

Université Paris 8 – Vincennes – Saint-Denis

Affirming Identities in 20th- and 21st-Century Britain

R. Bethmont



Documents

Lloyd George on the Lords' rejection of the 'People's Budget', 3 December 1909

Speech delivered in London outside the National Liberal Club

5 They have thrown out the Budget, and, in doing so, have initiated one of the greatest, gravest, and most promising struggles of the time. Liberty owes as much to the foolhardiness of its foes as it does to the sapience and wisdom of its friends. I wish for no better illustration of that than this incident.

10 Here, for years, for generations, Liberal statesmen have striven to bring to an issue these great forces. Their Bills were mutilated, torn, and devitalised by this machine, and they were never able to bring the cause to any sort of decision. It has been done at last, and I am proud that I have had a small share in it. At last the cause between the Peers and the people has been set down for trial in the great assize of the people, and the verdict will soon come. The Assembly which has delayed, denied, and mutilated justice for so long has at last been brought to justice.

15 Well, now, we are on the eve of a General Election, which will decide this great question. [* *]

20 [* *] there will be one great dominant question submitted to the electors, one that will absorb all others. What is that? [A voice: "The House of Lords."] That's it – the question which was put by the Prime Minister in his great speech yesterday. Here are you a nation of nearly 45 millions, one of the greatest nations the world has ever seen, a nation whose proficiency in the art of government is unrivalled, a nation which has no superior in commerce or in industry. It has established the greatest merchant fleets that ever rode the waves. It has got the greatest international commerce in the world. It has founded the greatest and the most extensive empire the world has ever witnessed.

25 And yet we are told that this great nation, with such a record of splendid achievements in the past and in the present, is unfit to make its own laws, is unfit to control its own finance, and that it is to be placed as if it were a nation of children or lunatics, under the tutelage and guardianship of some other body – and what body? Who are the guardians of this mighty people? Who are they? With all respect – I shall have to make exceptions; but I am speaking of them as a whole, and I shall come to the analysis later on. They are men who have neither the training, the qualifications, nor the experience which would fit them for such a gigantic task. They are men whose sole qualification – speaking in the main, and for the majority of them – they are simply men whose sole qualification is that they are the first born of persons who had just as little qualifications as themselves.

35 To invite this Imperial race; this, the greatest commercial nation in the world; this, the nation that has taught the world the principles of self-government and liberty; to invite this nation itself to sign the decree that declares it unfit to govern itself without the guardianship of such people, is an insult which I hope will be flung back with ignominy. This is a great issue. It is this: Is this nation to be a free nation and to become a freer one, or is it for all time to be shackled and tethered by tariffs and trusts and monopolies and privileges? That is the issue, and no Liberal will shirk it.

45 David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, London, Odhams Press, 1938.

CURTAILING THE POWER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

From Asquith's speech introducing resolutions prior to the Parliament Bill, 29 March 1910 (Hansard, 5th series, XV, cols 1180-1182).

In a Commons debate, Asquith introduces three government resolutions to deal with the absolute veto of the House of Lords.

I am sorry to have detained the House so long in dealing with the details of these Resolutions. We put them forward to deal with the emergency which confronts us, not as purporting to be a full or adequate solution of the whole problem, or, as exhausting the policy of the Government. We put them forward as the first and indispensable step to the emancipation of the House of Commons, and to rescue from something like paralysis the principles of popular government. Further, we put them forward as a demand, sanctioned as we believe by a large majority of the representatives of the people chosen at the recent General Election, themselves representing a large majority of the electorate. Fundamental changes in this country, as nothing illustrates more clearly than this controversy, are slow to bring into effect. There was a story current of the last Parliament, which in this connection bears repetition. It was told of a new Member of the then House of Commons that in 1906 he witnessed for the first time the ceremony of opening Parliament. He saw gathered in the other Chamber at one end the King sitting on his throne, at the other end Mr. Speaker standing at the Bar. In between there was that scene of subdued but stately splendour, bringing and making alive to the eye and the imagination the unbroken course of centuries during which we alone here, of all the peoples of the world have been able to reconcile and harmonise the traditions of the past, the needs of the present, the hopes and aspirations of the future. He was a man of very advanced views, and as he gazed upon that unique and impressive spectacle, felt constrained to mutter to a neighbour, a man of like opinions with himself, "This will take a lot of abolishing." So it will. It was a very shrewd observation. But I am not sure that he had mastered the real lesson of the occasion. So far as outward vision goes, one would seem, no doubt, in the presence of such a ceremony as that, to be transplanted to the days of the Plantagenets. The framework is the same; the setting is almost the same. The very figures of the picture—King, Peers, Judges, Commons—are the same, at any rate, in name. But that external and superficial identity masks a series of the greatest transformations that have been recorded in the constitutional experience of mankind. The Sovereign sits there on the Throne of Queen Elizabeth, who, as history tells us, on one occasion, at the end of a single Session, opposed the Royal Veto to no less than forty-eight out of ninety-one Bills which had received the assent of both Houses of Parliament. That Royal Veto, then and for long afterwards, an active and potent enemy of popular rights, is literally as dead as Queen Anne. Yes, Sir; and has the Monarchy suffered? Has the Monarchy suffered? There is not a man among us, in whatever quarter of this House he sits, who does not know the Crown of this Realm, with its hereditary succession, its Prerogatives adjusted from generation to generation to the needs of the people and the calls of the Empire, is held by our Gracious Sovereign by a far securer tenure than ever fell to the lot of any of his Tudor or Stuart ancestors. The liberties again of the Commons, which you, Sir, only a month ago once more claimed and asserted at the same Bar, in time-honoured phrases which carry us back to the days when those liberties were in jeopardy from the Crown—the liberties of the Commons, slowly and patiently won, in these days newly threatened and invaded—not, indeed, through the Crown, but from another quarter—are only in danger if, unlike our forefathers here, we refuse to take the necessary steps to make them safe. But there is one factor in the Constitution which, while everything else has changed, remains, sterilised in its development, possessing and exercising power without authority, still a standing menace and obstacle to progressive legislation and popular government. The absolute Veto of the Lords must follow the Veto of the Crown before the road can be clear for the advent of full-grown and unfettered democracy.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOUR PARTY

**AS ADOPTED BY THE PARTY CONFERENCE HELD IN LONDON ON
FEBRUARY 21, 1918**

1. NAME

The Labour Party.

2. MEMBERSHIP

The Labour Party shall consist of all its affiliated organisations¹ together with those men and women who are individual members of a Local Labour Party and who subscribe to the Constitution and Programme of the Party.

3. PARTY OBJECTS

National

(a) To organise and maintain in Parliament and in the country a Political Labour Party, and to ensure the establishment of a Local Labour Party in every County Constituency and every Parliamentary Borough, with suitable divisional organisation in the separate constituencies of Divided Boroughs.

(b) To co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, or other Kindred Organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Party Constitution and Standing Orders.

(c) To give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference.

(d) To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

(e) Generally to promote the Political, Social, and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

¹ Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, Trades Councils, and Local Labour Parties.

...

5. THE PARTY CONFERENCE

(1) The work of the Party shall be under the direction and control of the Party Conference, which shall itself be subject to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The Party Conference shall meet regularly once in each year, and also at such other times as it may be convened by the National Executive.

(2) The Party Conference shall be constituted as follows: —

(a) Trade Unions and other societies affiliated to the Party may send one delegate for each thousand members on which fees are paid.

(b) Local Labour Party delegates may be either men or women resident or having a place of business in the constituency they represent, and shall be appointed as follows: —

In Borough and County Constituencies returning one Member to Parliament, the Local Labour Party may appoint one delegate.

In undivided Boroughs returning two Members, two delegates may be appointed.

...

An additional woman delegate may be appointed for each constituency in which the number of affiliated and individual women members exceeds 500.

...

8. AFFILIATION FEES

(1) Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, and other organisations directly affiliated to the Party ... shall pay 2d. per member per annum to the Central Party Funds with a minimum of 30s.

THE BEVERIDGE REPORT AND THE WELFARE STATE

William Beveridge trained as a lawyer but came to prominence during the Liberal government of 1906 - 1914 when he was asked to advise David Lloyd George on old age pensions and national insurance. When, in 1941, the government commissioned a report into the ways that Britain should be rebuilt after World War Two, Beveridge was an obvious choice to take charge. He published his report in 1942 and recommended that the government should find ways of fighting the five 'Giant Evils' of 'Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness'.

In 1945, the Labour Party defeated Winston Churchill's Conservative Party in the general election. The new prime minister, Clement Attlee, announced he would introduce the welfare state outlined in the 1942 Beveridge Report. This included the establishment of a National Health Service in 1948 with free medical treatment for all. A national system of benefits was also introduced to provide 'social security' so that the population would be protected from the 'cradle to the grave'. The new system was partly built on the national insurance scheme set up by Lloyd George in 1911. People in work still had to make contributions each week, as did employers, but the benefits provided were now much greater.

(From BBC Website, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/beveridge_william.shtml)

The Beveridge report was given a lot of attention by the press and by the British public as soon as it was released in 1942. An opinion poll at the time estimated that 95 % of the population had heard of the report, approved of it, and hoped it would be implemented.



William Beveridge, *Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services*, 1942.

There are some who will say that pursuit of security as defined in this Report, that is to say income security, is a wholly inadequate aim. Their view is not merely admitted but asserted in the Report itself. The Plan for Social Security is put forward as part of a general programme of social policy. It is one part only of an attack upon five giant evils: upon the physical Want with which it is directly concerned, upon Disease which often causes that Want and brings many other troubles in its train, upon Ignorance which no democracy can afford among its citizens, upon the Squalor which arises mainly through haphazard distribution of industry and population, and upon the Idleness which destroys wealth and corrupts men, whether they are well fed or not, when they are idle. In seeking security not merely against physical want, but against all these evils in all their forms, and in showing that security can be combined with freedom and enterprise and responsibility of the individual for his own life, the British community and those who in other lands have inherited the British tradition have a vital service to render to human progress. ...

There are yet others who will say that, however desirable it may appear to reconstruct social insurance or to make other plans for a better world of peace, all such concerns must now be put on one side, so that Britain may concentrate upon the urgent tasks of war. There is no need to spend words today in emphasising the urgency or the difficulty of the task that faces the British people and their Allies. Only by surviving victoriously in the present struggle can they enable freedom and happiness and kindness to survive in the world. Only by obtaining from every individual citizen his maximum of effort, concentrated upon the purposes of war, can they hope for early victory. This does not alter three facts: that the purpose of victory is to live into a better world than the old world; that each individual citizen is more likely to concentrate upon his war effort if he feels that his Government will be ready in time with plans for that better world; that, if these plans are to be ready in time, they must be made now.

