page 3 after becoming involved with their campaigning, writes in an upcoming Fabian and Compass report: “I see many women like me who on the back of their campaigning experience are entering into dialogue with politicians and attending meetings at Westminster”. If more feminist campaigners are making that crucial journey along the continuum between online activism and real life participation, Labour must become more adept at reaching out digitally too.

Of course, the autonomy of the feminist movement is its lifeblood, and feminist campaigners can be justifiably wary of politicians. As Zita Holbourne, co-founder of Black Women Rising Against the Cuts (BARAC UK) puts it in the report: “The only time I ever see local councillors is when they are canvassing for votes... [but] the party must be willing to support our grassroots campaigns in the spaces we have created too.”

Indeed, as Crouch warns, Labour should try to ally with but not control these movements. For such collaborations to work, local Labour parties also need to become more pluralistic and open. In the latter case that would mean, for example, committing to campaign on some of the issues that BARAC campaigns on, such as the multiple discriminations faced by young black people, while respecting that their strong anti-austerity stance does not comfortably align with Labour’s public spending policies.

There is far more to do to get more women into politics, of course – and parliamentary measures such as getting Labour’s Diversity Fund moving again and using all women shortlists remain important. But political parties will forever be chasing the tail of a movement as fluid as feminism. Labour needs to find ways to hang on and enjoy the ride. **F**

*Anya Pearson is assistant editor at the Fabian Society*

*The Fabian and Compass report ‘Riding the new wave: Feminism and the Labour party’, edited by Anya Pearson and Rosie Rogers, will be published in Autumn 2014*



## CREDIT WHERE IT’S DUE

Universal credit could be genuinely progressive if it makes work a real route out of hardship—*Lindsay Judge*

Universal credit has one abiding message that comes through loud and clear: work good, benefits bad. It’s structured to reduce the obstacles to taking a job, increase work incentives and ensure that claimants make efforts to move up the progression ladder.

None of this is anything that most low-income families would disagree with. Forthcoming Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) research shows that even if their total income stays the same, the vast majority of poor parents would much rather be working than not. People we interviewed spoke of the sense of self-esteem even low quality work gives them, the value of ‘getting out of the house’, and the importance of being good role models for their children. Contrary to prevailing perceptions, low-income parents are motivated to work and good to go.

Hurray for universal credit then, with its promises to make it easier to work and make it pay. But there’s a problem: if we look beyond work for work’s sake, and also expect it to solve our growing poverty problem, it’s not clear it is up to the job.

Consider the new research from the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission,

which modelled the poverty payoff we’d get from various changes to employment in the UK. What would child poverty rates look like, for example, if the national minimum wage was increased? If we saw higher levels of parental employment? Or if low-income parents worked the number of hours universal credit insists is right for them? The answer, in each case, is, a bit lower than now but not as much as you’d think.

For those of us who have little to do with the benefits system, this doesn’t seem to make sense. If we worked more, took on longer hours, or got a rise, our incomes would certainly go up. But for those on universal credit, it doesn’t quite work like that. So why not?

To begin with, the new system allows those on very low earnings to keep all of their salary without their universal credit award being affected. But, very quickly, a steep withdrawal rate kicks in – when earning a bit more than £51 a week for a couple family, and just over £60 a week for a lone parent. Critically, the value of these levels (or ‘work allowances’) has been frozen for three years, and so is diminishing in real terms. As a result, families claiming universal credit will feel even less of the full benefit of working more as time goes on.

Second, once families are earning beyond their allowance, the amount they actually earn from working is pretty small. When they lose 65p of their universal credit award for every extra pound they earn (and then pay tax and national insurance too), it’s easy to see how working more doesn’t necessarily translate into money in pockets for those on low incomes, or a reduction in poverty to boot.

A recent TUC-CPAG project has shown that we can tinker around with universal credit as much as we like, but that won’t do much for poverty rates. Instead, if we seriously want the policy to be genuinely progressive, work must become a real route out of hardship. Unfreezing the work allowances and decreasing universal credit’s withdrawal rate need to be the reforms at the top of the pile. Combine this with an uplift to the national minimum wage (which would generate more revenue for the Treasury from increased tax receipts that could be used to pay for the more generous allowances and taper), and we might actually be back in the business of reducing poverty.

Tackling *child* poverty requires just a little bit more action, however. Wages don’t reflect family size or respond to the growing cost of a child. Earnings have to be spread further in families with children, making it harder

for parents to achieve an adequate income through work alone.

Enter children's benefits, designed to help parents smooth the cost of children over the course of their working life. An additional poverty-reducing step, then, would be to recognise the critical importance of the children's element of universal credit for low-income families, and restore its value to its 2010 level. According to the TUC-CPAG analysis, this would reduce child poverty rates by two percentage points in one fell swoop, putting us back on track to meeting child poverty targets.

If the intimate relationship between work and benefits is to function as envisaged by universal credit, freezing allowances or increasing the taper are definitely steps in the wrong direction. But we should also recognise that the basic value of awards needs to be adequate, and that support with the costs of children should remain a critical part of the poverty-reduction tool kit. **F**

*Lindsay Judge is senior policy and research officer at Child Poverty Action Group*



## SAWDUST NOT STARDUST

People want a new politics, so let's give MPs a job description  
—*Simon Danczuk*

How will the new politics come about? What'll be the big bang to bring about this brave new world? Will it be gender equality on the green benches? The first black prime minister? Or might it be something altogether more prosaic and less obviously 'progressive'?

There's long been a tendency in Westminster to overreach where notions of progressive politics are concerned. The hard graft of building trust at a grassroots level and the need to keep tired hands firmly gripped to the public pulse is frequently overlooked. There's always some gamechanging idea that special advisers think can get round such drudgery, dazzle the electorate and achieve a short cut to success.

Except this sleight of hand doesn't always work. We live in a cynical age where people are more aware of the limitations of politics than ever before. The only real way to raise people's hopes of what politics can achieve is not by pulling rabbits out of hats but by hard work and a relentless push to root politics in the fabric of local communities. Forget the stardust, we need more sawdust.

A starting point should be giving MPs a job description setting out a contract between them and the electorate in terms of casework, availability and their role in local issues.

Think about that for a moment. Does the public have any real idea of what MPs do? I doubt it. Most people don't even know who their MP is. Some are virtually invisible.

It's time we asked some fundamental questions about our politicians. What is it that we expect of MPs, what are they for? It often seems to me that the role of MPs is to represent the state to the people rather than to represent the people. This has to change.

What we desperately need now is for MPs that engage with their constituents, have an active role in their community and provide some leadership at a local level in helping tackle difficult problems. Politics must move away from Westminster and reconnect with community.

There are many excellent MPs already doing this and working really hard for their constituents. But there are still too many MPs who barely visit their constituencies at all and seem to view their constituents as a pathway to a glittering Westminster career.

To change this, we should introduce greater scrutiny at the local level. It's relatively easy to form a judgment on how an MP is performing in parliament. You can see their attendance, read their speeches and check their voting record. But who checks up on whether MPs are doing their job in their constituencies? Nobody. Casework is such a large and important part of an MP's job that it's staggering that they're left completely to their own devices. I've heard of some MPs who only open their offices for a few

hours a week. Others have offices the public cannot access. It's as though some work hard to actively ignore their constituents.

I would advocate introducing checks such as 'mystery shoppers' to make sure MPs are dealing with casework effectively and keeping their offices open and well-staffed. There should also be checks to ensure MPs are holding regular surgeries where they engage with local people. The late Middlesbrough MP, Stuart Bell, for example, had not held a surgery in 14 years.

Doing casework does not make MPs 'glorified social workers' as some have suggested, it is one of the most effective ways of staying in touch with local issues. Some MPs need to take it more seriously.

MPs are well aware of the widespread public cynicism in our political system but there's still considerable resistance to allowing a new style of politics to take root. The former minister Denis MacShane recently pined in the *Huffington Post* for an era where politicians had safe seats they'd never dream of living in and mourned the loss of MPs who could spend all their time thinking and not have to bother engaging with their constituents. How it's taken so long for such an outdated ivory tower model of politics to be rumbled I don't know.

MPs are not precious philosophers. They belong in the bloodstream of politics not in a Proustian cork-lined room. They have to grapple with all sorts of issues, including national and international problems. But as the events in Rotherham have shown us, they can no longer ignore local issues.

This change is slowly coming about, but we need to accelerate it. The days are long gone when we used to think the dawn of a new politics would be heralded by the kind of scenes witnessed in 1997 when Tony Blair walked victoriously down Whitehall. This time I think we all know the revolution won't be televised. And the modest introduction of a clear job description to re-define an MP's role could be the first step. **F**

*Simon Danczuk is Labour MP for Rochdale*







## THE 'IN' CROWD

Rather than defending Europe, Miliband should seek to define it  
—Mark Leonard

The genie of nationalism has been truly unleashed by Alex Salmond, and Labour now finds itself buffeted by unprecedented forces on either side of the border. Douglas Carswell has ripped apart the delicate Tory truce on Europe and the obscure back-bencher Bob Neill will make the European issue a key political cleavage when he introduces an EU referendum bill later this autumn.

As Labour prepares to be squeezed in Clacton and outvoted in the House of Commons, there is a push by some in the party to re-open the question of whether to commit to an in/out referendum before 2017. The logic seems clear: to get out of a position where Labour seems to be in favour of the status quo and against giving people a voice.

But that is precisely the wrong way to achieve these two goals. By changing his policy now, Miliband will simply look like a weak opportunist rather than a principled leader with a vision for the country.

What is needed is a bold and concerted campaign to change the contours of this issue. There is much for Labour to learn from the Scottish referendum: that self-government will often trump arguments about economic benefits; that you need a positive story about the future as well as a catalogue of risks; and that the public is not as willing as it once was to trust elites.

In order to show that he does not support the status quo, Miliband must now offer a radical reform agenda for the European Union. First, we need a new approach to migration that goes beyond the current approach of focusing on labour markets and benefit access. Labour could push EU governments to issue European social insurance cards to citizens moving to other member states. It should push for the creation of a European migration adjustment fund in the EU budget, so that



© www.flickr.com/photos/markurzon/2111904982

local authorities could obtain assistance in upgrading the provision of schools, hospitals and public services in areas of high intra-EU migration.

The second plank is showing how Europe can be a platform for Britain's economic growth in an era of China-led globalisation. Miliband must show how the EU budget can be reformed to support innovation and industrial policies; how the single market can be grown through high-quality trade deals with the United States and Japan; as well as laying out a European dimension to the 'cost of living' agenda by breaking price-fixing cartels in the UK energy and transport markets.

Finally Miliband needs to reclaim the mantle of self-government. He should begin with the example of Norway – a country that had a one-off referendum and decided not to join the European Union. However, as a 900-page study by the Norwegian parliament shows, this has not allowed Oslo to control of their affairs. In fact they now find themselves accepting vast swathes of European regulations and paying into the European budget without having any say over what laws get made. The former Norwegian prime minister Jens Stoltenberg described his country as a "fax democracy" because the majority because so many of its laws simply faxed to them from Brussels.

The reality is that at the time when China's market is becoming the largest in the world, the heft of the European Union gives British people a much greater control of their affairs. As well as supporting some of David Cameron's measures to give national parliaments and non-eurozone members more of a say, Miliband can push for a root and branch change in the way

that decision-making is done in Brussels. For example, Labour could explore whether some European legislation should have an automatic sunset clause so that it returns to national parliaments after 15 years if governments don't want to renew it. It could also look at how the European Commission could manage funding more transparently and democratically.

In short, rather than defending Europe as it is, Miliband should define what he wants Europe to be. To show he means business, he could spend a week trying to reframe the European debate in Britain – a European version of Tony Blair's 'masochism strategy'. In particular, he could embark on a 'four ports tour' – Thurrock docks, Dover, Southampton and Grimsby – and address the plight of blue collar workers who have been at the sharp end of globalisation and migration but whose future is linked to trade.

Most importantly, Labour needs to build a new kind of pro-European organisation that goes beyond elites. For much of the last two generations, Europe was an abstract issue where voters were willing to defer to experts. But in an era defined by the death of deference, the search for narrative and policy must also be linked with a revolution in campaigning. This involves not just the shadow cabinet and Labour candidates but building a retail offer on Europe and migration that local Labour parties can implement themselves. **F**

*Mark Leonard is co-founder and director of European Council on Foreign Relations and author of the Fabian pamphlet Europe was the Future Once... And how it can be Once Again. He writes in a personal capacity.*



# The future of government

A crisis of political trust and harsh fiscal reality may have undermined the traditional levers of the left's statecraft, but that should not limit our ambitions for what government can achieve. The next Labour manifesto can sow the seeds for the future by embracing the three most enduring strands of Fabian thought: long-termism, egalitarianism and collectivism, writes *Andrew Harrop*



*Andrew Harrop is general secretary of the Fabian Society*

**M**UNICIPAL SOCIALISM, 1945 dirigisme, Croslandite social democracy and New Labour: each generation of Fabians has had their own statecraft. Now, as the dust slowly settles on Labour's last spell in office, the contours of yet another theory of government are emerging.

This new Fabian statecraft sees national government as a force that marshals evidence-based responses to major long-term challenges, but does not necessarily deliver all the solutions; it brings a commitment to tackling inequality on more fronts, with greater vigour; and it embodies a new account of collectivism that is capable of challenging the neoliberalism which has dominated for 30 years.

This is a governing philosophy which is unashamedly positive about government, but also one that is bound by fiscal reality and which places more emphasis on extending power, trust and responsibility beyond the state.<sup>1</sup>

## The role of government

The starting point for any new statecraft is to define the role of the state. In 2013, the Fabian Commission on Future Spending Choices did just that, identifying three critical social democratic objectives of government: to bring about economic prosperity and stability; to equalise resources, power and capabilities; and to act like an insurer, by helping smooth costs over the lifecycle and protect against financial risks.

In principle, these roles sit alongside each other comfortably. But in the context of financial constraints there are inescapable trade-offs, for example when it comes to selecting between insurance-style protection (like healthcare, pensions, disability benefits), investment-style spending on the country's future (like education, infrastructure, science) or on compensating for market inequalities.

These trade-offs become a little easier to resolve when government is conceived not as a paymaster but a facilitator. The goal then becomes achieving positive change in people's lives with the least possible public expenditure. This is not just an argument about efficiency and productivity in public services, but different forms of government activism, ensuring that employers give low paid workers better wages; private finance funds infrastructure and housing; workers save for their own pensions; and people lead healthier lives. In all these cases there is a vital role for government, in challenging received wisdoms, carefully designing regulation and sometimes providing partial financing. But the solution is achieved in partnership with citizens, business and civil society.

This is not a 'small state' agenda: the aim is to minimise public spending on each individual activity so that the money can be recycled elsewhere. This is the only way governments of the left can expect to adequately fulfil their ambitions with respect to investment, insurance and redistribution. It is a contemporary means of advancing the three most enduring strands of Fabian thought: long-termism, egalitarianism and collectivism.

## Long-termism

Long-termism always has to rub up against the reality of the electoral cycle and the need for politicians to show voters visible change. Nevertheless, the left should work back from its ambitions for the world in 2020 or 2030. The Labour party needs to be clear about how it plans to change Britain by the end of the next parliament and beyond. This means signing up to long-term, evidence-led strategies on critical issues – such as climate change, housing, infrastructure, skills, pensions and inequality – and promising to publish a long-term plan for expenditure in each parliament. The party should also set measurable goals to track progress so it can test whether its ideas are collectively of the right order of magnitude to achieve the changes it desires.

A long-termist perspective is essential to ensure that strategic choices are made, in place of accidental drift. For example the Fabian spending commission found that, if current policies are continued, then an ever higher share of public spending will be allocated to the government's insurance function (ie healthcare and pensions) without any public debate. By thinking long term, ministers would see the need for a more balanced trade-off between investment, insurance and redistribution over the next two decades.

In turn this would force a much needed reckoning on the overall burden of taxation. It is undesirable to raise public borrowing further or significantly suppress expected growth in pension and NHS spending. Therefore the only viable way of finding money for investment or for tackling inequality is to gradually increase total spending and taxation as a share of GDP. When politicians think long term they will see they have to choose between raising taxes or significantly reducing the scope of government.

## Inequality

It has become fashionable within the left to criticise the last Labour government's Fabian-inspired anti-poverty crusade as an arid, statistical form of egalitarianism. Oddly this comes just when social scientists have conclusive evidence that family incomes are decisive for children's life chances, over and above all other social factors.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, the left should also care about equalising health, capability, resilience and power; and it needs a dynamic view of inequality focused on life chances, opportunity and mobility. But anyone who implies that money does not matter risks ceding ground to those who are indifferent to social inequality in all its forms.

Indeed there could not be a worse time to lose interest in the big picture of economic inequality. We already have Thomas Piketty's evidence on the rise of the 'one per cent'; however new Fabian research, which will be published later in the autumn, shows that economic inequality is also set to increase right across society. Our evidence reveals that both poverty and income inequality will soar over the

next 15 years unless action is taken now, both because of rising labour market inequalities and meagre social security entitlements.

This can only be avoided through a careful combination of state intervention in the marketplace and reforms to social security. It is not an either/or decision. So those in the Labour party who criticise Gordon Brown's in-work tax credits are wrong. The only way to prevent inequality from rising is *both* to make social security more generous *and* to take action on low pay, collective bargaining and skills.

Labour is currently committed to tackling one side of this equation, with a significant increase to the minimum wage now established policy. Next the party needs to embrace a living wage for all publicly funded jobs and new employer-worker partnerships.

But what about social security? A sudden increase in spending may seem impossible given the state of the public finances and public attitudes. But social security will otherwise wither away, with spending on pre-retirement age groups projected to fall sharply as a share of GDP over the next 15 years (from 5.5 per cent today to 3.9 per cent in the early 2030s, according to the Office for Budget

Responsibility). The Fabian modelling indicates that this will lead to low and middle income working-age households falling far behind everyone else. A long-term plan for social security is therefore essential.

Labour should introduce reforms to widen popular support for social security, by seeking affordable ways to expand universal or contributory entitlements which reward effort and give everyone a stake. But its top priority must be a more generous system where benefits rise in line with earnings, starting with groups likely to attract public support such as low paid workers, disabled people and parents with pre-school children. Once the deficit is under control, the party should turn the welfare 'cap' into a welfare 'floor' by planning to spend a fixed share of GDP on working-age social security, which would permit more generous entitlements. On top of that 'predistribution' should be used to fund redistribution: the savings accruing to the exchequer from tackling low pay and helping people into work should be recycled to give a further boost to entitlements. This is the only plausible strategy for preventing inequality from growing worse.

## Collectivism

The idea of the state as an investor and an insurer provides a modern rationale for collectivist, universal government. For when we think about public provision as an investment in all our futures or as a means of helping everyone to smooth costs over their lives, then it is obvious that universalism is superior to a safety net. This is a collectivist rather than egalitarian argument which is distinct but complementary to the traditional Fabian case for universalism – the services for the poor are poor services, so decent support for low

**Those who criticise  
Gordon Brown's in-work  
tax credits are wrong.  
The only way to prevent  
inequality from rising is  
*both* to make social security  
more generous *and* to take  
action on low pay, collective  
bargaining and skills**

## The future of government: nine recommendations from Fabian research

### Tax and spending

1. Scrap the coalition's planned spending cuts for 2016 onwards and set broadly flat budgets for public services instead.
2. Prioritise future-oriented spending on education, science, economic development and capital investment, increasing these budgets by no less than health spending.
3. Once the public finances are under control, plan a gradual increase in spending and taxation as a share of GDP over the next 15 years.

### Living standards and inequality

4. Introduce a living wage for all public service jobs, alongside Labour's recent commitment to raise the minimum wage.
5. Introduce new universal and contributory entitlements, starting with a more generous contributory jobseeker's allowance.
6. Increase social security in line with earnings, as soon as this is affordable, to share prosperity with low and middle income households.

### Public services

7. Bar the outsourcing of whole public service systems in areas like health, education, probation and welfare to work.
8. Create more trust and control for service users, employees and public service leaders, including by spreading participative, stakeholder-based control of services.
9. Designate in law that elected authorities are the ringmasters for all local public services and give them power over adult skills and integrated health and care services.

income households can only be sustained when everyone has a stake. And universalism seems to be gaining ground. For while it is criticised when it comes to peripheral entitlements like the winter fuel payment, in practice it is becoming more entrenched, as education, health and pensions grow as a share of public spending.

However a collectivist statecraft cannot end there, for in principle the government could discharge its responsibilities for investment or insurance through vouchers and cash transfers. So the left has to separately remake the case for collectively organised public services. New Fabian research does this by examining the special 'public' character of tax funded services. Our report argues that services with public character should stand apart from the market in several important ways: their aim is to serve the collective interests of society and to endow each individual with capabilities to help them thrive; they champion equality, dignity and shared democratic decision-making; they act through collaboration and uphold transparency and probity. All these qualities are incidental to for-profit market transactions but should be intrinsic to collective services in the public sphere.

This is the case for public services. But it is also an argument for a different way of running public services, compared to the practice of either New Labour or the coalition; and it is here that the new Fabian statecraft departs most markedly from the recent past. For when public services are organised as markets or there is extensive private sector involvement it is hard to achieve the qualities of strong public character. So a statecraft that takes public character seriously must scale back the involvement of the private sector, especially in running entire public service systems, like the Work Programme. The spirit of collectivism is far easier to bring to life when the providers are public or non-profit bodies and they are organised together through non-market relationships.

But any old collectivism will not do, for no one wants to swap the extremes of the marketplace for wasteful bu-

reaucracy or heavy-handed concentrations of power. So the Fabian research proposes two more principles for public services, to sit alongside our focus on strengthening their public character. One is an unceasing focus on improving performance and value, to ensure that reduced competitive forces do not translate into worse value for the taxpayer. The other is trust and empowerment, to hand control to citizens, employees, public service institutions and local government.

These three principles for public service are compatible, but there should be a creative tension between them too. For example, a commitment to public character means user power should not translate into disconnected 'do it yourself' services. Equally the principle of performance and value means that private sector involvement in the public supply chain should continue, if the effectiveness of public services would suffer otherwise.

So the next Labour government will have to strike a balance between investment, insurance and the fight for equality; and between strong public character, empowerment and value. Labour needs a long-term programme that weaves all six of these strands together.

Before the election it won't be possible to prepare all the detail, but between now and next May the party must put down some markers. It must promise a different path for public spending to safeguard investment, a strong social security system that shares prosperity, and the scaling back of private involvement in public services. Here are three new pillars for a radical, reforming manifesto. **F**

### Notes

1. For two years the Society's research has been putting flesh on the bones of this new statecraft. The first instalment of this research was *2030 Vision*, the final report of the 2013 Commission on Future Spending Choices. This autumn we publish two more reports on the future of public services and inequality.
2. Cooper K and Stewart K *Does Money Affect Children's Outcomes*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2013
3. *Fiscal Sustainability Report*, Office for Budget Responsibility, 2014

## Look forward

The defining task of a new generation of Labour politicians is restoring faith that politics can make a positive difference to people's lives, writes *Dan Jarvis*

Labour has always been at its best when we have put our party at the service of the nation and brought Britain together to overcome the challenges presented by changing times.

We have seen this time and again throughout our history. When our democracy was expanding at the beginning of the last century, it was Labour who gave working people a voice in politics for the first time. When Britain emerged from the second world war, it was Labour who led the new fight against Beveridge's five giants of want, squalor, ignorance, idleness and disease. It was Labour who ensured we won the peace.

And when Britain was crying out for change in the 1990s after a generation of Tory neglect, it was Labour who gave our country the confidence to walk tall into the 21st century. Safer communities, higher living standards, revitalised public services, dignity in work through a minimum wage and much more.

On each occasion Labour helped make the British people more powerful and freer from the forces holding us back.

Our past achievements should give us every confidence in the enduring power of politics and collective action to respond to whatever the future throws at us.

The greatest challenge the next Labour government will face in 2015 is that this confidence is no longer shared by the public. Too many people have lost faith in the idea that politics of any colour can make a positive difference to their lives.

This breakdown in trust has partly been accelerated by sorry episodes like the parliamentary expenses scandal. My belief, however, is that this loss of faith runs much deeper. In many ways, it is an entirely rational response to the world we live in today.

We live in an age of rapid change. This offers immense promise and potential, but



also great dangers, demands and difficulties. Our livelihoods can be thrown into crisis by property speculators on the other side of the world. Wages are being eroded by globalisation and new technologies

In this setting it's all too easy to feel that our problems have outgrown our politics. It is incumbent on us as politicians to prove that this is wrong.

That's why Labour's opponents at the next election are not just the Tories and the Liberal Democrats.

Our biggest adversaries are a new set of giants that must be slain. Powerlessness, insecurity and instability are all corroding the British people's faith in change. Tackling these forces and making people feel powerful again asks big questions of our economy, our society and how we do our politics.

Labour won the trust of the public in 1945, 1964 and 1997 because we showed we had answers to the big questions of the time. Now we must show the British people, under Ed Miliband's leadership, that we have those answers again.

First, we need to build a new economy that enables everyone to prosper and allows people to shape their own lives. People will never feel like they have any power to get on when they can work all hours and still have to rely on vouchers from the local food bank. Neither will people ever feel in control of their own lives when they don't know how many hours work they will have from one week to the next because they're trapped on a zero-hours contract.

Second, we need to respond to the changing needs of our society, just as the

Attlee government responded to society's needs in its time. That includes urgent priorities like childcare, mental health and caring for an ageing population. It means reforming our public services so that they are shaped to serve people. And in a world where people are increasingly mobile, it also means a smart and progressive approach to immigration that delivers fairness for communities and ensures fear of change cannot be exploited by those who seek to divide us.

And finally, if politicians want people to put their trust in us again, we must get much better at putting our trust in them. The challenges we face today no longer fit behind a desk in Whitehall, so we shouldn't expect all the solutions to come from there either. You only have to look at the Future Jobs Fund, inspired by my own local Barnsley Council, to see what can happen when people on the frontline are given power and licence to innovate. Devolving greater powers to communities and bringing decision-making closer to local people, as Labour has proposed, would give people a more powerful voice in what happens where they live, improving outcomes and saving money.

Whether in our economy, society or our politics, we know the Conservatives will be resistant to change. Their natural instinct is to try and find solutions by looking back and trusting what has been tried in the past.