Statement of a reconstruction policy by a nation at war is statement of the uses to which that nation means to put victory, when victory is achieved. In a war which many nations must wage together as whole-hearted allies, if they are to win victory, such a statement of the uses of victory may be vital. This was recognised by the leaders of the democracies east and west of the Atlantic in putting their hands to a charter which, in general terms, set out the nature of the world which they desired to establish after the war. The Atlantic Charter has since then been signed on behalf of all the United Nations. The fifth clause of the charter declares the desire of the American and the British leaders "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security". The proposals of this Report are designed as a practical contribution towards the achievement of the social security which is named in the closing words. The proposals cover ground which must be covered, in one way or another, in translating the words of the Atlantic Charter into deeds. They represent, not an attempt by one nation to gain for its citizens advantages at the cost of their fellow fighters in a common cause, but a contribution to that common cause. They are concerned not with increasing the wealth of the British people, but with so distributing whatever wealth is available to them in total, as to deal first with first things, with essential physical needs. They are a sign of the belief that the object of government in peace and in war is not the glory of rulers or of races, but the happiness of the common man. That is a belief which, through all differences in forms of government, unites not only the democracies whose leaders first put their hands to the Atlantic Charter, but those democracies and all their Allies. It unites the United Nations and divides them from their enemies.

THE POST-WAR LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The following text is taken from Clement Attlee's memoirs. Attlee reflects on the Labour government he led as Prime Minister between 1945 and 1951.

5 The Labour Party came to power with a well-defined policy worked out over many years. It had been set out very clearly in our Election Manifesto and we were determined to carry it out. Its ultimate objective was the creation of a society based on social justice, and, in our view, this could only be attained by bringing under public ownership and control the main factors in the economic system. Nationalisation was not an end in itself but an essential element in achieving the ends which we sought. Controls were desirable not for their own sake but because they were necessary in order to gain freedom from the economic power of the owners of capital. A juster distribution of wealth was not a policy designed to soak the rich or to take revenge, but because a society with gross inequalities of wealth and opportunity is fundamentally unhealthy.

15 It had always been our practice, in accord with the natural genius of the British people, to work empirically. We were not afraid of compromise and partial solutions. We knew that mistakes would be made and that advance would be often by trial and error. We realised that the application of socialist principles in a country such as Britain with a peculiar economic structure based on international trade required great flexibility.

20 We were also well aware of the especially difficult situation of the country resulting from the great life and death struggle from which we had emerged victorious. But, in our view, this did not make change in the socialist direction less necessary. On the contrary, it was clear that there could be no return to past conditions. The old pattern was worn out and it was for us to weave the new. Thus, the kind of reproach levelled at us by Churchill, that instead of uniting the country by a programme of social reform on the lines of the Beveridge Report, we were following a course dictated by social prejudice or theory, left us completely unmoved. We had not been elected to try to patch up an old system but to make something new. Our policy was not a reformed capitalism but progress toward a democratic socialism.

Clement Attlee, *As It Happened*, London, Heinemann, 1954.

Margaret Thatcher – Panorama Interview - June 1987
TRANSCRIPT

Sir Robin Day

... many Tory Cabinet Ministers you have sacked have been in the tradition of Toryism known as One-Nation Toryism, started by Disraeli followed on by Butler, Macmillan, and others. Under Thatcherism—your critics say—the nation is not one nation but a divided nation.

Prime Minister

Let me answer that very deeply because I feel very strongly about it. The greatest division this nation has ever seen were the conflicts of trade unions towards the end of a Labour Government—terrible conflicts. That trade union movement then was under the diktat of trade union bosses, some of whom are still there. They used their power against their members. They made them come out on strike when they didn't want to. They loved secondary picketing. They went and demonstrated outside companies where there was no dispute whatsoever, and sometimes closed them down. They were acting as they were later in the coal strike, before my whole trade union laws were through, this Government. They were out to use their power to hold the nation to ransom, to stop power from getting to the whole of manufacturing industry, to damage people's jobs, to stop power from getting to every house in the country, power, heat and light to every housewife, every child, every school, every pensioner. You want division; you want conflict; you want hatred. There it was! It was that which Thatcherism—if you call it that—tried to stop. Not by arrogance, but by giving power to the ordinary, decent, honourable, trade union member who didn't want to go on strike. By giving power to him over the Scargills of this world.

That is one conflict. That has gone. Another one. I believe passionately that people have a right, by their own efforts, to benefit their own families, so we have taken down taxation. It doesn't matter to me who you are or what your background is. If you want to use your own efforts to work harder—yes, I am with you all the way, whether it is unskilled effort or whether it is skilled, we have taken the income tax down.

The third thing. All my predecessors—yes, I agree, Disraeli; yes, Harold Macmillan—I would say I am right in their tradition. It was Disraeli's one nation. We have had an increase in home ownership—the heart of the family under this Government.

Sir Robin Day

Can I ask another question, Prime Minister?

Prime Minister

You asked me the most fundamental question.

Sir Robin Day

We are not having a party political broadcast, we are having an interview so I have to ask some questions occasionally.

Prime Minister

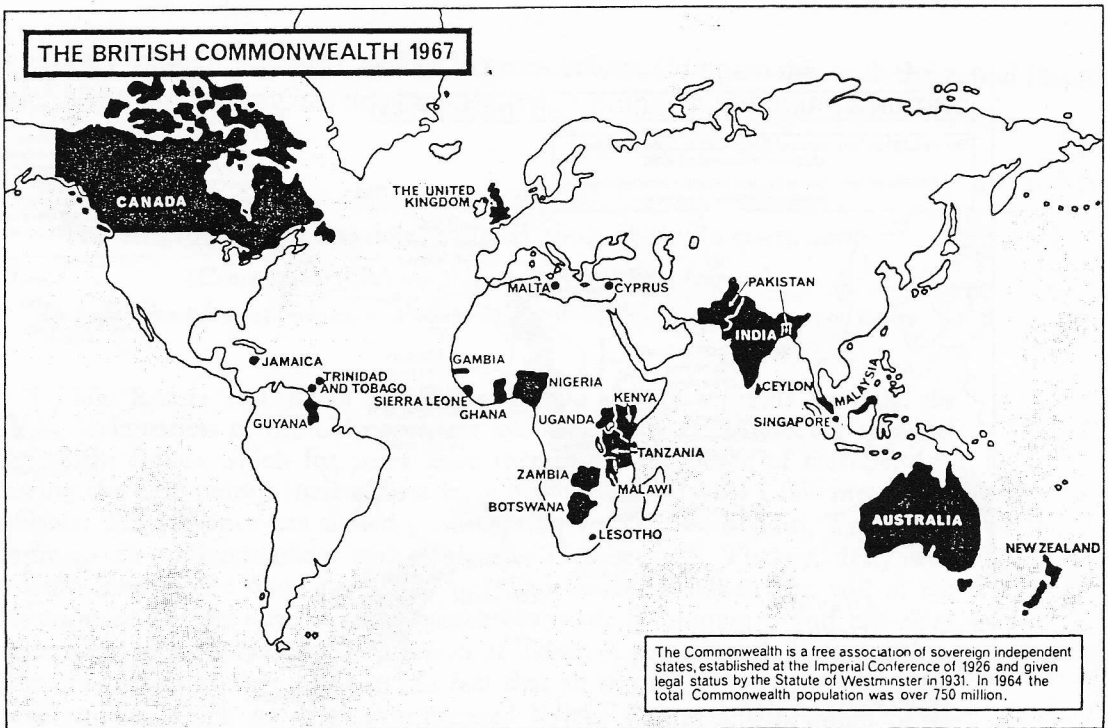
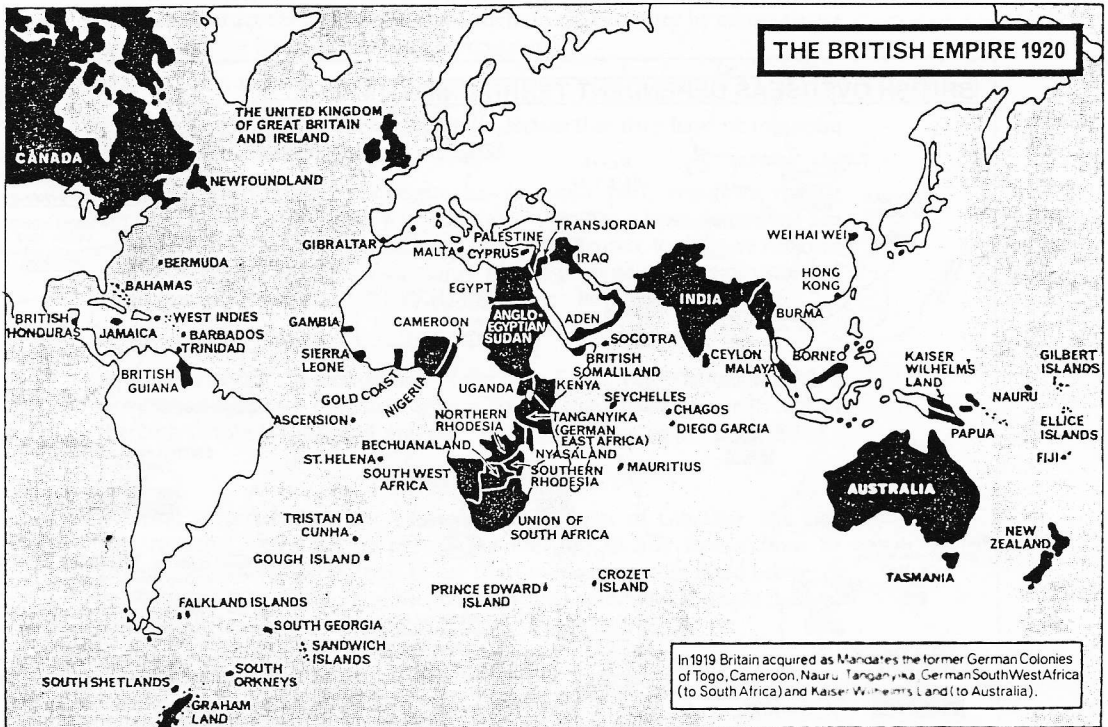
You asked, what I know you call the gut question. Right. It's gone for the jugular. Let me finish it. More home ownership; far more share ownership; far more savings in building society accounts. This is what is building one nation—as every earner becomes a shareholder, as more and more people own their homes. No. We are getting rid of the divisions. We are replacing conflict with co-operation. We are building one nation through wider property-owning democracy. Please go ahead

No theory of government was ever given a fairer test or a more prolonged experiment in a democratic country than democratic socialism received in Britain. Yet it was a miserable failure in every respect. Far from reversing the slow relative decline of Britain *vis-à-vis* its main industrial competitors, it accelerated it. We fell further behind them, until by 1979 we were widely dismissed as 'the sick man of Europe'. The relative worsening of our economic position was disguised by the rising affluence of the West as a whole. We, among others, could hardly fail to benefit from the long economic expansion of the post-war western world led by the United States. But if we never had it so good, others – like Germany, France, Italy, Denmark – increasingly had it better. And, as the 1970s wore grimly on, we began to fail in absolute as well as relative terms.