Our natural instinct is to look forward, to see what our country could become as well as what it has been before. Our ambition for Britain should be a country made up of more powerful people, each with a renewed faith in the difference politics can make, all working together to create a more powerful Britain. ■

*Dan Jarvis is shadow justice minister and Labour MP for Barnsley Central*

## Beyond the frontbenches

The collapse in political trust will present new MPs elected next year with an existential challenge. They should resist the urge to climb the ministerial ladder and focus on developing their own voices, writes *Margaret Hodge*

Trust in politics is still plummeting. Too few women are coming forward to compete in Labour's all women shortlists. Conservative MPs, driven by frustration and disillusionment, are deserting the Tory party to join protest parties.

As we head full steam towards the next election, one of the crucial questions that will face a new generation of politicians is how the work they do can become more relevant to the people they are elected to serve. What can the 2015 generation of Labour MPs do to help restore respect, interest and confidence in the power of politics?

Personally, I have enjoyed a highly privileged and varied career in Parliament, as a backbencher, a minister and now as Chair of the Public Accounts Committee. I also took on the challenge of confronting the BNP's Nick Griffin in the 2010 General Election, when there was a real threat that the extreme right would capture the protest vote in Barking and Dagenham and win.

All that experience has changed my approach to how I do my politics and how I see my job in Parliament.

Traditionally, most Members of Parliament think that promotion up the ministerial (or shadow ministerial) ladder is the only route to success in Westminster. But strong, independent-minded campaigning MPs who do not focus on ministerial promotion can help to restore trust in politics. Ploughing their more individual furrows gives them an authenticity which is often lacking when MPs are simply seen to spout the same well-rehearsed lines-to-take on the Six O'Clock News or Question Time.

Of course, using the power bestowed by ministerial office to achieve change and promote our values is massively important. I could only contribute to delivering sure start, the children's centres, childcare and universal nursery education because I was the first children's minister. Developing new legislation on disability discrimination



or promoting more women onto our arts boards was only possible because I held ministerial office.

But equally, I wonder whether I have not been as effective or more effective in my present role as a backbench MP, both in challenging the status quo and in achieving change.

The public accounts committee's work on tax avoidance has transformed both decisions in many boardrooms and the urgency with which the government is tackling the task of rewriting the international tax rules. Shining a light on BBC payoffs, the behaviour of private companies like Serco and G4S when they deliver public services, or the stupendous failure of the government to get to grips with universal credit, has not just created a public stir and debate, but has impacted on the actions and behaviour of the organisations concerned. We have been able, through the work of the committee, to hold to account civil servants and even bosses from the big multinationals, chief executives from the public sector and members of the establishment who rarely answer in public for their actions.

The excellent reforms introduced by Tony Wright before the 2010 election mean that a career in parliament is fast becoming as attractive as the traditional climb up the ministerial pole. The power of voice that comes with being a parliamentarian can be as compelling as the authority of office that comes from being appointed a minister. The roles are becoming more equal and the choices new MPs face more nuanced. Think how effective Stella Creasy has been on payday loans or Tom Watson on phone

hacking; or the Tory MP Robert Halfon on fuel duties and hospital parking charges. Sadly these examples are all too rare and remain the exception, not the rule.

Working through select committees, all-party groups or other ways of using parliament to pursue a particular agenda, is another way of doing politics in Westminster. It allows people to focus on issues that really matter to them and their voters that may not be top of the Labour party's agenda. It enables MPs to break out of the Westminster bubble and work with groups and individuals outside parliament. It breaks down the uniformity of the messages coming from Westminster and enables difference to be heard. That in turn helps to defeat the cynicism about politics that currently prevails.

For the new generation of MPs who hope to enter parliament in 2015 at an ever younger age, spending 20, 30, 40 or even 50 years focused on ministerial promotion is absurd. Once you join the treadmill, your freedom is constrained in the name of collective responsibility. We all need to consider different ways of making our mark.

Every politician strives to woo their voters by claiming to be 'on their side.' Yet getting locked into being simply loyal foot soldiers alienates those voters with whom we want to reconnect. We are then seen to be on the Labour or Tory side, not on the voters' side, obsessed with the party agenda not the citizens' concerns.

We all feel frustrated and worried by the alienation from politics. There isn't one miracle cure that will change attitudes. But if success in Westminster can be approached in a more pluralist way, that could contribute to restoring faith in politics. It would make Westminster a more relevant and vibrant place. It would make a career in politics more varied, challenging and rewarding. **F**

*Margaret Hodge is Labour MP for Barking and Dagenham and chair of the public accounts committee*



© Heathcliff O'Malley/REX

# National interest

Jim Murphy's standoff with egg-wielding nationalists showed him as a politician of poise as well as passion. *Mary Riddell* meets the shadow development secretary facing up to unprecedented turbulence both at home and abroad



*Mary Riddell is a columnist for the Daily Telegraph*



FOR THE FIRST time this year, Jim Murphy had a slot at the Edinburgh Festival, sharing a fringe platform with a comedian friend. His subject was the 100 venue tour in which he set up his Irn Bru crates on Scottish street corners to deliver the gospel of the Better Together campaign.

As if to belie the seriousness of the subject, Murphy's stories are in large part whimsy. Those he encountered included a horse wearing a Yes blanket and the seagull whis-perer of Oban, who claimed to have used his mystic powers to summon a flock of birds to defecate on the speaker's head ("But he did have a bag of chips behind his back"). In a break from the campaign trail, he also encountered a Glasgow hen night.

"I was having a pizza with my brother, and at the table next door was a hen party. They were drinking tequila, the bride-to-be had a necklace of condoms round her neck, they were all pissed, and they were debating the merits of a currency union." Murphy took this exchange as a sign of how the referendum campaign had sparked public passions and energised debate. Others might wonder whether the drunken hens were more persuasive on the subject of Scotland's fiscal future than the distinguished economists of the No campaign, who so dangerously failed to make their case.

We meet on a Friday in Westminster, a little under a fortnight before the referendum. With the polls tightening (though not yet neck and neck) and the future of Britain's 300 year union in grave doubt, political careers and reputations are also uncertain. While Gordon Brown has since emerged as the unlikely standard-bearer of the No campaign, Jim Murphy – win or lose – has also fought a memorable bout.

Pictures of Labour's soapbox orator, spattered with egg and shouting above a baying crowd, became emblematic of a campaign in which Murphy refused to give way to mounting Nationalist threats. "One angry Nat became a crowd of angry Nats, with ordinary voters walking by because they thought it was a streetfight." Even after the arch-egger was arrested by the police, forcing Murphy to pause his tour in the interests of public safety, he remained sanguine. "People throw eggs at politicians. For me it was just a dry cleaning bill. That's all."

For all the No campaign's macro-economic messiahs, such as Alistair Darling and even Brown, Murphy seems the only Westminster politician to have sensed and seized the public mood. "It's nice of you to say that, but people have been trying hard and playing their part." With little cut-through, I suggest. "Gordon's done a brilliant job. Alistair is in a unique position to head a non-partisan campaign. Only he could do that. I don't have the patience, and neither would Gordon."

Should Darling rejoin Labour's Westminster front line? "Alistair is brilliant. He has his critics [but] I'm not one. I'm close to being his number one fan. He's a proper, mature, grown-up politician. I don't know whether he'll want a wee break afterwards." Any return by Darling would presum-

ably be contingent on a unionist victory. But as Murphy says: "If we don't win, none of us is coming back."

While Murphy never publicly countenanced a Yes majority, with the consequent loss, in 2016, of 41 Scottish Labour MPs on the current count, he must privately have assessed what defeat would mean. "I don't think anyone would have to resign, whether it's David Cameron, Ed Miliband, Alistair Darling, me. It's this huge debate about the future of our country – not about one individual. Win, lose or draw, we're going to have to make it work."

Long before Murphy succeeded, in a way that many colleagues could not, in touching at least some part of the emotional heart of Scotland, the rumour was that he might (assuming the union survived) aspire to become the Labour leader in Scotland. Does he see himself in that role?

"I'm a Glaswegian. I love my city, and – if I wasn't doing this – I would do whatever I could to help lead Glasgow. I'm not saying I want to be leader of the city council, but I have a civic patriotism about Glasgow. Despite the sectarianism and [other] problems, I love Glasgow like nowhere else in the world. I want to be in

Ed Miliband's cabinet – that's the truth. [But] I want to play a big part in Scotland. After devolution, Westminster MPs backed off too much."

Murphy's fealty to the leader has, some might think, been ill-repaid. Miliband, having declared his aversion to sofa government conducted by small cartels, is said to have sidelined his then defence spokesman over the question of possible Syrian intervention.

In a blog published shortly after Labour decided, like the Tories, that parliament would not be consulted on the issue again, Murphy broke ranks to note that the Labour verdict had provoked some anxiety "and I share it." As a supporter of the initial Labour amendment that "explicitly didn't rule out military action if certain stringent conditions were met", Murphy proclaimed himself uneasy that this conditions-based stance had switched to "an unconditional policy of UK military inaction."

Not long afterwards, David Miliband's former joint campaign manager was removed from the defence job – one that he is said to have requested – and given the DfID brief in a Miliband reshuffle termed the 'purge of the Blairites'. Surely it must have been galling for him, as the only senior figure to stand up against a disquieting decision, to have been so treated?

"In politics, as in football, the manager picks the team. You get a choice in politics – you either go with the manager's decision or you don't. Ed's in charge of the team, so whatever position he wants me to play." Murphy does not, however, resile from the stance he took. "I agreed with every word Ed said in his speech, which was [to support] a conditions-based approach. You can't give carte blanche [for military action] or walk away from responsibilities. I thought what Ed was trying to achieve was right, and I know him well enough to know he's not an isolationist. If we win the election – and I think we can and dearly hope

**"I want to be in  
Ed Miliband's cabinet  
– that's the truth. [But]  
I want to play a big part in  
Scotland. After devolution,  
Westminster MPs backed  
off too much"**

we will – I think he'll lead a genuinely principled government which takes its responsibilities seriously."

Those responsibilities would surely be focused on the rise of the Islamic State and its sway in Syria and Iraq. During his time at defence, Murphy produced a nuanced line on how to deal with terror. Preventative intervention, his formula for blending hard and soft power, was – he argued then – the best means of rendering the world a safer place. "I don't know the full answer [on Isil]. No one does. The argument I made then is that we know where some of the worst trouble spots are and will be."

The common traits he cites in breeding grounds for jihadism are poor "access to food and water, ungoverned space, porous borders. Rather than get involved in military conflict, surely it makes sense to get involved in preventative intervention. [What is needed is] careful diplomacy and world class development, not military prowess." That creed, which Murphy is pursuing in his new brief, may forestall future mayhem but, in the present, Isil demands more immediate action. Would he support military intervention within a broad coalition?

"We learn from the intervention in Iraq and from the non-intervention in Syria, as well as Afghanistan. But this is more complicated than any." Does Murphy regret his decision to vote for the Iraq invasion? "There's a standard political answer to that, which is that if we had known then what we know now, we wouldn't have done it. But we didn't know. We voted clear-eyed but with the wrong information. I don't blame anyone for that. It's not Tony Blair's fault."

While this exculpation of all concerned is unlikely to convince those who always opposed the action, Murphy is far more cautious this time round. "You cannot solve it [the Isil ascendancy] without regional buy-in. It cannot be sorted from London or Washington. From whatever height or distance, you cannot dictate what happens next. You cannot have a kneejerk response in favour of bombing. You need a degree of regional coalitions that we have come nowhere close to building yet. I am not advocating that Britain gets involved in military action in Syria or Iraq. You have to be much clearer what the consequences are."

Does that mean he would vote against air strikes, were a parliamentary vote to be called? "I have no idea. I don't know what the circumstances or conditions will be; we don't know there will be such a vote. But it's not about acting here and now – it's about doing the right thing. A Commons vote is wholly speculative. No request has been made [by America for UK assistance.] And parliament would have to be consulted."

Murphy's prospectus for conflict prevention not only fits neatly into his new portfolio. It may also attract ample financing given Labour's pledge to maintain the development budget at 0.7 per cent of GNP. How does Murphy, as a deficit hawk, propose to use that largesse and dispel the worries of voters who think the money would be better spent at home?

"I've talked to Ed Balls a lot, and there's things we can do. Climate change is a big driver of inequality, and we could

do much more with DECC (the Department for Energy and Climate Change). DfID is one of the most empowering jobs in any Labour government, and we don't celebrate its remarkable power. We're spending more and more money on development and trying to build a beltway consensus.

"When I knock on doors, people tell me their mum can't get into a care home or their son can't get an apprenticeship. These are people who give to Comic Relief or earthquake appeals out of their earned income, but there's scepticism [about government aid]. We're in danger of losing the argument we're not making. Global altruism won't get us far enough. You've got to have a national interest argument. Climate change is coming to get us, and we have to look at the cause.

"So the argument goes – 'Mrs Smith, I know your son can't get an apprenticeship. But that's not DfID's fault. There are other reasons, and DfID money means he will grow up in a safer world.'" Murphy's conviction that this argument will sway sceptics says much about his confidence. Optimism, in his view, is mounting among a Labour shadow cabinet convinced (at least until the spectre of Scottish independence appeared) that the tide was turning their way.

"What's happening in the world is a cloud over our heads, but on domestic politics there's a real confidence within the Labour party that Cameron can be a one-term prime minister. Ed is always confident – that's one of his great strengths – but he has good reason to be optimistic at the moment. Europe appears inexplicably to be devouring the Conservative party."

In addition, he believes that the vote to back the Lib Dem private member's bill against the bedroom tax, carried by an alliance of Lib Dem and Labour MPs, marked the last gasp of the coalition. As for the 70 Tory MPs who stayed away, he believes many were too ashamed to vote against abolition.