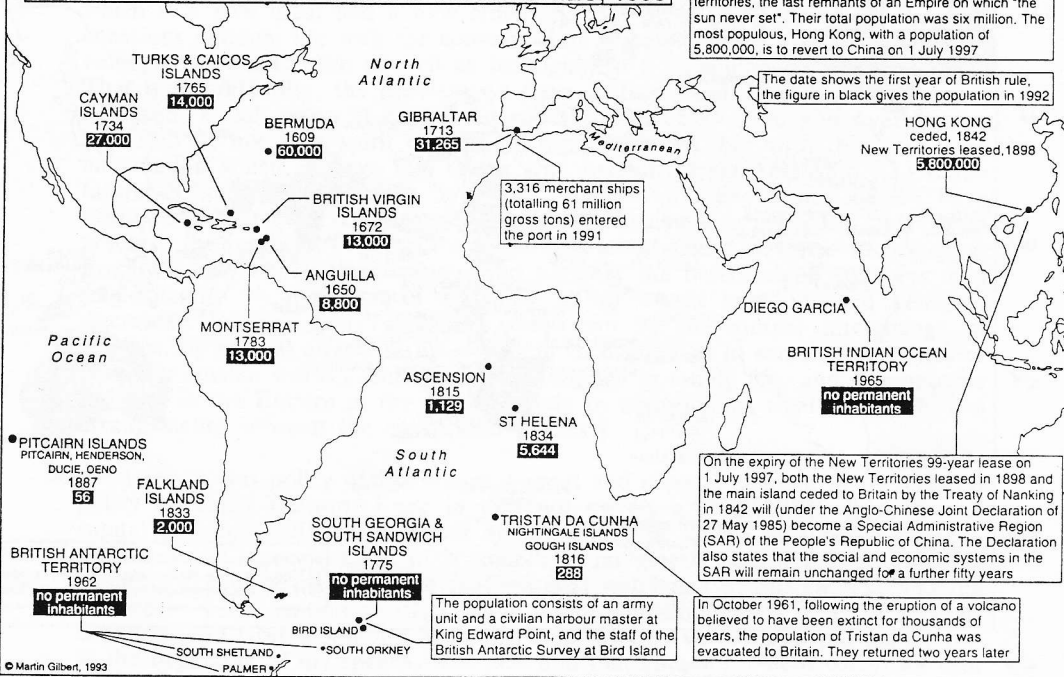
15 Injections of monetary demand, which in the 1950s had produced a rise in real production and a fall in unemployment before causing a modest rise in prices, now went directly into high rates of inflation without so much as a blip on the charts for production and unemployment. State subsidies and direction of investment achieved progressively more inefficient industries and ever lower returns on capital. 20 Laws giving protective immunity to the trade unions at the turn of the century were now abused to protect restrictive practices and overmanning, to underpin strikes, and to coerce workers into joining unions and participating in industrial action against their better judgement. Welfare benefits, distributed with little or no consideration of their 25 effects on behaviour, encouraged illegitimacy, facilitated the breakdown of families, and replaced incentives favouring work and self-reliance with perverse encouragement for idleness and cheating. The final illusion – that state intervention would promote social harmony and solidarity or, in Tory language, 'One Nation' – collapsed in the 30 'winter of discontent' when the dead went unburied, critically ill patients were turned away from hospitals by pickets, and the prevailing social mood was one of snarling envy and motiveless hostility. To cure the British disease with socialism was like trying to cure leukaemia with leeches.

35 Another approach was needed – and for international reasons as well as domestic ones. Britain's weakened economic position meant that its international role was bound to be cramped and strained as well. Our most painful experience of the country's reduced circumstances was the failure of the Suez expedition in 1956. This was the 40 result of political and economic weakness rather than military failure, because the Government withdrew a victorious force from the Canal Zone in response to a 'run on the pound' encouraged by the US Government. Whatever the details of this defeat, however, it entered the British soul and distorted our perspective on Britain's place in the 45 world.

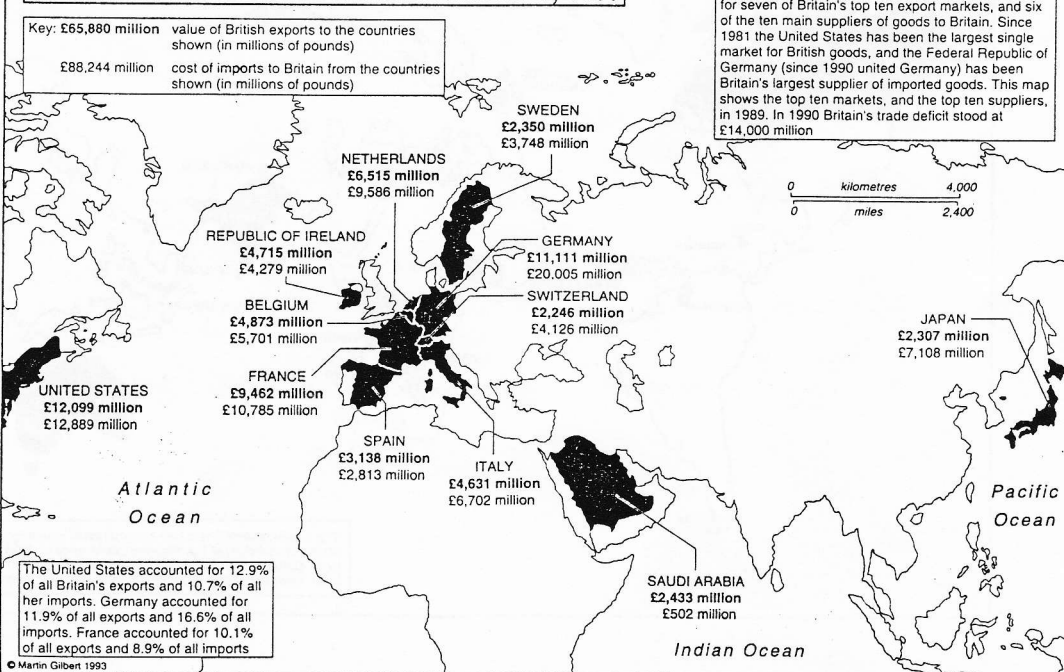
We developed what might be called the 'Suez syndrome': having previously exaggerated our power, we now exaggerated our impotence. Military and diplomatic successes such as the war in Borneo – which preserved the independence of former British colonies against Indonesian subversion, helped to topple the anti-western dictator, Sukarno, and thus altered the long-term balance of power in Asia in our interest – were either dismissed as trivial or ignored altogether. Defeats, which in reality were the results of avoidable misjudgement, such as the retreat from the Gulf in 1970, were held to be the inevitable consequences of British decline. And comic opera enterprises, such as 50 Harold Wilson's 'invasion' of Anguilla in March 1969 (for once, 'police action' seems the right term) were gleefully seized upon to illustrate the reality of reduced British power. The truth – that Britain was a middle-ranking power, given unusual influence by virtue of its historical distinction, skilled diplomacy and versatile military forces, but 60 greatly weakened by economic decline – seemed too complex for sophisticated people to grasp. They were determined to think themselves much weaker and more contemptible than was in fact the case, and refused all comfort to the contrary.



BRITISH OVERSEAS DEPENDENT TERRITORIES, 1993



BRITAIN'S PRINCIPAL TRADING PARTNERS, 1989



Draft of the Balfour Declaration, 1926
Cabinet Papers, National Archives

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C A B I N E T.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Note by the Lord President of the Council.

I attach for the information of my colleagues some draft paragraphs relating to the position and mutual relations of Great Britain and the Dominions, which have been provisionally accepted by the Committee of Prime Ministers and Heads of Delegations, over which I have the honour to preside. This draft has been arrived at as the result of difficult and prolonged discussions.

A.J.B.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

15th November, 1926.

The Committee are of opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to define the Constitution of the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution; while, considered as a whole, it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organisation which now exists or has ever yet been tried.

There is, however, one most important element in it which, from a strictly constitutional point of view, has now, as regards all vital matters, reached its full development; - we refer to the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

A foreigner endeavouring to understand the true character of the British Empire by the aid of this formula alone might be tempted to think that it was devised rather to make mutual interference impossible than to make mutual co-operation easy.

Such a criticism, however, completely ignores the historic situation. The rapid evolution of the Overseas Dominions during the last fifty years has involved many complicated adjustments of old political machinery to changing conditions. The tendency towards equality of status was both right and inevitable. Geographical and other conditions made this impossible of attainment by the way of federation.

The only alternative was by the way of autonomy; and along this road it has been steadily sought. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever.

But no account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded solely or mainly upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security and progress are among its objects. Aspects of all these great themes have been discussed at the present Conference: excellent results have been thereby obtained. And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled.

Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root principle governing our inter-Imperial relations. But the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, cannot be universally extended to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defence we require also flexible machinery:- machinery which can, from time to time, be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world. This subject also has occupied the attention of etc. (This is intended to supply (if necessary) a bridge to all the other subjects on which the Conference has been engaged.)

A.J.B.

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Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference
Held in London in January and February 1956.

Cabinet Papers, National Archives

IV. FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC MATTERS

28. On the subject of the machinery of Government relating to the administration of financial and economic affairs, we agree that the responsibility for all financial matters, including foreign exchange, at present discharged by the Financial Secretary, should be transferred at once to a Malayan Minister of Finance. We recognise that, during the interim period, the United Kingdom will possess a continuing interest in the mechanism of financial control in the Federation in order to be satisfied that the expenditure of money made available from United Kingdom funds is properly controlled, but we are satisfied that there are no objections on financial grounds to this proposal. We are also agreed that a Ministry of Commerce and Industry should be set up to take over some of the functions at present exercised by the Minister for Economic Affairs, which title would lapse.
29. We recognise that ultimate responsibility for policy will rest with the Executive Council, and we welcome the proposal to establish, under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, an Economic Committee of the Executive Council, charged with the responsibility of coordinating economic policy and determining priorities, in the belief that such a Committee will greatly assist and strengthen the work of government.
30. We had a full and frank discussion of the Federation's position in the Sterling Area. The Malayan Delegation indicated that it was the view of their Government that membership of the Sterling Area was to the common advantage of the Federation and the other members and that it was their intention to remain in it after attaining full self-government. There was general recognition by the United Kingdom representatives of the importance of the Federation's contribution to the strength of the Sterling Area through the direct earnings of dollars from rubber and tin.
31. We discussed the question of responsibility for the Federation's foreign exchange policy with particular reference to dollar imports. We recognise that the existing arrangements for consultation between the Government of the Federation and Her Majesty's Government have on the whole worked well in practice. There was a general discussion on the common problems of the Sterling Area and it was agreed that, so long as the problem of the balance of payments of the area as a whole remained, it would be necessary for the Government of the Federation to continue to exercise restraint in its dollar expenditure in conformity with the policy generally followed by the Sterling Area. We agree that the responsibility for applying this policy in the Federation rests with the Federation Government and that the Federation Government will continue to consult with Her Majesty's Government so that it can act in full knowledge of Sterling Area problems and the United Kingdom can be fully informed of the special problems of the Federation.
32. In view of the Federation's participation in the Sterling Area and the importance of its trade to the Area's strength, it was agreed that the Federation Government must be able to assure the people of the Federation that the voice of their elected representatives would be heard in matters of Sterling Area policy. We agreed that, in order to achieve this, it was desirable that arrangements should be made for the Government of the Federation to send a delegate to all future meetings of Commonwealth Finance Ministers on a basis which would enable him to have full freedom of expression and full discretion at such Conferences in all matters which fall within the responsibility of the Federation Government. The Federation Delegation agreed not to press the matter of the precise constitutional status of the Federation's delegate at such Conferences further at the present time, but it was agreed that the Federation Government would be entitled to raise it again should occasion arise later.
33. We recognise the important part which overseas capital must continue to play in the economic and social development of Malaya. In this connection we think it desirable to draw attention to the statement in the Alliance Manifesto that it is their policy to attract overseas capital to Malaya. This was given more detailed expression in the High Commissioner's statement in the

Legislative Council on the 30th November, 1955, in which he stated that the Federation Government looked with confidence to the establishment of happy relationships and a full sense of partnership between a fully self-governing Malaya and overseas industry and enterprise genuinely interested in the development on sound lines of the country's productive resources. To this end it was, and would remain, their policy to encourage overseas investment, industry and enterprise to look to Malaya with every assurance of fair and considerate treatment and without fear of discrimination. The relevant extract from the High Commissioner's address is contained at Appendix F.

34. Regarding the future financial relationship between the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya, we agree that it is most important that the Federation should go forward to full self-government in circumstances which will give a fair assurance of its future financial stability. In this context, we recognise fully the vitally important position of the Federation in the world-wide struggle against communism and the fact that operations in the military sphere must be backed by a sound and vigorous programme of economic and social development.

35. During the interim period Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to help the Federation should it become clear that, having regard to the necessity for the Federation Government to make provision for an expanded programme of economic and social development and to the need to maintain reserves at the right level as a precaution against possible fluctuations in the prices of rubber and tin before the Federation's rubber replanting schemes bear fruit, there is a need for financial assistance from the United Kingdom towards the cost of the Emergency. To this end we agree that a meeting should be held as soon as possible between the United Kingdom and Federation Governments with a view to determining the necessity for such assistance.

36. It is recognised that the attainment of full self-government implies the principle of financial self-sufficiency. Nevertheless, Her Majesty's Government recognise the common interest of both Governments in bringing the Emergency to an end. For this reason, if the Emergency has not been brought to an end by the time that full self-government and independence within the Commonwealth is attained, Her Majesty's Government will still be prepared to consider with the Federation Government whether the financial needs of the Federation would justify special assistance from Her Majesty's Government towards meeting the cost of the Emergency over and above the substantial assistance which will continue to be given through the forces and services provided by the United Kingdom to sustain the fight against the Communist terrorists.

37. In any event, substantial help will still be available from the United Kingdom after the attainment of full self-government within the Commonwealth, as follows:-

- (i) Apart from their continuing commitments in the Federation in respect of its external defence, Her Majesty's Government will maintain their undertaking to finance certain capital costs of expansion of the Federation Armed Forces in an agreed programme;
- (ii) Her Majesty's Government will at all times be ready to examine sympathetically with the Federation its borrowing needs on the London market in connection with its development plans;
- (iii) If, at the time when the Federation attains full self-government within the Commonwealth, there is any unspent balance of allocations made to the Federation under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, the approval of Parliament will be sought to enable an amount equivalent to any such balance to be made available to the Federation for development expenditure;
- (iv) Her Majesty's Government will stand by their undertaking to provide assistance, subject to the approval of Parliament in the form of a loan to the Federation to enable it to finance its contribution to the Tin Buffer Stock should it be unable to obtain the necessary loan finance from any other suitable source.

Working towards the Independence of Singapore

In 1957 the British government oversaw the transition towards independence of its two most important South-Asian colonies: Malaya and Singapore (they became independent at the end of August). The independence of these colonies, however, was prepared so as to preserve British interests in the region as much as possible. The Cabinet paper below is from March 1957 and presents the conclusion of a Cabinet meeting after the Singapore delegation—in charge of the negotiations with the British government to move towards independence—objected to the British government's initial proposals about the conditions on which Britain would continue to be in control of Singapore's external defence policy after independence. This was a matter which also concerned neighbouring Malaya because the British naval base in Singapore, the most important East of Suez, would also serve to give military support to Malaya.

The British government's initial proposals had been that it would be the sole ultimate judge of what constituted an external defence matter after Singapore's independence. Deciding what constituted at any moment a matter of external defence was to be the privilege of the Internal Security Council which was made up of one Singapore representative, one Federation of Malaya representative and one British representative. In practice, the British government's initial proposals meant that the British representative on the Internal Security Council was to have an absolute veto on any majority decision taken by the Council.

The Singapore delegation considered that this gave too much power to Britain because an internal Singapore affair may ultimately escape the Singapore government if Britain pretexted that it was a matter of external defence. They therefore made counter-proposals.

This counter-proposals were aimed at preventing Britain from unduly vetoing the decisions made by the Singapore Internal Security Council on what constituted a matter of external defence (see text line 1 to 9 – you should ignore the bit of the text that comes before the red arrow). But to make sure that the Internal Security Council would not in its turn unduly prevent British control over legitimate foreign policy matters, the Singapore delegation also proposed a mechanism by which, if it could be proved that a particular matter was indeed to be classified as foreign defence, against the majority ruling of the Internal Security Council, the Queen's representative in Singapore (the successor of the Governor of colonial Singapore) would have the power to unilaterally make decisions that would have the force of law (see text line 9-20).

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SECRET

Copy No. 40

C.C. (57)

27th Conclusions

CABINET

CONCLUSIONS of a Meeting of the Cabinet held in the Prime Minister's Room, House of Commons, S.W.1, on Thursday, 28th March, 1957, at 10.30 p.m.

Present:

The Right Hon. HAROLD MACMILLAN, M.P., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. R. A. BUTLER, M.P.,
Secretary of State for the Home
Department and Lord Privy Seal.

The Right Hon. SELWYN LLOYD, Q.C.,
M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs.

The Right Hon. THE EARL OF HOME,
Secretary of State for Commonwealth
Relations.

The Right Hon. Sir DAVID ECCLES, M.P.,
President of the Board of Trade.

The Right Hon. HENRY BROOKE, M.P.,
Minister of Housing and Local
Government and Minister for Welsh
Affairs.

The Right Hon. HAROLD WATKINSON,
M.P., Minister of Transport and Civil
Aviation.

The Right Hon. VISCOUNT KILMUIR,
Lord Chancellor.

The Right Hon. PETER THORNEYCROFT,
M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Right Hon. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD,
M.P., Secretary of State for the
Colonies.

The Right Hon. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P.,
Minister of Labour and National
Service.

The Right Hon. VISCOUNT HAILSHAM,
Q.C., Minister of Education.

Dr. The Right Hon. CHARLES HILL,
M.P., Chancellor of the Duchy of
Lancaster.

Secretariat:

Mr. B. ST. J. TREND.

Mr. H. O. HOOPER.

Singapore.
(Previous
Reference :
C.C. (57) 15th
Conclusions,
Minute 3.)

The Cabinet had before them a memorandum by the Colonial Secretary (C. (57) 78) about the current negotiations on a new constitution for Singapore.

The Colonial Secretary said that he had been able to reach agreement with the Singapore delegation on all matters which the Cabinet had considered to be fundamental, with two exceptions. We had proposed that we should be entitled to determine unilaterally what questions could properly be dealt with by the Internal Security Council, and that the United Kingdom representative should be empowered to require The Queen's representative to reserve for Her Majesty's pleasure any legislation which appeared to him to affect our ability to discharge our responsibilities for external affairs and defence. In each instance the Singapore delegation had claimed that, if they were to concede these stipulations in the form in which we sought them, they would expose themselves to the charge that they had agreed to the perpetuation of Colonial rule. They had therefore proposed that it should be for the Internal Security Council itself to decide whether a matter in dispute was a matter of internal security with which the Council could properly deal, and that the power of the United Kingdom's representative to require legislation to be reserved for The Queen's pleasure should depend upon its being established, if necessary by a ruling of the Internal Security Council, that the issues involved were genuinely issues of defence and external affairs and not issues of internal security. In return for this proposed limitation of our power of veto they had offered to incorporate in the constitution additional sanctions compelling the Government of Singapore to meet any requirements of the United Kingdom Government which were shown to relate genuinely to defence and external affairs; and they had also proposed that, if the Government of Singapore failed to meet the obligations imposed on them either by a vote of the Internal Security Council or by a United Kingdom requirement in the field reserved to us, the United Kingdom representative should be empowered to require The Queen's representative to make an Order, having the force of law, to ensure that the obligations were met.