"At one of my surgeries, there was a dad who'd come with his son and daughter. He said he couldn't pay his bills, but that if he moved, his kids would lose their friends. And then he started crying. MPs of all parties are getting that, and you have to be a stone-hearted individual not to react.

"Lib Dem MPs are now looking at the coalition through a rear view mirror. That [vote for the bill] was a big moment. There was a genuine mood of détente – not among the Lib Dem leadership, but MPs were going out of the way to make conversation with Labour MPs to whom they hadn't spoken for two years."

In the light of such a rapprochement, is Murphy receptive to the idea of a Labour/Lib Dem coalition, should his party fall short of an overall majority? "We've worked with them – and with the Tories – on Better Together. But you go in to win. It's like football. You don't go into a match planning a draw unless you're facing Lionel Messi – and David Cameron isn't Lionel Messi. You make a success of whatever result the public gives you. But we're looking for a win, not a high-scoring draw."

As a diehard Celtic fan, Murphy knows all too well that, in football as in politics, no scoreline is ever predictable. **F**

**"You don't go into a match planning a draw unless you're facing Lionel Messi – and David Cameron isn't Lionel Messi"**



LifeSkills taught me that body language says as much about you as spoken language.

LifeSkills is a free programme that teaches young people the skills they need for the jobs they want. To get involved go to [barclayslifeskills.com](http://barclayslifeskills.com)

LifeSkills

Created with  BARCLAYS



## WE HAVE A CHOICE OF DIRECTION WHICH WAY WILL OUR LEADERS TAKE US IN 2015?



ONE WAY THERE'S A MODERN, SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY, CLEAN, RENEWABLE ENERGY, THRIVING WILDLIFE AND SUSTAINABLE USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES



THE OTHER WAY THERE'S UNSTOPPABLE CLIMATE CHANGE, FILTHY FOSSIL FUELS, DESTROYED FORESTS AND WILDLIFE, WASTED WATER AND FOOD

FIND OUT MORE ABOUT OUR GENERAL ELECTION PRIORITIES AT: [WWF.ORG.UK/GE2015](http://WWF.ORG.UK/GE2015)

# LABOUR'S BRITAIN: AMBITIONS FOR A STRONGER NATION

All events to be held at Manchester Town Hall, Albert Square, Manchester M2 5DB, unless stated otherwise.

	TIMING/ROOM	INFORMATION	SPEAKERS	PARTNERS
SUNDAY	12.30–13.45 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>LABOUR AND THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS: Possible partners?</b>	Angela Eagle MP (Shadow Leader of the House of Commons), Emily Thornberry MP (Shadow Attorney General), Liberal Democrat guests	CENTREFORUM
	13.00–14.30 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>BUILDING A NEW ECONOMY: Stronger, fairer, greener growth</b>	Chuka Umunna MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills), Andrew Harrop (General Secretary, Fabian Society), Maria McCaffery (Chief Executive, RenewableUK), Frances O'Grady (General Secretary, TUC)	TUC
	16.30–18.00 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>CAN LABOUR DELIVER ON UNIVERSAL CHILDCARE?</b>	Lucy Powell MP (Shadow Minister for Children and Childcare), Dalia Ben-Galim (Associate Director, IPPR), Neil Leitch (Chief Executive, Preschool Learning Alliance), Abigail Wood (Public Affairs Manager, NCT), Cllr Reema Patel (Secretary, Fabian Women's Network – chair)	FABIAN WOMEN
	18.00–19.30 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>FABIAN QUESTION TIME</b>	Yvette Cooper MP (Shadow Home Secretary), Lord (Maurice) Glasman, Andrew Harrop (General Secretary, Fabian Society), Deborah Mattinson (Founder, BritainThinks), Iain Dale (presenter, LBC – chair)	
	19.45–21.00 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>TOGETHER? Health and care after 2015</b>	Andy Burnham MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Health), Jackie Ashley (Columnist, The Guardian), Kate Barker (Chair, King's Fund Commission on the Future of Health and Social Care in England), Jeremy Hughes (Chief Executive, Alzheimer's Society), John Oldham (Chair, Commission on Whole Person Care)	Alzheimer's Society <small>Leading the fight against dementia</small>
MONDAY	19.45–21.00 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>FIGHTING INEQUALITY: Poverty, the middle and 'the one per cent'</b>	Kate Green MP (Shadow Minister for Disabled People), Rachael Orr (Head of UK Programmes, Oxfam), Polly Toynbee (Columnist, The Guardian), Howard Reed (Director, Landman Economics), Robert Tinker (Researcher, Fabian Society – chair)	OXFAM
	8.30–9.30 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>DATA, DEMOCRACY AND POWER</b>	Chi Onwurah MP (Shadow Cabinet Office Minister), Karin Christensen (General Secretary, Co-operative Party), Stephen King (Partner, Omidyar Network)	ON OMIDYAR NETWORK A WORLD OF POSITIVE RETURNS
	8.45–10.00 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>THE CHEMISTRY OF COMMUNITY: Labour's agenda for contribution, cohesion and pride of place</b>	Lisa Nandy MP (Shadow Minister for Civil Society), Michael Lynas (CEO, National Citizen Service Trust), Cllr Jim McMahon (Leader, LGA Labour Group), Ed Wallis (Editorial Director and Senior Research Fellow, Fabian Society – chair)	NATIONAL CITIZEN SERVICE
	12.30–13.45 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>CAN ONE NATION LABOUR DO ONE PLANET LIVING?</b>	Maria Eagle MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Environment and Rural Affairs), Trevor Hutchings (Director of Advocacy, WWF-UK), Baroness (Bryony) Worthington (Shadow Minister for Energy and Climate Change)	WWF

## ROUNDTABLES

by invitation only ([events@fabians.org.uk](mailto:events@fabians.org.uk))

**IN IT TOGETHER: Building better partnerships between business and government**  
With Lord (Maurice) Glasman  
Partner: 

**LONDON, BRITAIN AND THE WORLD**  
With Tessa Jowell MP  
Partner: 

**RAISING ASPIRATIONS: Social mobility as an engine of economic growth**  
With Alan Milburn  
Partners: 

**OSBORNE'S PENSIONS REVOLUTION: Labour's response**  
With Gregg McClymont MP  
Partner: 

**TRANSITION BY CONSENT: Winning support for energy development**  
With Julie Elliott MP  
Partner: 

TIMING/ROOM	INFORMATION	SPEAKERS	PARTNERS
12.30–13.45 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>IN CRISIS?</b> <b>Calculating the cost of living</b>	Lisa Nandy MP (Shadow Minister for Civil Society), Jennette Arnold AM (Deputy Chair, London Assembly), Cllr Beth Knowles (Manchester City Council), Angela Rayner (Regional Convenor, UNISON North West), Cllr Abena Oppong-Asare (Fabian Women's Network – chair)	
16.00–17.30 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>YOUNG FABIANS' PAMPHLET LAUNCH</b>	Lord (Stewart) Wood (invited), James Hallwood (Chair, Young Fabians)	
18.00–19.30 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>LONG-TERM PROSPERITY:</b> <b>The economic choices for Labour</b>	Rachel Reeves MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions), George Cox (Chair, Short-Termism in British Business Review), Will Hutton (Principal, Hertford College, University of Oxford), Rebecca McNeill (Head of Business Lending, Barclays)	
18.00–19.30 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>MENTAL HEALTH FROM DAY ONE:</b> <b>Can early intervention change lives and society?</b>	Luciana Berger MP (Shadow Minister for Public Health), Lorainne Khan (Associate Director, Centre for Mental Health)	 
18.00 <i>All Star Lanes, 235 Deansgate, Manchester, M3 4EN</i>	<b>YOUNG FABIANS RECEPTION (AND BOWLING!)</b>	Political guests throughout the evening	 
8.30–9.30 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>SUPPORTING BRITAIN'S GLOBAL ECONOMIC RECOVERY:</b> <b>What role do legal and professional services have to play?</b>	Ian Murray MP (Shadow Minister for Trade and Investment), Andrew Caplen (President, Law Society of England and Wales), Seema Malhotra MP (chair)	
8.30–9.30 <i>Manchester Central, Exchange 6–7</i>	<b>ASDA MUMDEX AND THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTION:</b> <b>What will win the women's vote?</b>	Yvette Cooper MP (Shadow Home Secretary), Ivana Bartoletti (Chair, Fabian Women's Network), an 'Asda mum', Paul Kelly (Director of External Affairs and Corporate Responsibility, Asda), Kevin Maguire (Associate Editor, Daily Mirror – chair)	 
18.00–19.30 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>SPIN ALLEY:</b> <b>Debating the leader's speech</b>	Sadiq Khan MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Justice), Matthew Elliott (Chief Executive, Taxpayers' Alliance), Marcus Roberts (Deputy General Secretary, Fabian Society), Jenni Russell (Columnist, The Times), Jessica Asato (Chair, Fabian Society, and PPC for Norwich North – chair)	
19.45–21.00 <i>Conference Hall</i>	<b>SHAPING 21ST CENTURY PUBLIC SERVICES:</b> <b>Consensus, conflict or confusion?</b>	Chris Leslie MP (Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury), Jim Bligh (Head of Public Service Reform, CBI), Richard Harries (Deputy Director, Reform), Sonia Sodha (Head of Public Services and Consumer Rights, Which?), Andrew Harrop (General Secretary, Fabian Society – chair)	
19.45–21.00 <i>Lord Mayor's Parlour</i>	<b>DEFEATING DEMENTIA:</b> <b>What will it take to treat dementia and can Britain lead the world?</b>	Debbie Abrahams MP (PPS to Andy Burnham MP), Eric Karran (Director of Research, Alzheimer's Research UK), Martin Knapp (Professor of Social Policy, LSE)	

TUESDAY

**POPULAR AND PROGRESSIVE? A new agenda for the left in Europe**

With Gareth Thomas MP

Partner:



**AFFORDABILITY, LOCAL ENVIRONMENTALISM AND MEETING FUTURE CHALLENGES: Where next for water policy?**

With Angela Smith MP

Partner:



**ONE NATION IN THE WORLD: Values, strategy and choices**

With Jim Murphy MP

Partner:



**SCHOOLS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES: Democracy, accountability and a new public ethos**

Partner:



**GOING FOR GROWTH: What is Labour's plan to build an industrial strategy that works for women?**

With Lord (Andrew) Adonis and Angela Eagle MP

Partner:



# Hang ing to get her

In the event of a hung parliament, the only sensible long-term strategy for Labour would be to attempt to build a broad progressive alliance, argues *Roger Liddle*



*Roger Liddle is chair of Policy Network and a Labour member of the House of Lords.*

**T**HE COMING MONTHS will see an orgy of speculation about the prospects for Lib-Lab co-operation in another hung parliament. Labour insists it is on course for a working majority, but most commentators agree that there is a high probability that neither main party will win the general election outright and that despite their abysmal poll ratings, the Lib Dems will hold onto a significant block of 30 or possibly more seats.

Yet there is no clarity about what would happen then. David Cameron is under enormous backbench and party pressure not to contemplate another coalition with the Lib Dems. If the Conservatives emerge as the largest party, they would prefer he governed as a minority, as Labour did after February 1974.

The Lib Dems could offer a minority Tory government 'confidence and supply'. For a party deeply bruised by coalition, this may seem a temptingly easy way out. But is backing the Tories from the outside much better for Lib Dems electorally than having influence and jobs inside? It's not at all clear, and do divisions between Lib Dems and Tories over Europe make this at all realistic?

Europe goes to the heart of Nick Clegg's political beliefs. Will he really back the Cameron policy of renegotiation and referendum? It becomes clearer by the day that

the outcome will be decided not by what is best in the national interest, but by the internal manoeuvrings of the Conservative party for the Cameron leadership succession.

Nonetheless, Cameron may be able to cobble together a Commons majority for his European policy without the Lib Dems, made up of Democratic Unionists and possibly – though I doubt it – a handful of new UKIP MPs. But if that fails, an Ed Miliband attempt to form a government, even if Labour is not the largest party, is a distinct possibility.

Labour could quite easily draw up a Queen's speech that the Lib Dems and other smaller parties would find it difficult to vote against. Of course there would be some tensions, as on the balance between national security and civil liberties. But a Labour programme would contain many points of mutual agreement: a social housing programme; abolition of the 'bedroom tax'; cuts in public spending mitigated by higher taxes on the better off, including a 'mansion' tax; a reinforcement of Vince Cable/Peter Mandelson style industrial strategy; a commitment to a green agenda; party funding reform; proposals for a new constitutional settlement following the Scottish referendum; a set of EU reform proposals.

On this basis Labour could attempt to govern alone and then, subject to its ability to manipulate the Fixed Term Parliaments Act, make a dash for the polls a year or so later. But even if Labour has emerged as the largest party, it may have as little as 33 per cent of the popular vote. Frankly this would be a weak government, unlikely to have the staying power to make the harsh choices on public spending and tax facing any incoming administration for all of the 2015 parliament. Labour would have squeaked back into power

by hanging on to what remains of its 'core vote' and winning over disillusioned Lib Dems.

In my view the only sensible long term strategy for Labour would be to attempt to build a broad progressive alliance, not just with the Lib Dems who will have hung on to some kind of base in the Commons, but to voters who have backed the greens and nationalists. This new alliance should also reach out to pro-European Conservatives, who may not be strongly represented in the Commons, but remain a powerful interest among voters and in the business community. Their future political position is bleak. If David Cameron fails to hang on to power, the Conservatives are certain to elect a harder-line eurosceptic as his successor.