As a result of these counter-proposals we should lose the unilateral veto which we had hoped to retain over the proceedings in the Internal Security Council, and the effective decision in that Council would be transferred to the representative of the Federation of Malaya who would enjoy a casting vote. Nevertheless the interests of the Federation were likely to coincide with our own and it was probable that conservative elements would remain in power in Malaya for a considerable time to come. We might therefore be risking relatively little if we accepted the proposals of the Singapore delegation, while if we rejected them we should sacrifice the advantage of a settlement with good will. The Singapore delegation, which included the leader of the People's Action Party, comprised all the elements favourable to us in Singapore who were likely to command a majority there. If we failed to reach agreement with this delegation we should be unable to achieve a satisfactory settlement with the more extreme elements who would replace them.

In discussion the view was expressed that the weakening of our direct authority which was inherent in the counter-proposals of the Singapore delegation carried potentially grave risks, particularly in connection with any Bill affecting the functions of the police. It was a major decision, profoundly affecting the interests of several members of the Commonwealth, to accept an arrangement under which our effective control of our last major base in the Far East would become dependent on the continued existence of a sympathetic Government in Malaya. It could be argued, from this point of view, that we should insist on an unqualified right to reserve legislation for Her Majesty's pleasure as we had done under the constitution of Northern Ireland. On the other hand, we should be retaining in

Singapore, as we had not in Northern Ireland, the ultimate power to suspend the constitution itself; and, although it would be preferable to exercise that power with the support of the Internal Security Council, our rights of suspension would, juridically, be completely unfettered. Moreover, the proposals of the delegation merely reflected a continuance of the present state of affairs in Singapore. It had not recently been politically feasible for the Governor to contemplate reserving a Bill* and he had had to rely, in the last resort, on the power to suspend the constitution. In a *bona fide* dispute in the Internal Security Council, on which differing opinions might legitimately be held, we could reasonably count on the support of the Federation representative; while, if the dispute was motivated by political considerations, the situation would, in any event, be one which could be dealt with only by the suspension of the constitution. There was no easy solution to the political problem of maintaining a British base in a remote territory peopled by an alien community, and if there was any prospect of achieving this objective by consent it was in our interest to take advantage of it.

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The Cabinet—

Approved the proposals in C. (57) 78.

Cabinet Office, S.W.1,

1st April, 1957.

* Reserving a Bill for the consideration of the British Government. In other words the Governor of Singapore before independence, as representative of the Queen in the colony, could decide that a Bill passed by the Singapore Legislature would not become law if London had an objection.

The probable development of the Commonwealth over the next fifteen years

June 1956

[...] The present pattern of the Commonwealth
Commonwealth links

a. General

3. A group, of which the United Kingdom is the keystone, and which but for the existence of the United Kingdom would disintegrate regionally, of independent sovereign States with varying constitutional structures, races, religions, historical and economic backgrounds, linked by allegiance to, or the common headship of, the Sovereign; and held together by ties of

- i. Sentiment;
- ii. Tradition;
- iii. Interest.

4. Sentiment is of particular importance in the case of the "old" Commonwealth countries other than South Africa, and of small significance in the case of the "new". Tradition and cultural background are of great importance in all cases. The "new" dominions have been shaped by British political thought. They have inherited, to a greater degree than they realise, British cultural and governmental standards. The significance of the Monarchy is of primary importance principally in Australia, New Zealand, and, to a lesser extent, Canada, where, however, it is material to the politically important French element. But while the Monarchy does not hold so deeply rooted a place in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, it may well be that it can retain a special position in emerging African territories, where there is so strong a tradition of tribal loyalty.

5. Interest, reinforced to some extent by sentiment, is increasingly the decisive link;

b. Specific links

6. But in considering the links that hold the Commonwealth together weight must be given also to the facts that: -

- i. in recent years we have actually been drawing closer in understanding with the old Commonwealth countries. It is true that they are becoming stronger and are hence physically better able to pursue their own line

where they wish. But, as they increasingly understand the reality of their independence they have fewer inhibitions in co-operating with us: there is less temptation for them to strike an independent line merely in order to demonstrate their independence. Our physical means of maintaining close consultation with them on all matters have, greatly increased. Consequently they have an increased understanding of our problems, as we have of theirs. We may expect this tendency to increase during the next few years;

ii. the economies of all Commonwealth countries which are members of the Sterling Area are very closely tied up with our economy. They are accustomed to trade with us, as we are with them. That is why it is in their interest that their currencies are tied to sterling and the fact that their currencies are tied to sterling increases the tendency for us to trade with each other. These bonds should continue independently whether some Commonwealth countries (particularly the emergent ones) become Republics or even leave the Commonwealth. These economic bonds with us inevitably affect the policies of the countries concerned, and will tend to keep them in the Commonwealth. [...]

The importance of the United Kingdom in the Commonwealth structure

9. It has to be accepted that the United Kingdom is the keystone of Commonwealth arch. Without it, it is impossible to conceive the Commonwealth holding together for long. Nor it is easy to conceive any other Commonwealth country, however greatly its wealth and population might increase, taking its place even if the Sovereign were to move to it.

10. The United Kingdom:

- i. is the headquarters and normal residence of the Sovereign, who is the sole formal link between the Commonwealth countries;
- ii. is responsible for the Colonial Empire which is world wide and which constitutes a series of links, geographical, military and economic, between the Commonwealth countries. The major units in the Colonial Empire are moving forward to Commonwealth Membership. But the process is very gradual;
- iii. has closer links, political, economic, sentimental, traditional, with each individual Commonwealth country than any of them have with any other Commonwealth (or indeed foreign) country, save perhaps for the U.S.: Canadian relation;

iv. is closely tied in with Europe, the traditional source of world conflict; a bridge between free Europe and the U.S.A.; and a halfway house between the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia.

v. is economically a great world centre of industry, commerce and finance, and the headquarters of the sterling area. Economic self-interest binds the Commonwealth countries and the United Kingdom together;

vi. is still in its own right a very greater power, and incomparably more important internationally than even the most important of the Commonwealth countries.

vii. is a major contributor to Commonwealth defence [...]

Paper from the Commonwealth Relations Office (to the Cabinet)

CO 1032/51, no 112

Source: Goldsworthy D. (Editor) *The Conservative Government and the End of Empire 1951-1957*, Part I, HMSO, 1994, p. 93-95.

EARLY CONSERVATIVE REACTIONS TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Winston Churchill, Conservative Party Annual Conference, October 1948

Churchill was Conservative Party leader and leader of the Opposition. Churchill became Prime Minister (again) in 1951.

The first circle for us is naturally the British Commonwealth and Empire, with all that that comprises. Then there is also the English-speaking world, in which we, Canada, and the other British dominions play so important part. And finally there is united Europe. These three majestic circles are coexistent, and if they are linked together, there is no force of combination which could overthrow them or even challenge them. Now, if you think of the three interlinked circles, you will see that we are the only country which has a great part in every one of them. We stand, in fact, at the very point of junction, and here in this island at the centre of the seaways, and perhaps of the airways also, we have the opportunity of joining them all together.

Harold Macmillan, Council of Europe Consultative Assembly, Strasbourg, August 16, 1950 (on the European Coal and Steel Community)

Macmillan was a prominent Conservative MP. He subsequently was a Cabinet member in the Churchill and Eden governments in the 1950s before becoming Prime Minister in 1957. He led Britain's first application for membership in the EEC.

One thing is certain, and we may as well face it. Our people are not going to hand to any supranational authority, the right to close down our pits or steelworks. We will allow no supranational authority to put large masses of our people out of work in Durham, in the Midlands, in South Wales, or in Scotland.

Fearing the weakness of democracy, men have often sought safety in technocrats. There is nothing new in this. It is as old as Plato. But frankly, the idea is not attractive to the British... We have not overthrown the divine right of kings to fall down before the divine right of experts.

Sir Anthony Eden, Gabriel Silver lecture, Columbia University, January 11, 1952.

Anthony Eden was Foreign Secretary in the Churchill government of 1951-1955 and de facto Deputy Prime Minister. Eden became Prime Minister in 1955.

You will realise that I am speaking of the frequent suggestion that the United Kingdom should join a federation on the continent of Europe. This is something which we know, in our bones, we cannot do.

We know that if we were to attempt it, we should relax the springs of our action in the Western Democratic case and in the Atlantic association which is the expression of that cause. For Britain's story and her interests lie far beyond the continent of Europe. Our thoughts move across the seas to the many communities in which our people play their part, in every corner of the world. These are our family ties. That is our life: without it we should be no more than some millions of people living in an island off the coast of Europe, in which nobody wants to take any particular interest.

After The Common Market

The European Economic Community is far too narrow and inward-looking a group for Britain — a world trading nation with vital economic and political links in all continents — to join in its present form. General de Gaulle's decisive veto of Britain's second application to join the EEC, together with growing evidence of widespread opposition in French industry to British membership, have merely reasserted what should have been plain before: that Britain should develop and foster her own much wider influence in the world and not dispute fruitlessly with France the control of this particular corner of one continent.

It has become tediously fashionable in recent years to repeat that post-1945 Britain, having lost her naval, military and industrial pre-eminence of nineteenth-century imperialist days, must therefore seek a new role in the world. Of course, it is true that British military and economic power has declined relatively to that of other countries. Population changes in themselves would have done that. But the hasty and misleading conclusion is sometimes drawn from this fact that all the aims and principles of our national policy should also be altered root and branch. Certainly we can no longer dominate other continents by military or economic pressure; but it does not follow from this that we need, or should, cease to influence them at all. The methods must change; but many of the objectives — international law and order, a peaceful world, a high standard of living for ourselves and others — need not.

In future Britain will have to pursue these objectives, not by military or economic power, but by trade, by technical and scientific skill, by overseas investment and by the spread of British political, social and cultural ideas. But if we are going to succeed in this, it will be crucial for us to maintain both our economic vitality and our distinctive political independence. This does not mean that we should be slow to join international organizations or to build them up. On the contrary, we should take the lead in constructing and strengthening effective international authorities, because peace and trade are our two greatest interests. But it does mean that we should participate in these as a nation, benefiting by our long tradition of government by consent, of democratically maintained law and order, and our twentieth-century allegiance to social justice and peaceful settlement of international disputes. And since these are not contributions to one continent, colour or type of society alone, we should not allow our outlook, interests or influence to be artificially narrowed into one small part of the globe. Only those who take a very crude view of modern society will suppose that Britain's problem of adjustment to the contemporary world is as simple as crossing one area off a map in favour of another.

In deciding, therefore, what is the wisest solution to the bewildering problem of our relations with Western and Eastern Europe, which has perplexed British Governments ever since 1945, we should be guided first and foremost by the likely effects of any decisions on British strength and British independence. There has been too much obsession in this country recently with "European" needs and too little with British interest. Yet other Governments, in Europe and outside, can be safely relied upon to defend their interests and ignore ours. In addition, while we must certainly learn the lessons of the present, and look mainly to the

future, it is also foolish and fatal to ignore the lessons of the past. Britain has preserved her strength and independence and resisted attack for a thousand years, firstly, by maintaining unity at home while others quarrelled; secondly, by allying herself in the last resort with those nations who could effectively resist the most powerful potential aggressor; and thirdly, since the sixteenth century and the development of the new continents, by extending British power and influence, economic and political, widely throughout the world. We should never have survived either the First or the Second World War, if we had not stuck to the proven policy of bringing in the new world to redress the balance of the old. It would be naive and blind to throw away in a few short years of forgetfulness what has taken so long to learn.

Accordingly, when we ask ourselves, as we must at the present time, what our attitude and policy should be towards the European Economic Community, we must do it, not with narrow eyes fixed on Brussels or one corner of Western Europe, but in the far wider context of both time and space within which modern Britain has come into being and must now live. As soon as we do that, the truth emerges that Britain's whole future depends on our preserving and strengthening our world links and our close relations, political and economic, with very many countries in all continents and of various political allegiances, colours and creeds. Neither economically, politically, culturally nor sentimentally are we a merely European power — if indeed "Europe" can be said to exist as anything more than a stretch of land from the Urals to the Atlantic coast. The British public just does not feel itself more closely allied to Poles or Spaniards than to the people of Australia or New Zealand.

Douglas Jay, *After the Common Market*, 1968.

Douglas Jay was President of the Board of Trade from October 1964 till August 1967; and has been Labour M.P. for North Battersea since 1946. Born in 1907, he was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, where he gained a first; from 1930 until 1937 he was a fellow of All Souls'. He joined the staff of *The Times* in 1929 and the *Economist* in 1933; in 1937 he became city editor of the *Daily Herald*. He was assistant secretary at the Ministry of Supply from 1941 to 1943 and principal secretary at the Board of Trade, 1943-5. For a year he was personal assistant to the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee; then, from 1947 until 1951, he was successively Economic and Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He has published *The Socialist Case* (1937), *Who is to Pay for the War and the Peace?* (1941), and *Socialism in the New Society* (1962).

Robin Cook on Europe

Extracts from a speech by the foreign secretary to the Social Market Foundation in London, Thursday April 19, 2001.

To deny that Britain is European is to deny both our geography and our history. Our culture, our security, and our prosperity, are inseparable from the continent of Europe.

Underlying the anti-European case is the belief that there is an alternative future available to Britain. It used to be argued that the European Union is not Europe and that Britain could exist perfectly comfortably as one of a number of European countries maintaining a loose association with Brussels. But with the majority of non-EU states now clamouring for full membership, the changing geopolitics of Europe have consigned that argument to the past.

Some anti-Europeans now argue that Britain's destiny lies outside Europe, as part of "the English-speaking world" and a member of NAFTA.

Yet Britain trades three times more with the rest of the EU than we do with NAFTA. The reason why over four thousand US companies have located here is because they want to export to Europe. If they only wanted to sell to NAFTA, they would have stayed at home.

Europe is where our domestic quality of life is most directly at stake, whether the issue is environmental standards, the fight against organised crime, policy on asylum or stability on the continent.

But it is not simply a question of economic and political realism that ties Britain to Europe, compelling as those arguments are. Britain is also a European country in the more profound sense of sharing European assumptions about how society should be organised. The last international survey of social attitudes put Britain squarely within the European mainstream on our approach to social justice and public services, such as health.

There are strong ties of kinship between Britain and North America. These are an immense asset to us in the modern world. The US and the UK are each other's closest allies. But our value as an ally to our friends in Washington is in direct proportion to our influence with our partners in Europe.

I do not accept that to acknowledge our European identity diminishes our Britishness. Nor do I accept that membership of the European Union is a threat to our national identity.

None of our European partners, with their own proud national traditions, seem afflicted by this self-doubt and insecurity. The idea that the French, the Germans or the Spanish are attempting to erase their national identities by constructing a "country called Europe" is the mother of all Euromyths. On the contrary, our partners see their membership of a successful European Union as underwriting, not undermining, their assertion of national identity.

[...] Britain has everything to gain from being a leading partner in a strong Europe. All we have to lose is the timidity which prevents us from embracing our European destiny and from recognising that it is a source of confidence in our nation's future.

In the aftermath of Nice, it is clearer than ever that a strong Europe requires strong nations. With the accession of up to twelve new member states, the European Union is set to become even more diverse. In the next Inter-Governmental Conference, the challenge is to find the right balance between European and national decision-making and to enhance the EU's legitimacy by harnessing the democratic traditions of its member states.

This is a debate that Britain can play a pivotal role in shaping. But we can only do so if we reject insular nationalism and the politics of fear by engaging fully and confidently in Europe.

“We have ceased to be a nation in retreat”

Margaret Thatcher, speech to a rally of Conservative women, Cheltenham, 3 July 1982

Today we meet in the aftermath of the Falklands Battle. Our country has won a great victory and we are entitled to be proud. This nation had the resolution to do what it knew had to be done—to do what it knew was right. ...

5 Now that it is all over, things cannot be the same again for we have learned something about ourselves—a lesson which we desperately needed to learn. When we started out, there were the waverers and the fainthearts. The people who thought that Britain could no longer seize the initiative for herself. The people who thought we could no longer do the great things which we once did. Those who believed that our decline was irreversible—that we could never again be what
10 we were. There were those who would not admit it—even perhaps some here today—people who would have strenuously denied the suggestion but—in their heart of hearts—they too had their secret fears that it was true: that Britain was no longer the nation that had built an Empire and ruled a quarter of the world.

15 Well they were wrong. The lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and that this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history. This generation can match their fathers and grandfathers in ability, in courage, and in resolution. We have not changed. When the demands of war and the dangers to our own people call us to arms—then we British are as we have always been: competent, courageous and resolute. ...

20 Yet why does it need a war to bring out our qualities and reassert our pride? Why do we have to be invaded before we throw aside our selfish aims and begin to work together as only we can work and achieve as only we can achieve? That, ladies and gentlemen, really is the challenge we as a nation face today. We have to see that the spirit of the South Atlantic—the real spirit of Britain—is kindled not only by war but can now be fired by peace.

25 We have the first pre-requisite. We know we can do it—we haven't lost the ability. That is the Falklands Factor. We have proved ourselves to ourselves. It is a lesson we must not now forget. Indeed it is a lesson which we must apply to peace just as we have learned it in war. The faltering and the self-doubt has given way to achievement and pride. We have the confidence and we must use it. ...

30 We have ceased to be a nation in retreat. We have instead a new-found confidence—born in the economic battles at home and tested and found true 8,000 miles away. That confidence comes from the re-discovery of ourselves, and grows with the recovery of our self-respect. And so today, we can rejoice at our success in the Falklands and take pride in the achievement of the men and women of our Task Force. But we do so, not as at some last flickering of a flame which must soon be dead. No—we rejoice that Britain has re-kindled that spirit which has fired her for generations past and which today has begun to burn as brightly as before.

35 Britain found herself again in the South Atlantic and will not look back from the victory she has won.

Margaret Thatcher, The Bruges Speech, 1988

My first guiding principle is this: willing and active cooperation between independent sovereign states is the best way to build a successful European Community. To try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the centre of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardise the objectives we seek to achieve. Europe will be stronger precisely because it has France as France, Spain as Spain, Britain as Britain, each with its own customs, traditions and identity. It would be folly to try to fit them into some sort of identikit European personality.

Some of the founding fathers of the Community thought that the United States of America might be its model. But the whole history of America is quite different from Europe. People went there to get away from the intolerance and constraints of life in Europe. They sought liberty and opportunity; and their strong sense of purpose has, over two centuries, helped to create a new unity and pride in being American, just as our pride lies in being British or Belgian or Dutch or German.

I am the first to say that on many great issues the countries of Europe should try to speak with a single voice. I want to see us work more closely on the things we can do better together than alone. Europe is stronger when we do so, whether it be in trade, in defence or in our relations with the rest of the world.

But working more closely together does not require power to be centralised in Brussels or decisions to be taken by an appointed bureaucracy. Indeed, it is ironic that just when those countries such as the Soviet Union, which have tried to run everything from the centre, are learning that success depends on dispersing power and decisions away from the centre, there are some in the Community who seem to want to move in the opposite direction. We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level with a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels.

Certainly we want to see Europe more united and with a greater sense of common purpose. But it must be in a way which preserves the different traditions, parliamentary powers and sense of national pride in one's own country; for these have been the source of Europe's vitality through the centuries.

Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson's Speech to the Conservative Party Conference, October 2016

[We] must be humble and realistic enough to accept that in many eyes the notion that we could endlessly expand the realm of liberal democracy was badly damaged, alas, by the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and symmetrically our model of free-market anglo-saxon capitalism as practised in London and New York was seriously discredited by the Crash of 2008, and the global suspicion of bankers. And we have taken those twin blows like punches to the midriff; and we have been winded and sometimes lacking in confidence in these ideals; and if you look at the course of events in the last ten years, I am afraid you can make the case that it is partly as a result of that lack of western self-confidence – political, military, economic – that in some material ways the world has got less safe, more dangerous, more worrying.

After a long post-war period in which the world was broadly getting more peaceful the number of deaths in conflict has risen from 49,000 in 2010 to 167,000 last year. ... and then there is perhaps an even more pernicious phenomenon – stemming, however unfairly, from the disastrous events in Iraq, which is the temptation of more and more governments to take this instability and insecurity as an excuse to move away from democracy.

...