Of course there are formidable emotional and ideological barriers to be overcome for this progressive alliance to become possible. Labour tribalists would have to accept the reality of the structural weaknesses in Labour's position in an age of fragmented politics when the old two party dominance is no more. The party would have to define itself as occupying the radical centre ground, not try to prove it can win elections by being more 'left wing' than Tony Blair.

And Labour would have to acknowledge, in part, the legitimacy of how the Lib Dems acted in the

past. Personally, I was amongst those who were desperately keen for a post-election Lib-Lab deal in 2010. But one has to acknowledge that the parliamentary numbers did not offer the prospect of stable government. Many in our party were totally opposed to the concept of hanging on in coalition, and any incoming government would have faced very difficult and painful economic decisions. Instead of remaining in power, Labour preferred a leadership contest for the soul of the party. In these circumstances it is a bit rich to judge the Lib Dem decision to form a coalition with the Conservatives as an act of baseless treachery.

But the Lib Dems, badly bruised by the painful experience of coalition with the Tories, would also have to take difficult steps down the path of truth and reconciliation. This means admitting that they bought far too much of a right wing agenda on economic and social policy in return for a promise of electoral reform on which they were then betrayed by the Tories. This parliament has shown that the only way meaningful constitutional reform can be achieved is in a Labour – Lib Dem partnership, as in Blair's first term. Also the post-Clegg Liberal Democrats need to ditch the more neoliberal parts of the Orange Book and recover the commitment to the vibrant social liberal tradition of which Steel, Ashdown and Kennedy all saw themselves as committed upholders.

None of this will be easy and it may take time. But the cement for the next stage of progressive politics is Europe, where Ed Miliband has already demonstrated the makings of clear leadership. Britain's membership of the European Union is of fundamental importance in itself. But once again the European question moves centre stage in determining the future shape of British politics. ■

**Labour tribalists would have to accept the reality of the structural weaknesses in Labour's position in an age of fragmented politics when the old two party dominance is no more**

# To the max



Marcus Roberts is  
deputy general secretary  
of the Fabian Society

Ed Miliband's leadership has seen a renaissance in Labour thinking. Big ideas about the economy, the state and power itself have been at the heart of a fundamental revision of the Labour creed. But translating these ideas into practice often results either in an all-consuming discussion of the problem or a series of technocratic policy fixes insufficient to the task at hand.

To move beyond this, the Fabians challenged a group of political outriders to set out their visions of what the maximum versions of Miliband's ideas on responsible capitalism or devolution of power might look like – not dwelling on the problems, but advocating their answers. What could Labour achieve if our next government transformed 'predistribution' or 'whole person care' into a reality that was as big as it could possibly be?

Miliband himself has warned often enough of the problems caused by New Labour's slide into managerialism. The following is an argument for a radicalism that could redefine Britain's economy, society and politics for decades to come.



## 1. CITY STATES OF MIND

Time for a serious offer for England's cities—*Jeremy Cliffe*

Variouly burdened by economic sclerosis, political dysfunction and additional quandaries too global to handle alone, nation states across the West are stumbling. Mounting evidence suggests that they are no longer the most effective level at which to govern.

In some cases, supranational and intergovernmental bodies are better suited. In most, however, power needs to go down and out. Sub-national governments are closer to the people they represent, correspond more accurately to clusters of economic specialism and, more often than not, are more nimble and innovative than their national counterparts.

But the three main political parties have been frustratingly hesitant in this field. Their response to Michael Heseltine's 2012 report *No Stone Unturned* is illustrative: none has come close to enacting or committing to the devolution of £49bn of state spending that the report advocates. Heseltine's prescriptions should serve as a starting point for the decentralisation of Britain. Instead they are treated as the radical outer limit of any such programme.

But what if Heseltine were the baseline? What would come next? A tripartite agenda suggests itself.

The first pillar would be the federalisation of England, home to 53 million of Britain's 63 million inhabitants. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland already have devolved administrations (likely to become more autonomous in the coming years). The English have shown no real enthusiasm for a single parliament of their own, nor for regional assemblies. Urban identities, however, are stronger. The northwest is inhabited not by north-westerners, but Liverpoolians and Mancunians, for example.

Roughly 80 per cent of England's inhabitants dwell in the greater economic and cultural basins of its top ten cities (Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Sheffield and Southampton, according to the EU's ranking of metropolitan areas).

So encourage and incentivise these ten regions to coalesce into states with parliaments comparable to that of Scotland. Align or merge the governments of these city-states with local economic partnership leaderships (in line with the proposals of Andrew Adonis's report, 'Mending the fractured economy'), elected police commissioners and NHS foundation trusts. In the process, and as a bare minimum, devolve to them all the domestic powers that have already been offered to Scotland.

Self-evidently, the city-states will need to finance themselves. Handouts from central government would create few incentives for budgetary discipline or pro-growth policies, and generally stymie bold leadership. The second pillar should therefore be to give city-state governments control over business and income taxes, which in turn would unlock credit for investment. A federal debt brake, like that binding Germany's states, should limit risky borrowing. And a federal investment bank, again like that of Germany (KfW), should lever long-term capital into growth-boosting metropolitan schemes.

**Handouts from central government would create few incentives for budgetary discipline or pro-growth policies, and generally stymie bold leadership**

The third pillar would be to overhaul completely the architecture of the British state. Even under current arrangements, there are far too many Whitehall departments and ministers. A cabinet of 32 is an assembly, not an effective decision-making body. The Treasury – centralising, conservative and congenitally prone to mission creep – should be broken up as an immediate priority.

Changes would be needed in Westminster, too, turning the House of Lords into a senate of sub-national representatives (on the Swiss model); in the House of Commons constituency MPs could be supplemented by MPs elected proportionally on regional lists (yet again, as in Germany).

The above scheme may look like an outlandish thought-experiment, yet it draws purely on precedents that currently work well for our European and North American neighbours. Sceptics should answer the question: if not this, then what? ■

*Jeremy Cliffe is UK politics correspondent for The Economist*





© www.flickr.com/photos/nasamarshall/4054766770



## 2. ALL ON BOARD

Ed Miliband could be a trailblazer of people-powered public services  
—*Rowenna Davis*

If you've ever had to use a jobcentre, you'll know that the public sector is far from perfect. Walk in and you're frequently humiliated by an overworked staff member pointing you to a machine full of minimum wage jobs without prospects. You're nothing but a number. If you've ever spent time in a mental health centre, you'll know the staff can ignore or bully you. Then of course we've had the care home crises, and anyone who's had to call their council to report so much as a pot hole knows you can often wait for hours at a time.

The problem here isn't just funding cuts, although they often make the situation worse. These problems were happening in the 1990s when we were flush with cash. The problem, very often, is centralised systems of power that are remote and disconnected from the very people they are supposed to serve.

Let's be clear: this is also a huge problem for the private sector. Look at the energy companies, where six large corporations distantly control power supplies often run by foreign companies. Look at the housing market, which again has become an oligopoly. Any economist will tell you that when a market becomes overly centralised around a few players, they cease to run an efficient service in the interests of consumers.

This analysis explains our poor rail services. Whether it was privatised or nationalised, the rail network has still been run by a centralised set of elites who are not accountable to the people they serve or the workers they employ. Lack of accountability breeds complacency, and it takes longer for us to travel for fares that always seem to rise.

We could experiment with a different way – the 'thirds' model. Under this method, the board of any body running a public service is made up of three groups who are equally represented. The first is the users of the service – such as passengers or patients. The second group is composed of the workers of that organisation – the



drivers, cleaners and ticket sellers, or the doctors and nurses. Then the final group would be made up of the financial backers of the service, be they private companies or government representatives. In cases of free schools or foundation hospitals, it could also be a requirement to have local authority representation too, in order to ensure collaboration and coordination between similar services in the region.

In one step we could then decentralise services, make them more responsive to local people, and give people the opportunity to make a contribution to the services they care about, rather than just moaning about them.

Once you have a balance of different interests at the table, services can be run more efficiently and accountably. Imagine if job seeker claimants could actively negotiate with top civil servants about their service. Or if the ticket office salesperson had a chance to have their say on rail routes. Or if university cleaners had the chance to sit in on pay negotiations with vice chancellors. We'd all learn from those kind of exchanges, and new leaders would be trained as they debated amongst themselves. Sure there would be tension, but that's got to be better than exclusion. Let's give everyone a seat at the table, and trust them to take responsibility for the services they care about. If Jon Cruddas and Ed Miliband want people-powered public services, this is what it looks like. **F**

*Rowenna Davis is Labour's parliamentary candidate for Southampton Itchen*



### 3. THE WHOLE PICTURE

Labour must go further to adequately fund integrated health and social care—*Mary Riddell*

The NHS Act, passed in 1946, "lifted the shadow of fear from the homes of millions", according to Nye Bevan, the creator of the modern health service. That shadow has fallen again, and this time round the lives most darkened are those of the elderly denied the basic care they need. Social care, covered by the National Assistance Act, has always been a Cinderella service.

At the same time, the NHS is on an unsustainable course, with demand rising and budgets falling in the light of the 4 per cent productivity savings required every year by government. The undisputed solution advanced by Andy Burnham and Liz Kendall is 'whole person care', or a fully integrated service that would cater for physical, mental and social needs and save money by helping people live at home rather than being warehoused in hospital.

How should an amalgamated service with a fully merged budget work, and how should it be paid for? The guiding principle should

be that the individual, not the institution, should be at the heart of care. Each elderly person (as Labour recognises) should have a single advocate who is responsible for overseeing and co-ordinating all their care, so ending the current bureaucratic nightmare. Better preventative care, home adaptations, increased use of new technology, a minimum of 30 minutes for domestic visits and better pay and conditions for carers would be a start.

**The guiding principle should be that the individual, not the institution, should be at the heart of care**

But even such modest changes would have big funding implications. How to weld a tax-funded health service, free at the point of use, with a skeletal operation in which an individual bears a large part of the cost (few will live long enough to reach the government spending cap of £72,000) is the greater challenge facing Labour.

An estate tax has (regrettably) been deemed a non-starter, and Ed Balls has ruled out an earmarked NHS tax. Very probably, Labour will have to reconsider that veto when (not if) the service reaches crisis point. But the more immediate problem is how to fund social care. Balls has also (and with Burnham's certain blessing) ruled out an across-the-board 1p rise in National Insurance, arguing that the costs would fall on a working age population who have suffered worst in the recession.

That leaves Labour two courses. Either it can compel elderly people to take out social insurance (rather than the failed voluntary version recommended by Andrew Dilnot). Or it can follow the recommendations of the Barker Commission for the King's Fund and do some or all of the following: widen charges for prescriptions (saving up to £1bn), limit free TV licences and winter fuel payments for older people to those on pension credit (£1.4bn); end pensioners' exemption from National Insurance, charging 6 per cent rather than the standard 12 per cent.

Labour could go further – and it should. As the Fabians have calculated, levying full NI on older people's total taxable incomes could raise £8bn, even if you protected those on low incomes. Any bid to recoup money from the wealthier elderly will raise protests (not least from the grey vote), but there is no fairer option. The relief of fear, misery and suffering should drive any self-respecting Labour government. **F**

*Mary Riddell is a columnist for the Daily Telegraph*



#### 4. A DESIGN FOR LIFE

Miliband must reimagine Labour for a new era of grassroots politics  
—George Eaton

Walk down an average British street and you are more likely to meet a member of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds or the Caravan Club than a member of a political party. Both of these apparently esoteric outfits boast more recruits than the UK's parties combined.

With 189,531 members at the last count, Labour remains the largest party, but this is far below the 405,000 achieved in 1997, let alone the peak of 1.015 million reached in 1952. Those members that remain are disproportionately concentrated in London (around 40 per cent), leaving many local parties outside of the capital moribund and rudderless.

Through the reforms approved by a special conference earlier this year, Ed Miliband has gone some way to addressing these defects. By requiring affiliated trade unionists to 'opt in' to donating to Labour and to become associate members, he has recognised the untapped potential of these ghosts in the machine. With the creation of the new category of registered supporter, he has also provided a route into the party for those unwilling to become full members, while the adoption of a genuine one-member-one-vote system for future leadership elections will ending the privileged status of MPs.

But the reform process largely ignored a more fundamental problem: that having paid their first subs, eager recruits find themselves alienated by formulaic party meetings that can be dominated by unrepresentative cliques.

If Labour is to overcome these defects, it must become a movement again, rather than merely a machine for winning elections. As the much-missed Arnie Graf argued, this means campaigning and organising around issues and empowering members as individuals, rather than identikit leaflet deliverers. In reforming itself, Labour should draw inspiration from decentralised and pluralist groups such as 38 Degrees

and London Citizens that have proved capable of mobilising broad support for progressive causes. The planned devolution of power to city and county regions should be accompanied by a concurrent shift of power towards regional and local party branches.

Selecting Labour's next London mayoral candidate through a closed primary is a good sign of progress, but Miliband should also be prepared to do this for parliamentary candidates. The common internal objection is that this would act as a disincentive to full membership by allowing 'supporters' to participate, but few join the party for this purpose alone. By raising the profile of selection contests, primaries could help to encourage greater engagement from members and non-members alike.