And so if I have one message for you this afternoon, my friends, it is that this illiberal analysis is deeply and dangerously wrong and that these social and political freedoms – freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom to practice whatever religion you want and to live your life as you please –, these freedoms are not inimical to prosperity – they are in fact essential to sustained growth. This is not the moment to cast aspersions on any other country where lack of freedom is hindering economic growth. I can prove my point simply by asking you to look at the society we live in, a 21st century Britain that incarnates that symmetry. Why have we got more tech wizards in London than any other city in Europe? Is it because the politicians decided to embark on a soviet style programme of training people to do tech? On the contrary, I had no idea what tech was – though later claimed credit for it. It was because London acquired a deserved reputation as the greatest city on earth, a great jiving funkapolitan melting-pot where provided you did nothing to damage the interests of others and provided you obeyed the law, you could make of your life pretty much what you wanted. And that's why we lead in all those creative and cultural sectors. And that's why we have the best universities because the best minds from across the world are meeting in some of the best pubs and bars and nightclubs like subatomic particles colliding in a cyclotron, and they are producing those flashes of innovation that are essential for long term economic success. And it will not surprise you to know that Britain is ranked among the top three most innovative societies on earth. America is 4th and China is 25th and indeed the entire top ten innovative societies are free market liberal democracies. And that is why we are still the fastest growing European economy, according to the OECD. And this new and dynamic government led by Theresa May is working not just to ensure that this success is felt by everyone in a country that works for everyone, but I also believe we should have absolutely no shame or embarrassment in championing our ideals around the world. And in this era of dithering and dubitation this should be the message of global Britain to the world: that we stick up for free markets as vigorously as we stick up for democracy and human rights and when all is said and done, my friends – and I know that not everyone will agree with this, but what the hell – I believe that vote on June 23 was for economic freedom and political freedom as well.

Over the last couple of months I have sat in all kinds of EU meetings vast and ruminative
45 feasts of lunch or dinner in the castles of Mitteleuropa washed down with the finest wines
known to man and on one occasion a splendid breakfast that seemed to stretch, for course
after course, from 8 am to 11, and I have enjoyed them all. I have made friends, alliances
and had wonderful conversations in my various euro-creoles, but I have to tell any lingering
50 gloomadon-poppers that never once have I felt that this country would be in any way
disadvantaged by extricating ourselves from the EU treaties. And indeed there are some ways
in which we will be liberated to be more active on the world stage than ever before,
because we are not leaving Europe.

We will remain committed to all kinds of European cooperation – at an intergovernmental
level whether it is maintaining sanctions against Russia for what is happening in Ukraine or
55 sending our navy to help the Italians stem the migrant flow through the central
Mediterranean. But we will also be able to speak up more powerfully with our own distinctive
voice leading the world as we now are, in imposing a ban on ivory, helping to save the elephant
in a way that the disunited EU is unable to do (in fact we have an absurd situation in which
the EU is actually trying to veto the ivory ban in spite of having a president called Donald Tusk)
60 or relaunching the cause of global free trade that has been stalled since the failure of the Doha
round. And I can think of few more positive forces in the global economy than the world's fifth
richest economy taking back control, not just of our democracy and our borders and our cash
but taking back control of our tariff schedules in Geneva, so that we can galvanise free trade,
break the log jam. And as our new PM has rightly said, we can now become the global
65 champions and agitators for this phenomenon doing free trade deals with countries around
the world — as Liam will do deals that will continue the process of lifting billions out of
poverty. And that is why the world needs Global Britain more than ever as a campaigner for
the values we believe in, a catalyst for change and reform and economic and political freedom
in a world that has lost confidence in those values. And of course there are those who say that
70 we can't do it – that we are too small, too feeble, too geopolitically reduced to have that kind
of influence. I think of the pogonologically challenged Labour party, where they literally want
to abolish the armed services and to keep our new nuclear submarines as a demented job
creation programme – sending them to sea without any nukes aboard so that the whole nation
is turned into a kind of glorified military capon firing blanks.

I am not going to pretend that this country is something we are not. Every day I go into an
75 office so vast that you could comfortably fit two squash courts and so dripping with gilt bling
that it looks like something from the Kardashians. And as I sit at the desk of George Nathaniel
Curzon, I sometimes reflect that this was once the nerve centre of an empire that was 7 times
the size of the Roman empire at its greatest extent under Trajan. And when I go into the Map
80 Room of Palmerston, I cannot help remembering that this country over the last two hundred
years has directed the invasion or conquest of 178 countries – that is most of the members of
the UN – not a point I majored on in New York at the United Nations General Assembly and
that is because those days are gone forever and that is a profoundly good thing.

It is good for Britain and good for the world that in the last 60 years – in living memory –
85 those responsibilities have been taken away. And yet, it would be a fatal mistake now to
underestimate what this country is doing or what it can do because in spite of Iraq, it is simply
not the case that every military intervention has been a disaster. Far from it...

Look at the achievement in Sierra Leone, where we were instrumental not just in ending
the civil war, but in wiping out Ebola. Look at Somalia, where my predecessor William Hague
90 helped initiate a bold programme to tackle the pirates that plagued the coast of that country,

together with a coalition of other European countries. British ships took them on, with all the courage and decisiveness of our 19th century forebears. And the result? Before the anti-pirate campaign, their depredations had cost the world economy about \$7bn a year. When Britain stepped in, the attacks stopped altogether – and it is a happy fact that since 2012 there have been more Hollywood films about Somali pirates starring Tom Hanks than there have been pirate attacks.

Of course we don't want to wield our hard power; we think an age before we do so. But when we give our armed services clear and achievable missions we can still be remarkably effective and with 2 per cent of our GDP spent on defence we will be the leading military player in western Europe for the foreseeable future and our hard power, Conference, is dwarfed by a phenomenon that the pessimists never predicted when we unbundled the British empire and that is soft power – the vast and subtle and pervasive extension of British influence around the world that goes with having the language that was invented and perfected in this country and now has more speakers than any other language on earth. And up the creeks and inlets of every continent on earth there go the gentle kindly gunboats of British soft power captained by Jeremy Clarkson – a prophet more honoured abroad, alas, than in his own country — or JK Rowling who is worshipped by young people in some Asian countries as a kind of divinity, or just the BBC – and no matter how infuriating and shamelessly anti-Brexit they can sometimes be, I think the Beeb is the single greatest and most effective ambassador for our culture and our values, and it was Sergei Lavrov himself who told me that he had not only watched our version of war and peace, but thought it was “very well done” and that, from the Kremlin, was praise. And if you want final proof of our irresistible soft power I remind you as I always do that this country not only invented or codified just about every sport or game known to humanity but this year it was our athletes – from a country that can boast only 1 per cent of the world's population – that came second in the Olympic and paralympic games and I hope my friends in Beijing will not mind if I point out that their teams had 1.4bn people to draw on.

Brexit, Empire, and Decolonization

Much of the debate around the referendum on continuing membership of the European Union was about 'reclaiming our national sovereignty'. However, Britain has always been an *imperial* state, not a national one. When Britain was formed through the Act of Union in 1707, the Kingdoms of England and Scotland already had established colonies, including that of Ireland in the case of England and other territories in the so-called New World. After Union, they went on to establish an empire that, at its height, covered one quarter of the earth and governed over one fifth of its population – including by the 1920s, over one half of the world's Muslims. This British state was an imperial state and, as such, necessarily multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-cultural from the outset.

The Leave victory has been seen as an expression of frustration by those who believed themselves to have been *betrayed by a metropolitan elite*. The problem was that 'newcomers' had been given equal status as citizens and this had undermined the conditions of those presented as 'insiders'. Belonging to the *history of the nation* was presented as necessary to be a legitimate agent within politics and a legitimate object of policy initiatives in the present. This failure to recognise Britain's imperial past limits the population that gets to be considered as 'inside' the polity historically and thus to have legitimate claims to determine it in the present.

The standard view of the British state is expressed by Garry Runciman: that the institutional modes of production, coercion and persuasion, deemed to be characteristic of British society, were all fully formed by the First World War and have remained relatively stable since then. Empire forms no part of his account of those modes and the decline of empire similarly has little import in terms of understanding Britain subsequently.

However, the British state and its institutions developed in the context of imperial expansion and through the appropriation of the material resources of empire. In the broadest terms, colonialism is about appropriation, settlement, and possession. It is about the establishment of political authority over populations to which there was no legitimate claim. Dispossession, enslavement and other forms of forced labour were employed to the profit of those who established their private property in empire and wealth was also extracted through coercive forms of taxation. As Utsa Patnaik (2017) has argued, the drain from the colonies was immeasurable in terms of financing the imperial state.

Indeed, in his 1884 address on 'The General Statistics of the British Empire', Sir Richard Temple set out that over half of the annual revenue of the British national government came from taxing the labour and resources of those within empire, beyond the national state. That is, *over half of the income at the disposal of the government in Westminster came from the land, labour, and resources of those who, today, are deemed to have no historically based claims here*.

These colonial relations, established on racialised hierarchies, were imported back into the imperial metropole and translated into second class citizenship for darker British citizens – something that we are seeing playing out today with the *Windrush scandal* which, incidentally, does not only affect populations from the Caribbean, but from across

what was the British Commonwealth. The colonial imaginary of the British state turned darker citizens into migrants while allowing *white migrants* – or at least their children – to become citizens. Where once racialised hierarchy described unequal membership in the imperial polity, it now functioned as the basis of discrimination and domination within the national polity.

Until the 1967 and 1969 Race Relations Acts were passed, it was legal to discriminate on the basis of race in housing, employment, education, and access to public services. Access to good working-class jobs was often mediated by trade unions, however, many unions operated an informal colour bar and refused to allow the employment of darker citizens. This only began to change once the Race Relations Acts had been passed and were used for legal redress. The outlawing of racial discrimination can be

seen as one step in the process of remaking the polity on the basis of understandings of equality. However, the political moves, half a decade later, of Britain entering the European Economic Community suppressed the political framing of this as part of the process of what it would mean for Britain to decolonise. As such, it never had to reckon with what it meant to go from being a global empire to being a small state.

While the predominantly white population of the imperial metropole may never have been asked if they wished the country to become multicultural, this is not a postwar process, but arose out of **empire building**. There was no complaint about the multicultural polity when those others were being exploited for the benefit of the metropole. Rather, objections were only raised when, making return journeys back to the metropole, racialised others sought to participate in it as equals. To situate the arrival and presence of these people as illegitimate in order ‘to take back control’ is more than disingenuous. It trades upon racism while simultaneously eliding it. This is how commentators have recently been able to argue ‘white self-interest’ is legitimate and not to be understood as problematic. There is no legitimacy to a framing of history that rests on **underpinning assumptions of white supremacy** and the domination of others.