A bigger, stronger Labour party would be capable of Obama-style Get Out The Vote efforts with five or even ten times the 60,000 activists that participated in the 2010 general election. But a party of hundreds of thousands of supporters could also help deliver change in communities in the form of living wage campaigns, pay day loan crackdowns and neighborhood clean-ups on an unprecedented scale.

#### Whatever the outcome in 2015, further party reform will be crucial to Labour's long-term success

Beyond community campaigns, a mass movement party could be a powerful ally for Miliband's vision of 'people powered public services' with a skilled volunteer corps able to serve on parent-teacher boards, as worker representatives on pay committees and establishing tenants residents associations.

Finally, a government that actually listened to its members concerns would be far more in touch with the British people as a whole. After all, Labour canvassers were hearing concerns about housing, Iraq and immigration before they became fashionable Westminster topics.

Whatever the outcome in 2015, further party reform will be crucial to Labour's long-term success. The New Labour years were characterised by the gradual hollowing-out of the party, one of the key factors that led to defeat in 2010. Learning the lessons of that failure means reimagining Labour for a new era of pluralism and grassroots politics. **F**

*George Eaton is political editor of the New Statesman*



#### 5. CAPITAL IDEAS

Miliband must build social responsibility into the DNA of the marketplace—David Clark

If there is a core to the Miliband project, it is surely the vision of a more responsible, productive and equitable form of capitalism. The limits of New Labour's approach – to abandon the search for an alternative political economy and focus on redistribution – became painfully apparent by 2008–2009.

The answer is not to wind back the clock to the days of industrial subsidies, state ownership and planning agreements. It didn't work then and it wouldn't work now. Responsible capitalism aims to structure the economy in a way that produces better social outcomes without the need for costly and intrusive state interventions. There is no blueprint for how to do this, but I would identify the following as areas for priority action by an incoming Labour government:

1. Changing the relationship between finance and industry to fund long-term, productive investment. Labour's proposals for a British Investment Bank and a new system of regional banks will help to redress the imbalance, provided they are properly capitalised. Funding productive investment with a transactions tax on unproductive speculation would be a logical and popular step.
2. Reforming corporate governance. The dominance of the PLC with its single-minded pursuit of shareholder value and short-term profit is a major cause of the UK's long-term decline as an industrial power. This requires lots of rather dull micro-measures, like reducing the frequency of company reporting, as Labour has proposed. One of the more important is to create mechanisms for institutional investors to exert more influence in order to establish a higher baseline of committed ownership.
3. Ending corporate tax avoidance. Loopholes and abuses mean that taxation for many large companies

has become option rather than an obligation – this isn't fair on the rest of us. Does anyone really buy the idea that Starbucks doesn't make a profit in the UK? Labour's promise to crack down on tax havens and transfer pricing are welcome, although we have yet to see the detail.

4. Raising living standards and reducing income inequality. A strong and sustainable recovery will be one that promotes growth from the middle out, as Ed Miliband has argued. A commitment to gradually raise the minimum wage to the level of the living wage would help. Why not insist that executives who want to give bonuses to themselves should also give them to the workforce as a whole? Economic success isn't about a handful of corporate galacticos.
5. Initiating an ownership revolution. Miliband has said relatively little about the ownership structure of British business. Labour has rightly ruled out a return to Morrisonian nationalisation and has tentatively suggested mutuals and partnerships as attractive options in certain areas. It should be more ambitious: greater plurality of ownership forms that include employees and consumers would help to reduce inequality and create the committed ownership the UK needs, from passenger-owned transport companies to fan-owned football clubs.
6. Taming globalisation. Apart from promising to clamp down on tax havens and qualified support for a Financial Transactions Tax, Labour hasn't said much about the changes that could be made at an international level to promote responsible capitalism at home. Stronger agreements on labour rights, environmental protection, financial transparency and taxation are needed to stop corporations from undermining progressive policies by playing one country off against the other.

The basic question behind this debate is whether the market economy should be restructured to meet the needs of society or whether society should continue to be restructured to meet the priorities of the market. Miliband has already gone a long way to providing the right answer, and he should be encouraged to continue. **F**

*David Clark is editor of Shifting Grounds*



## 6. LEADING QUESTIONS

Ed Miliband's consensual leadership style represents a challenge to orthodoxy—*Emma Burnell and Stefan Stern*

Politics is changing. No, politics has changed. Out there in the real world people treat politicians not as leaders but as obstacles. The idea of macho and charismatic leaders making promises to do things for people is scorned. The best politicians recognise that a fundamental change is needed to our basic conception of what leadership is – and Ed Miliband knows this better than anyone.

The set text for political leadership is still Mrs Thatcher's speech to the Conservative party conference in Brighton in 1980. As the country began to suffer under high interest rates, and cabinet 'wets' urged a change in policy, the Iron Lady was defiant. She declared: "To those waiting with bated breath for that favourite media catchphrase, the 'U-turn', I have only one thing to say: U turn if you want to. The lady's not for turning." A paradigm – in truth, a myth – had been created.

But the leaders who will succeed in politics now and in the future will not be those who hoard power only to dazzle us with short, sharp displays, designed to win a few positive headlines or achieve a brief spike in the polls. They will be those who understand the nature of power, and who know best how to give it away.

Ed Miliband is not a leader in the traditional mould. Nor is he someone who is connecting particularly well with the public, partly because Westminster is unable to deal with someone who doesn't fit their biases, and partly because Ed is still figuring out what kind of leader he wants to be.

Yet his less dogmatic, more consensual style represents a brave challenge to a 30 year orthodoxy. Ed is not a flamboyant, pose-adopting performer. He prefers a conversational tone. Meetings with him are conducted a bit like seminars – hence some of the sceptical comments about the 'donnish' nature of his utterances. But he has displayed – publicly at least – impressive



© www.flickr.com/photos/joe\_moore

resilience in the face of pretty unrelenting (and at times highly personal) criticism.

In terms of party management, Ed's non-confrontational style has also paid dividends – even if the absence of public rows has led some to insist that not enough tough decisions can have been taken. The real leadership test will follow the election, however: keeping his cabinet in check, satisfying the demands and expectations of a volatile and excitable media and managing egos. Whether he can prove to be an effective chief executive on that model is necessarily as yet unknown. But he may well surprise us all.

So far, Ed has been at his best when he has harnessed the popular power of civil society groups such as 38 Degrees and Hacked Off. Some will argue that this is a sign of his failure to stand out as a leader, but in truth, the public don't care for 'more of the same'. While Ed has been credited with victories on issues from forests to phone hacking, he has had the judgement to know that a communal sense of power and achievement is not only shared by the entire Labour party, but by much larger groups of people.

However, the real test of his leadership is still to come. If he can help steer both the party and the country to a better understanding of how modern leadership needs to work, that power is strengthened when it is shared, then he could change our notion of leadership forever. **F**

*Emma Burnell and Stefan Stern are contributing editors to LabourList*



Association of British Insurers

# ABI at the Party Conferences 2014

The Association of British Insurers will be hosting a series of private roundtable events this year on high profile policy areas including retirement savings, the welfare state, flooding and the role of insurers in society.

If you would like to find out more about our party conference activities or meet with a member of our team to discuss any issue related to insurance, please do not hesitate to contact us.

**Seth Williams**  
Assistant Director,  
Head of Public Affairs  
Seth.Williams@abi.org.uk

**Kamala MacKinnon**  
Senior Public Affairs Adviser  
Kamala.Mackinnon@abi.org.uk

**Alex Dunn**  
Public Affairs Adviser  
Alex.Dunn@abi.org.uk

**Caroline Jones**  
Public Affairs Assistant  
Caroline.Jones@abi.org.uk

@BritishInsurers abi.org.uk

## Alzheimer's Research UK

Defeating Dementia

Alzheimer's Research UK is delighted to invite you to:

### 'Defeating dementia: what will it take to treat dementia and can Britain lead the world?'

Tuesday 23 September - 7:45pm – 9pm, Lord Mayor's Parlour, Manchester Town Hall

This event will consider how the government's policy for life sciences and the NHS can come together to ensure the UK remains a world leader in the fight to find high quality treatments for dementia.

#### Key questions will include:

- What will it take to achieve a treatment that significantly delays the onset and progression of dementia?
- What difference can government make as a funder, healthcare provider and champion for research?
- How will Labour trump David Cameron's support for defeating dementia during the UK's 2013 G7 presidency?

#### THE CHALLENGE:



820,000 People with dementia in the UK

705,000 Family carers of people with dementia.

1 IN 3 over 65s in the UK will die with some form of dementia

2 IN 3 of care home residents have some form of dementia

Dementia costs the UK economy **£24 BILLION PER YEAR**

# Policy pitch

Short-termism bedevils the British economy. But as all parties seek wise counsel from expert reviewers on how to redirect the economy onto a more long-termist path, a potential model is perhaps being missed: Islamic finance.

Islamic finance's long-term investment model is already playing a significant role in Britain. Just look at the imposing glass tower that is the Shard in central London, paid for by a consortium of Qatari investors, through to the rescuing of the Aston Martin car business by a group of Kuwaiti companies, and onto plans to redevelop part of Birmingham city centre.

The City of London now rivals Dubai as an international hub for Islamic finance. A US Embassy report – leaked to Wikileaks a few years ago – expressed concern that “should London successfully position itself as a leading Islamic finance center, it could gain an edge on New York, when the global financial markets recover”. Since then, the coalition government has issued a *sukuk* (an Islamic finance bond) which has received much interest in the City whilst the growth of Islamic finance investment funds based in the Square Mile has continued



© Jacob Surland

## Faith in the economy

Islamic finance could help Labour realise its ambitions for long-term, sustainable growth, argues *James Watkins*



apace. Cities such as Leeds and Birmingham are also positioning themselves as Islamic finance centres.

But Islamic finance is about much more than high finance and diplomatic cables. Because it prohibits earning money from interest and is based on investing in businesses and assets – where speculation, such as short selling, is not allowed – it prioritises long-term investment over short-term gains. Above all, it promotes ethical investment. Buying shares in tobacco companies or weapon manufacturers is prohibited.

The principles of Islamic finance can be found in the Qu'ran but the industry that we see today only began to take shape from the 1960s. This early period saw, for instance, specially designed funds to assist Malaysian pilgrims to travel to Mecca. The model has since grown to high levels of sophistication to meet the needs of a dynamic economy. From Dow Jones screening shares of FTSE companies to assess ethical investment standards through to finance professionals from all backgrounds gaining qualifications in Islamic finance, the industry has come of age.

Trade unions and a number of Labour politicians decry the current structures of the market economy. But from a centre-left perspective, Islamic finance has developed an innovative approach towards capitalism that allowed the sector to weather the storm of the 2008 financial crisis. For one, its investment structure includes a range of models that would suit the needs of small and medium-sized businesses. These could

be worthy of particular consideration as they are a form of deferred project development finance where the investor eventually pulls out of the business once the firm has grown.

So how can this model of Islamic finance fit into Labour's manifesto plans? Take the example of regional banking. Labour aims to establish regional banks – based on the German model – which are intended to lead to long-term business investment. The party has also argued for a new economic direction which encourages the growth of Britain's 'core' cities. If Islamic finance agreements were offered via the regional banks, it would be more likely to boost investment capital in regional economies than hoping to quickly replicate the German investment model. The latter option would be difficult to realise in Britain's current economic climate.

Ed Miliband has decried 'predatory' capitalism – where the hunt for a quick buck can come at the expense of local jobs. If a Labour government utilised Islamic finance for long-term growth, this would be a tried and tested way to meet Labour's objectives of encouraging investment in jobs, helping Britain's core cities grow and tackling the dilemma of "predator" capitalism.

There is one obstacle that may have to be faced, though, before this policy becomes a reality. Islamophobia was on display back in 2009 when the then Labour government tried to make some minor tax changes to encourage the sector to grow. The *Daily Express*, for one, claimed this amounted to "sneaking in sharia law".

Such prejudice could rear its head again if Labour promoted Islamic finance investment models. But the coalition government managed to resist such pressure when it announced the issuance of an Islamic finance bond and so must Labour.

Bringing an end to 'boom and bust' is not an easy task. But utilising Islamic finance models could finally help to put the needs of jobs first, and help rehabilitate the British economy from its addiction to economic short-termism. **F**

*James Watkins is a former Labour European Parliamentary candidate and an economic development specialist.*

# CREATING 21ST CENTURY PUBLIC SERVICES

## CONSENSUS, CONFLICT OR CONFUSION?

Join us for a lively debate  
at Manchester City Hall on  
23 September, 7.45-9.00pm

CBI joint event with the Fabian  
Society and Reform at the  
Labour party conference

**Featuring:** Chris Leslie, Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury

**Chair:** Camilla Cavendish from the Times

## Working to improve the relationship between citizens and government in democratic societies.



Visit [www.omidyar.com](http://www.omidyar.com), and follow @omidyarnetwork #PositiveReturns.

Omidyar Network is a philanthropic investment firm dedicated to harnessing the power of markets to create opportunity for people to improve their lives.

Established in 2004 by eBay founder Pierre Omidyar and his wife Pam, the organization invests in for-profit companies and non-profit organizations that foster economic advancement and encourage individual participation across multiple initiatives, including: Consumer Internet & Mobile, Education, Financial Inclusion, Government Transparency, and Property Rights.

# Books

## The determination of a quiet man

A new biography shows how Clement Attlee's gentle pragmatism led him to become a transformative prime minister, writes *Sarah Hutchinson*



*Sarah Hutchinson is vice chair of Fabian Women's Network*

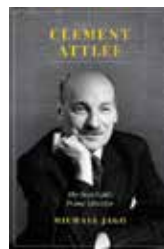
History simultaneously lauds Clement Attlee as the greatest Labour prime minister and damns him with faint praise as the accidental prime minister, whose most significant achievement was marshalling the big beasts around him.

Attlee has been consistently underestimated – both at the time, when Herbert Morrison claimed his election as Labour's deputy leader was down to the Freemasons and Morrison's own rejection of the post, and since. Michael Jago's new study challenges the 'Little Clem' orthodoxy, portraying him as a determined and strategic leader, whose international as well as domestic actions changed the world forever. The book also reflects Bevin's view of his leader as "a morally consistent colleague who accepted responsibility for his action".

Jago argues that 'Major Attlee' was far more ambitious than given credit for. While he benefited from some 'luck', he swiftly capitalised on these opportunities. Unlike Francis Beckett's more sentimental tome, Jago shares few personal details of the man, which can feel like an absence from the text. Instead, Attlee is revealed through his decision making, serving to emphasise his understated, brusque decisiveness tinged with the driest of humour.

The book focuses less on Attlee's role in the building of the welfare state than on his international impact, and his efforts to build a safe, more just world. Jago emphasises Attlee's determination to defend Britain, and by extension Europe, from further attack, particularly from the Soviet Union. Jago also rightly highlights the time Attlee spent grappling with the issues of Indian independence and the Israeli-Palestinian question. Here the prime minister's decisions have arguably had more important historical significance than his work in the domestic sphere.

The picture that emerges from these passages of the book sits at odds with the conventional image of Clem slaying the five giants at home in the wake of World War II. Jago's Attlee is the understated Cold Warrior, carving up the world map in contention with his peers Truman



### Clement Attlee: The Inevitable Prime Minister

Michael Jago  
(Biteback,  
London, 2014)

and Stalin. Attlee's justifiably deep fear of Soviet aggression and his work in quietly cementing a Western alliance to stand up to Stalin perhaps contains a lesson for the Labour party leader today.

Jago charts the development of Attlee's commitment to socialism and his belief in justice and decency. His social conscience is pricked by a visit to Haileybury boy's club; by the end of the evening he has agreed to move in. But for him, social work is not enough. He reads everything he can find on ethical socialism, honing his own beliefs and the "revelation that it was within his power to effect change, not as an abstract concept for the masses – the Webbs' approach – but as an individual among individuals". This voyage of discovery led him to famously declare: "I am a socialist too".

Having at first rejected Fabianism for being too theoretical and not connected to everyday life, Attlee (with G.D.H Cole) set up the New Fabianism Research Bureau in 1930 to reinvigorate the Society and its goal of "the reconstruction of society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities". The Bureau published a rapid succession of policy pamphlets that provided a clear blueprint for the 1945 manifesto. The determination Attlee showed in setting up this programme reflects another major influences: his experience in government under Ramsay MacDonald, and the disaster for Labour of the 1931 election. The latter experience forged in him a determination to unite – and keep united – the Labour party, often using shrewd tactics and wit to keep his colleagues in check.

The book suggests that it was this pragmatism that enabled him to be a successful prime minister. The second source of his pragmatism was his experience of two world wars – the first as a fighting soldier and the second as a war leader. These imbued him with a strong strategic ability that he used to good effect in his political career.

Jago is also clear that Attlee's experience of war led him to develop an instinctive patriotism, based overwhelmingly on a perceived need to protect the British people from





© All rights reserved by QML (Queen Mary University of London)

attack, whether that attack came from foreign enemies or domestic social problems. This legacy of war, along with his early experience in the east end of London, gave Attlee a political radicalism that sat alongside his pragmatism. Indian independence should therefore be seen through the prism of radical pragmatism, as a necessary but bold course of action executed, from Attlee's point of view, as a means to protect Britain and British interests as well as create a more just world.

If one of the central characteristics of the current leader of Labour party is an attempt to balance radicalism and

### Statue of Clement Attlee at Queen Mary University of London, Mile End Campus

pragmatism, then *The Inevitable Prime Minister* offers some insight to how this can be achieved – and the pitfalls to be avoided. It shows that vocal opposition from your own ranks – and even coup attempts – are not necessarily terminal, and how with careful attention to electability underpinned by a moral commitment to change, you can outlive the critics. Jago shows that Attlee's socialism is not tempered but furthered by his pragmatism, leading him to become arguably the most transformative prime minister this country has had. **F**



## Innovative solution to Britain's airport capacity

- Simple, affordable and deliverable
- Extends existing runway
- Transforms rail access
- Safeguards and creates jobs



[www.heathrowhub.com](http://www.heathrowhub.com)

## Northern stars

Devolution simply won't work without democratic governance and accountability, argues *Clare Devaney*



It is a truth universally acknowledged that a woman in possession of a northern accent, a Labour membership card and – let's call it a 'modest' fortune – must be in favour of devolution.

At the time of writing, Scotland is in the grip of referendum fever as it decides whether or not to supersize its devolution aspirations into independence with fries. Meanwhile, the Core Cities, an advocacy group of large regional cities in England and outside Greater London, have collectively launched the *One North* infrastructure investment proposal. Even the chancellor has given his blessing to the proposal, setting out his 'pathway to the northern powerhouse'.

The Labour line on the referendum has of course been that we are better together, particularly given that a significant percentage of the left vote sits beyond Hadrian's wall. Yet I can empathise with the argument that there is something of a chasm between Whitehall and our Scottish brethren.

Manchester and Liverpool are European cities. Cities of art, culture and cosmopolitanism, the North West region's resurgence has been underpinned by investment from Brussels. For me, it is not physical distance that makes the difference. Good and bad decisions can be made at any proximity.

And there's the rub. Devolution simply cannot work without democracy. Employing an exclusively top-down approach, devolution can only possibly transfer power to a different seat or seats of power. There appears to be a working assumption that that top-level transfer is enough – that devolved powers and resources will be further distributed equally and fairly across the piece. It's assumed that in the caring, sharing, golden glow of provincial Manchester, residents still pop over the *Coronation Street* cobbles to borrow sugar from Ena Sharples.



© www.flickr.com/photos/stewils/3468351235

The great northern cities have done a wonderful community spirit, but in practice they too have established power structures, cliques and networks at play. There are some big fish in small ponds. And devolution, as it stands, offers a swim without the hook of scrutiny.

Ed Cox of IPPR North writes in *The Observer*: "Although there is growing support for city power, this must be matched by local, and particularly combined authorities doing more to open up their governance and accountability". But where is this accountability to come from? There is no central scrutiny, a series of (albeit democratically elected) one-party state councils and an electorate so disengaged that only 18 per cent turned out to vote in the 2012 Manchester central by-election, the lowest by-election turnout since world war two.

"If most city leaders outside London reject the directly elected Mayor model", Cox continues, "then it is beholden on them to come up with better alternatives. The status quo is not an option".

Of course, Manchester wholly rejected the Mayoral model, but turnout for the referendum was just 25 per cent. Add to that the Police Commissioner election omnishambles with a national average of 15 per cent, and the current consultation tumbleweed (only 4,000 people in Greater Manchester – just 0.15 per cent of its population – have bothered with the NHS's much lauded *Healthier Together* questionnaire) and the prognosis for democracy looks fairly grim. But a proactive, bottom-up approach to devolution offers an opportunity to re-engage and re-enfranchise our citizens, as the very fabric of our cities.

Naturally, I am absolutely in favour of devolution. But for me, the conclusion drawn by Ed Cox, amongst others, is where we should be starting. Local councils across Greater Manchester – and across the country – are already working with communities

and individuals in the reform of public services. These new models fundamentally redefine the traditional narrative of service delivery, moving away from the language of deliverer and consumer, toward co-design, co-production and – ultimately – to empowerment. They are based on mobilisation of human creativity and social capital, distribution of power and resources, and democratisation of accountability. This is devolution in practice.

Devolving – a downward and outward movement, and often figuratively used as the opposite to evolving – strikes me as quite the wrong direction in travel for what is happening in the northern cities. We 'up north' are on an upward trajectory. We need to set our own democratic terms, rather than passively waiting for 'the big devolve'. Devolution, yes. But in true democratic spirit, we need demo-lution first. **F**

*Clare Devaney is a fellow and associate of the Royal Society of Arts, sits on the Labour North West Development Board and is a founder member of the Fabian Women's Network North West.*

## Date for your diary

**South Western Regional Conference**  
Saturday 15 November, Miramar  
Hotel, Bournemouth

'The Many Not the Few. Tackling  
Inequality in Labour's Britain.'

With John Denham MP,  
Seema Malhotra MP, Anne Clwyd  
MP, Dr Alan Whitehead MP,  
Lord Roger Liddle, Rowenna Davis,  
Dr Howard Stoate.

*Tickets from Ian Taylor on 01202 396634  
Deborah Stoate 0207 227 4904  
Or on the Fabian Website*

# Noticeboard

## Fabian Society AGM 2014

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

**Date:** Saturday 16th November 2014, 13:00–16:30

**13:15** Doors open

**13:30** Debate: 'How should the left govern? Labour's new statecraft

**14.30** Tea and Coffee

**15.00** Annual General Meeting

1. Apologies
2. Minutes of 2013 AGM
3. Matters Arising
4. In Memoriam
5. Chair's Report
6. Treasurer's Report
7. General Secretary's Report
8. Approval of annual report 2013/14
9. Appointment of Auditor
10. Jenny Jeger Prize
11. Date of next AGM
12. AOB

**16.30** (approx) Close of meeting, followed by an informal social at a nearby pub (details TBC).

*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 Louie Woodall, seconded by Martin Edobor: The second sentence of Rule 15 shall be deleted and replaced with: 'Under 27s may subscribe at £33 per annum or £2.75 per month. The Concession rate for Under-21s, students, retired people and the long-term unemployed shall be £21 per annum or £1.75 per month. Under 18s may subscribe at £12 per annum or £1 per month.'

## Fabian Fortune Fund

**WINNER:**  
C.J.D. Walsh £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

## Subscription rates

The Annual General Meeting on 16 November 2013 agreed new subscription rates:

**Ordinary rate**  
£42 a year or £3.50 monthly

**Reduced rate**  
£21 a year or £1.75 monthly

Students, retired members, and the long-term unemployed may pay the Reduced rate.

## Society elections

There are no elections for the executive committees of the Fabian Society or Fabian Women's Network as these now operate on a two year cycle. The ballot for the upcoming Young Fabian elections opens on 26 September and closes on 24 October 2014.

For more information please contact James Hallwood at [jhallwood@youngfabians.org.uk](mailto:jhallwood@youngfabians.org.uk).

## John Solomon

We would like to pay tribute to John Solomon, who has sadly died at the age of 95. John was the driving force behind Harrow and District Fabian Society for over 40 years in partnership with his wife June. We pay tribute to his passion, stamina and determination to make a difference, through the Fabians and in the wider political world.

## Eirlys Thake

Eirlys Thake, stalwart of Havering Fabians, died at the age of 93 on 15 July. She had been a member of Havering Fabians since it's formation in 1974, and her husband Alan ran the society for many years. Eirlys had a razor sharp mind, was blunt, funny and outspoken and was a keen reader as well as being an active Labour Party member, a teacher, and a JP.

# FABIAN QUIZ



**THE ESTABLISHMENT:  
AND HOW THEY GET  
AWAY WITH IT**

Owen Jones

Behind our democracy lurks a powerful but unaccountable network of people who wield massive power and reap huge profits in the process. In exploring this shadowy and complex system that dominates our lives, Owen Jones sets out on a journey into the heart of our Establishment, from the lobbies of Westminster to the newsrooms, boardrooms and trading rooms of Fleet Street and the City. Exposing the revolving doors that link these worlds, and the vested interests that bind them together, Jones argues that, in claiming to work on our behalf, the people at the top are doing precisely the opposite. In this book, he presents the case that the Establishment are the biggest threat to our democracy today – and it is time they were challenged.

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

*Which TV programme is Harold Wilson reputed to have had rescheduled to avoid a clash with polling day in the 1964 general election?*

Please email your answer and your address to: [review@fabian-society.org.uk](mailto:review@fabian-society.org.uk)

Or send a postcard to: Fabian Society, Fabian Quiz, 61 Petty France, London, SW1H 9EU



**ANSWERS MUST BE RECEIVED NO LATER  
THAN FRIDAY 21 NOVEMBER 2014**

# ANNUAL REPORT 2014



## Jessica Asato, Chair of the Fabian Society

Our aim for the Fabian Society this year was to provide ballast to underpin the Labour party's policy review and to keep radical thinking at the heart of our deliberations on the left. The small, but dedicated team in our new offices in Petty France haven't disappointed. Influential reports such as *Measure for Measure* challenged the underlying indicators of economic success which failed to prevent the economic crisis, while the Future Spending Choices Commission set out practical steps for reducing the deficit.

In turn, the media coverage of Fabian reports and events has burgeoned, ensuring we remain one of the most influential centre-left think tanks in the UK. It's a good reminder in our 130th year of how powerful the practical application of ideas can be. We're also proud to provide a space for interventions by shadow cabinet ministers as they reach for the policies which could help to catapult Labour back into government and are pleased to have been working closely with Labour's policy review chair, Jon Cruddas MP.

We've had to say goodbye to Natan Doron after four years of service and wish him well as he works to build Labour's policy platform within the Labour party. In his place we welcome Cameron Tait who previously led the Living Wage Commission's research. We say goodbye and thanks too to Ben Sayah for steering our hefty events programme and hello to Felicity Slater who joins us as partnerships and events manager. Many people continue to be surprised what a lot is achieved by such a small team.

The voluntary organisations within the Society continue to grow too. Our local

societies play a vital role in keeping debate on the left alive in communities across the country, as do our Welsh and Scottish Societies. It is a particular pleasure to me that the Young Fabians have such a strong programme of events, publications and now campaigns, given that I started my life in the Society through the under-31 section! I'd also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Seema Malhotra MP, the founder of the Fabian Women's Network, on her promotion to shadow minister with responsibility for tackling violence against women and girls. FWN provides a unique space for women to come together to pursue ideas and forge a path in progressive politics, and it is great to see Seema taking that vision forward through her work in parliament.

Finally, we've tried to create a more stable footing for our finances this year which has been achieved through a better mix of membership, events, publications and research fundraising. As ever, though, we manage on very tight margins, so if you haven't yet donated to our 130th anniversary campaign which aims to raise £30,000 by the end of the year please do so by going to: [www.fabians.org.uk/members/fabians-130-appeal/](http://www.fabians.org.uk/members/fabians-130-appeal/)

It's been a pleasure to be chair of the Society over the last two years during such an exciting period in its history. Thank you to the Executive for providing support and challenge, to vice chairs Kate Green MP and Steve Race, and to David Chaplin for his surefooted managing of the budget. Thanks too to general secretary Andrew Harrop and his deputy Marcus Roberts for their

unstinting work towards a better progressive future. Let's hope next year brings not just a Labour government, but a new era of radical progressive thinking in our politics.

## Treasurer's Report

I am pleased to report that we end the financial year in a positive and confident position.

Despite some challenging points throughout the year, the Society's income has continued to grow towards our targets, and following the staff's hard work over the past 12 months we are now well placed to manage the uncertainty of the coming pre-election period.

The Society's cash flow has continued to require tight management and tough oversight to ensure we remain financially secure.

This year that task was made harder by unexpected tax liabilities.

In addition, the sale of our historic offices at 11 Dartmouth Street, and the move to our fantastic new headquarters on Petty France was a further challenge both financially and operationally.

We have also seen a number of colleagues move on from the Society during the year.

But through all of these challenges, the staff have remained resolutely focussed on delivering against the ambitious financial targets that the Executive Committee set.

I'd like to pay tribute to all the staff, especially Phil Mutero our Director of Operations, for all their hard work to achieve that.

As the accounts show, the income generated by our Events & Partnerships, Editorial, and Research teams is on course for continued growth.

But the year ahead does pose unique challenges for the Society.

We face a general election towards the end of our financial year which will

### Research and Editorial

AGAHST, Betterworld, DST, Energy UK, European Climate Foundation, FES, FEPS, Friends of the Earth, Gulbenkian Foundation, Home Group, NASUWT, NFSP, Portman Group, RSPB, Scope, TUC, Tulo, Tidal Lagoon Power, WWF

### Conferences, Receptions, Lectures & Seminars

Age UK, Alzheimer's Research UK, Alzheimer's Society, British Future, Constitution Society, EEF, ERS, ESBI, FEPS, ICAEW, Impetus Trust, Just Retirement, Legal & General

### Trade Unions

Community, CWU, FBU, GMB, TSSA, TUC, TUFM, UNISON, USDAW

### Partner Organisations

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

undoubtedly have an impact both on our workstreams and our income.

We also continue face tough challenges in membership retention and growth.

Membership numbers have not grown at the rate we would have wished. So there is work for all of us to do across the Society, including the voluntary societies, to try and turn this around.

*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 2014 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 The Financial Reporting Standard for Smaller Entities (The FRSEE) effective April 2008, 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 & Expenditure Accounting for the Year Ended 30th June 2014

	2014	2013
	£	£
<b>INCOME</b>		
Individual members	186,886	172,653
Institutional Affiliations & Subscriptions	5,325	7,315
Donations	50,512	162,751
Publication Sales	2,548	3,347
Conferences & Events	151,261	132,716
Publication sponsorship & Advertising	86,690	62,572
Research Projects	235,679	104,175
Rents	24,271	7,304
Bank interest, royalties & miscellaneous	2,178	2,118
Sale of Property		1,341,841
<b>Total Income</b>	<b>745,350</b>	<b>1,996,792</b>
<b>EXPENDITURE</b>		
Research Projects	38,244	35,923
Staff costs	376,123	381,479
Printing & Distribution	85,901	82,448
Conferences & Events	83,600	99,636
Promotion	8,410	7,131
Affiliation Fees	5,990	3,653
Postage, Phone & Fax	13,563	9,808
Depreciation	18,965	2,771
Travel	901	2,159
Other	5,518	9,105
Stationery & Copying	9,102	12,408
Legal & Professional	9,257	13,170
Irrecoverable VAT	564	5,501
Premises	49,461	30,661
Website & Database	8,372	8,006
Bad Debts	1,000	17,198
<b>Total Expenditure</b>	<b>714,971</b>	<b>721,057</b>
<b>Surplus/(Deficit) before Tax &amp; Transfers</b>	<b>30,379</b>	<b>1,275,735</b>
Transfers from Reserves		
<b>Surplus/(Deficit) before Taxation</b>	<b>30,379</b>	<b>1,275,735</b>
Corporation Tax	(1,832)	(100,488)
<b>Surplus/(Deficit) for the year</b>	<b>28,547</b>	<b>1,175,247</b>

# Listings

- BEXLEY**  
Regular meetings. Contact Alan Scutt on 0208 304 0413 or alan.scutt@phonecoop.coop
- BIRMINGHAM**  
1 October AGM. 7.00 in Priory Rooms, 40 Bull St, Birmingham B4 6AF.7.00  
26 November – The Middle East  
17 December – China. For details and information, please contact Andrew Coulson at Andrew@CoulsonBirmingham.co.uk
- BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT**  
31 October. Dr Alan Whitehead MP on 'Housing'  
28 November. Lena Samuels, PPC for New Forest West on 'The NHS and Policing. More Change on the Horizon?'  
30 January. Kim Fendley, PPC for North Dorset on 'Are professional politicians and the elites destroying the future of our Democracy?'  
Meetings at The Friends Meeting House, Wharnclyffe Rd, Boscombe, Bournemouth at 7.30.  
Contact Ian Taylor on 01202 396634 for details or taylorbournemouth@gmail.com
- BRIGHTON & HOVE**  
Details of all meetings from Ralph Bayley: ralphbayley@gmail.com
- BRISTOL**  
Regular meetings. Contact Ges Rosenberg for details on grosenberg@churchside.me.uk or Arthur Massey 0117 9573330
- CAMBRIDGE**  
Contact Cambridge Fabians at cambridgefabians@gmail.com  
www.cambridgefabians.org.uk  
www.facebook.com/groups/cambridgefabiansociety
- 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**  
28 September. John Newham on 'North Korea – a challenge for the rest of the world'. 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**  
Friends Meeting House, Church St., Colchester  
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 AND DISTRICT**  
New Society forming, for details and information contact Kevin Rodgers on 07962 019168 email k.t.rodgers@gmail.com
- EAST LOTHIAN**  
Details of 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 and 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.walsh44@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 Malcolm Perry at malcolmperry3@btinternet.com
- GREENWICH**  
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 and RYE**  
Meetings held on last Friday of each month. Please contact Jean Webb c/o the Fabian Society, 61 Petty France
- HAVERING**  
22 October. Details tbc  
Details of all meetings from David Marshall email david.c.marshall@talk21.com tel 01708 441189  
For latest information, see the website haveringfabians.org.uk  
Havering Fabians: Meeting on Wednesday 1st October, 8 pm with Sam Gould & Paul McGeary as invited speakers. Billet Studio, Fairkytes Arts Centre, Billet Road, Hornchurch.  
Meeting on Thursday 6th November, 7.30pm with Councillor Gavin Callaghan as guest speaker. Venue TBC.
- IPSWICH**  
September. date and time tbc. Dr Jenny Morris on 'Rethinking Disability Policy' 27 November. Lord Roger Liddle on 'The Europe Dilemma'. 7.30 at Ipswich Library. Details of all meetings from John Cook: contact@ipswich-labour.org.uk twitter.com/suffolkfabians
- ISLINGTON**  
Details from David Heinemann: dbheinemann@yahoo.co.uk
- LEEDS**  
Details of all meetings from John Bracken at leedsfabians@gmail.com
- MANCHESTER**  
Society reforming. Details from Rosie Clayton on mcrfabs@gmail.com  
www.facebook.com/ManchesterFabians  
Twitter -@MCR\_Fab
- The MARCHES**  
Society re-forming. If you are interested, please contact Jeevan Jones at jeevanjones@outlook.com
- MERSEYSIDE**  
Please contact Hetty Wood at hettyjay@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**  
Please contact Dave Brede on davidbrede@yahoo.com
- NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE**  
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
- OXFORD**  
Please contact Michael Weatherburn at michael.weatherburn@gmail.com
- PETERBOROUGH**  
Meetings at 8.00 at the Ramada Hotel, Thorpe Meadows, Peterborough.  
Details from Brian Keegan on 01733 265769, email brian@briankeegan.demon.co.uk
- PORTSMOUTH**  
24 September. Maya Evans, 'Voices for Creative Non-Violence'  
22 October. Lord Roger Liddle on 'The Europe Dilemma'  
26 November: Sue Mullan on 'The NHS in Portsmouth'  
Details from Dave Wardle at david.wardle@waitrose.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 robertjmurray@hotmail.com
- SOUTH EAST LONDON**  
Contact sally.prentice@btinternet.com
- 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**  
Contact Paul Freeman on 0191 5367 633 or at freemanpsmb@blueyonder.co.uk
- SUFFOLK**  
21 October. Dr Jenny Morris on 'Rethinking Disability Policy'  
27 November. Lord Roger Liddle on 'The Europe Dilemma'  
7.30 at Ipswich Library Lectur4e Hall  
Details from John Cook – ipswichlabour@gmail.com, www.twitter.cdom/suffolkfabians
- SURREY**  
Meeting dates are 19 October – the Prison service  
23 November – Benefits Reform  
Meetings at Guildford Cathedral Education Centre at 3.00pm Details from Robert Park on 01483 422253 or robert.park.woodroad@gmail.com
- TONBRIDGE and TUNBRIDGE WELLS**  
Contact John Champneys on 01892 523429
- TOWER HAMLETS**  
Regular meetings. Contact: Kevin Morton – 07958 314846  
E-mail – towerhamletsfabiansociety@googlemail.com
- TYNEMOUTH**  
Monthly supper meetings, details from Brian Flood on 0191 258 3949
- WARWICKSHIRE**  
All meetings 7.30 at the Friends Meeting House, 28 Regent Place, Rugby  
Details from Ben Ferrett on ben\_ferrett@hotmail.com or warwickshirefabians.blogspot.com
- WEST DURHAM**  
Welcomes new members from all areas of the North East not served by other Fabian Societies. Regular meeting 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

# THINK EUROPEAN

## *Read European*

DISCOVER THE FIRST EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE OPINION MAGAZINE

*As a new voice for progressive Europe, Queries is a quarterly that brings together the analyses of major experts and personalities on the issues that are at the very heart of the Union.*

*With issues dedicated to the European citizenship, the EU industrial policy, the rise of populisms, or the latest elections, Queries keeps all citizens concerned with Europe up to date.*

### DISCOVER QUERIES #4

A SPECIAL ISSUE WITH THE ANALYSES OF THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS RESULTS  
BY 28 EXPERTS FROM THE 28 MEMBER STATES.

**Next issue on immigration in November 2014**



Visit our website and  
subscribe online at  
[www.queries-feps.eu](http://www.queries-feps.eu)

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN  
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES  
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE  
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES



The Law Society

[www.lawsociety.org.uk](http://www.lawsociety.org.uk)

## The Law Society invites you to their annual Labour Party Conference Reception

*Guest speaker – Emily Thornberry MP, Shadow Attorney General*

The Law Society represents the views of solicitors and the wider legal sector.

- Solicitors make a direct economic contribution of 1.5% of the UK's GDP and strengthen the wider business community
- For every 100 jobs in the legal services sector we support 67 jobs in other areas of the economy
- Every £1 of output of the UK legal services sector underpins £2.39 of output in the UK economy as a whole

When? **Tuesday 23rd September 6pm – 7.30pm**

Where? **Addleshaw Goddard LLP, Barbirolli Square, Manchester**

**Guest list only** – please contact Helen Roberts at [helen.roberts@lawsociety.org.uk](mailto:helen.roberts@lawsociety.org.uk)  
or **07805 860074** for a place



Visit our website for some great campaign ideas and resources: [www.usdaw.org.uk/campaigns](http://www.usdaw.org.uk/campaigns)

To join Usdaw visit: [www.usdaw.org.uk](http://www.usdaw.org.uk)  
or call: **0845 60 60 640\***

Usdaw  
188 Wilmslow Road  
Manchester  
M14 6LJ

*Usdaw*  
*Union of Shop, Distributive  
and Allied Workers*

General Secretary: John Hannett  
President: Jeff Broome

\*calls charged at local rate

**YOUR SERVICES | YOUR SUPPORT | YOUR PROTECTION | YOUR VOICE | YOUR UNION**