What we are currently witnessing with **Brexit is what the end of empire looks like**. When the history of empire is elided and repressed – instead of being reckoned with – there is no real way forward. If we are to have a future as a liberal democratic state it has to involve addressing the past injustices which continue to disfigure our contemporary social and political landscapes.

By Gurinder K. Bhambra (Professor of Postcolonial and Decolonial Studies in the School of Global Studies, University of Sussex) • December 19, 2018 • in Histories of the Present. <http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/brexit-empire-and-decolonization/>

Winston Churchill's Election Address at Usher Hall, Edinburgh, 14th February 1950

The prime minister, Mr. Attlee, has made it clear that his intention is to establish a Socialist State in this island at the earliest moment. He intends to create a society in which the state will control and own all the means of production, distribution and exchange. We have had one instalment of this during the last four and a half years, and now we are asked to vote whether we want to take a second plunge into this immense social and economic revolution. ...

This attempt to establish a Socialist State in Great Britain affects the relations of England and Scotland in a direct and serious manner. The principle of centralisation of government in Whitehall and Westminster is emphasised in a manner not hitherto experienced or contemplated in the Act of Union. The supervision, interference and control in the ordinary details of Scottish life and business by the Parliament at Westminster has not hitherto been foreseen, and I frankly admit that it raises new issues between our two nations.

If England became an absolute Socialist State, owning all the means of production, distribution and exchange, ruled only by politicians and their officials in the London offices, I personally cannot feel that Scotland would be bound to accept such a dispensation. I do not therefore wonder that the question of Scottish home rule, and all this movement of Scottish nationalism has gained in strength with the growth of Socialist authority and ambitions in England. I would never adopt the view that Scotland should be forced into the serfdom of socialism as a result of a vote in the House of Commons. It is an alteration so fundamental in our way of life that it would require a searching review of our historical relations.

But here I speak to the Scottish Nationalists in words, as diplomatic language puts it, of great truth and respect, and I say this position has not yet been reached. If we act together with our united strength it may never arise. I do not believe that the British nation or the English people will accept the Socialist State. There is a deep fund of common sense in the English race and they have all sorts of ways, as has been shown in the past, of resisting and limiting the imposition of state autocracy. It would be a great mistake for Scotsmen to suppose that Mr Attlee's policy can effectively be imposed upon us at the present time. And here in this election, so momentous in its character and consequences, we all have the opportunity of inflicting a shattering defeat upon this menace to our individual liberties, and to the well understood, and hitherto widely-admired British way of life. I most strongly urge all Scotsmen to fight one battle at a time. We have every hope that the socialist schemes for netting us up and tying us down will be torn in pieces by the votes of the British people. We shall know more about it after February 23. It may indeed be a turning point in our island story. Scotsmen would make the wrong decision if they tried to separate their fortunes from ours at a moment when together we may lift them all to a higher plane of freedom and security.

It would indeed be foolish to cast splitting votes or support splitting candidates, the result of which might be to bring about that evil Whitehall tyranny and centralization, when by one broad heave of the British national shoulders, the whole gimcrack structure of Socialist jargon and malice may be cast in splinters to the ground.

...

The Socialist centralization menace has however advanced so far as to entitle Scotland to further guarantees of national security and internal independence. These can be provided effectively by new additional representation at the centre and at the summit, which, if the Conservatives and Unionists are returned to power, will be accorded to Scotland, by a Unionist Cabinet. Besides strengthening the establishment of Under-Secretaries of State, we shall advise the creation of a new office of Minister of State for Scotland. He would be a minister of Cabinet rank and will be deputy to the Secretary of State. Such an appointment would enable a senior member of the Cabinet to be constantly in Scotland. Because of the large changes in economic and financial affairs which have come about in recent years, we shall appoint a Royal Commission to review the whole situation between Scotland and England, and we shall take good care that this does not become an instrument of delay upon practical action.

■ 5. The 1979 Referendum: NO

THE REFERENDUM

Think it out for yourself

THINK of the cost of the Assembly.
THINK of the extra burden on your rates.
THINK of another layer of government.
THINK of a thousand more civil servants in Scotland.
THINK of more controls, laws, regulations and directives.
THINK of how the parliamentary power of Scotland's MPs would shrink.
THINK of the bickering and quarrels between Edinburgh and London.
THINK of the slide to separation.
THINK of the break-up of Britain.

AND THEN TRY TO THINK

of a single certain way in which the Assembly would bring the smallest real benefit either to the United Kingdom or to Scotland or to your region or to your district or to your friends or to your family or to yourself


AND THEN THINK

WHO are pressing hardest for the Assembly;
WHY they want it; and
WHAT it would do for them

AND THEN

WHEN THE REFERENDUM COMES
ON MARCH 1st MAKE SURE THAT

SCOTLAND
SAYS **NO**



■ 6. The 1979 Referendum: YES



Referendum 1st March
Vote positively

YES

FOR FURTHER TO THE POLLS, CALL 556 2655

Now or never. That stark choice faces every Scot. On March 1st we decide for all time whether we have a Scottish Assembly.

All time? That's it. Scotland for over a century has sought some measure of home rule. Now Westminster has ordered a referendum to prove we really want the Assembly.

The vote is unique. If Scotland says "NO" after years spent demanding devolution, we will never be taken seriously again. Scotland will be universally ridiculed. A laughing stock. All bark, no bite.

Our self respect demands that Scotland resumes responsibility for key areas of domestic policy. The Assembly helps us work out our own solutions to make Scotland flourish.

Referendum Day is different. Each of us holds the future of Scotland in our hands. We can make or break — send Scotland surging forward or settle forever for the second rate.

Vote positively. "YES" — it is truly now or never!

Published by 'Yes for Scotland' Campaign

Dual Identities, 1982

The striking feature of the table below is that they who are foremost in claiming their Britishness are those whose link to Britain is the most fragile – and the least accepted by the rest of the kingdom.

National identity in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland

Think of self as	England	Scotland	Wales	Northern Ireland	
				Protestant	R. Catholic
	%	%	%	%	%
British	38	35	33	67	15
Scottish	2	52	–	–	–
Welsh	1	–	57	–	–
English	57	2	8	–	–
Ulster	n.a.	–	–	20	6
Irish	1	1	–	8	69
Other, mixed, don't know	1	10	2	5	10
	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: For Scotland and Wales, data supplied by survey directors from their respective machine readable files: J.A. Brand and W.I. Miller, *Scottish Election Survey 1979* (Glasgow: University of Strathclyde); and Denis Balsom and P.J. Madgwick, *Welsh Election Survey 1979* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales). For Northern Ireland, see E. Moxon-Browne, "Northern Ireland Attitude Survey: an Initial Report" (Belfast: Queen's University, duplicated, 1979), p. 9. For England, data supplied by the Gallup Poll, London.



Last updated
3 Aug 2021

National identity

The 2011 census asked people what country or countries they felt an affiliation to.

National identity is not tied to [ethnicity](#) or [country of birth](#). A foreign citizen living in Scotland is free to choose 'Scottish' as their national identity.

Scottish identity

82.7% of people said they had some Scottish national identity.

That's 4.4 million people.

Scottish national identity was most common in:

- North Lanarkshire
- Inverclyde
- East Ayrshire
- West Dunbartonshire

Around 90% of people in each of these areas said they had some Scottish national identity.

70.5% of City of Edinburgh residents claimed some Scottish national identity. This was the lowest in Scotland.

Scottish identity only

62.4% of Scotland's population said they were 'Scottish only'.

3.3 million people had Scottish identity only. This was most common in 10 to 14 year olds, at 71.5%.

It was least common among 30 to 34 year olds, at 56.7%.

18.3% of the population said their national identity was 'Scottish and British identities only'.

Ethnic groups

28.2% of people in minority ethnic groups said they had some Scottish identity.

This could be either Scottish only, or in combination with another identity.

59.9% of people from a mixed ethnic background had some Scottish identity, along with 50.0% of people from the Pakistani ethnic group.

Scottish identity was least common in African ethnic groups, at 21.2%.

British identities

8.4% of the population said they had 'British identity only'.

443,000 people said they were British only. This was most common in the 50 to 54 age group, at 9.7%.

2.3% of the population had 'English identity only'.

No UK identity

4.4% of people said they had no UK identity.

234,000 people said they had 'other identity only'. This was most common among young adults aged 20 to 34.

Table 13.1 Trends in forced choice national identity

	1974 (%)	1979 (%)	1992 (%)	1997 (%)	1999 (%)	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)	2004 (%)	2005 (%)	2006 (%)	2007 (%)
Scottish	65	56	72	72	77	80	77	75	72	75	79	78	71
British	31	38	25	20	17	13	16	18	20	19	14	14	20

Source: Scottish Election Studies 1974-97; Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, 1999-2007. Data for 2007 are provisional.

Table 13.2 Trends in Moreno national identity

	1992 (%)	1997 (%)	1999 (%)	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2003 (%)	2005 (%)	2006 (%)	2007 (%)
Scottish not British	19	23	32	37	36	31	32	33	26
More Scottish than British	40	38	35	31	30	34	32	32	30
Equally Scottish and British	33	27	22	21	24	22	22	21	28
More British than Scottish	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	5
British not Scottish	3	4	4	4	3	4	5	5	6

Source: Scottish Election Studies, 1992, 1997; Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, 1999-2007. Data for 2007 are provisional.

Devolution: A beginner's guide

Since 1999, the way the United Kingdom is run has been transformed by devolution - a process designed to decentralise government and give more powers to the three nations which, together with England, make up the UK.

The United Kingdom is made up of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

Devolution essentially means the transfer of powers from the UK parliament in London to assemblies in Cardiff and Belfast, and the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh.

When did it begin?

Public votes were held in 1997 in Scotland and Wales, and a year later in both parts of Ireland.

This resulted in the creation of the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales and the Northern Ireland Assembly.

Devolution applied in different ways in each nation due to historical and administrative differences.

What powers are devolved?

The table below gives an overview of the main powers given to the Northern Irish and Welsh assemblies, and the Scottish Parliament.

MAJOR DEVOLVED POWERS

SCOTLAND	WALES	N. IRELAND
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	Agriculture, forestry & fishing	Agriculture
Education	Education	Education
Environment	Environment	Environment
Health	Health & social welfare	Health
Housing	Housing	Enterprise, trade & investment
Justice, policing & courts*	Local government	Social services
Local government	Fire & rescue services	Justice & policing
Fire service	Highways & transport	
Economic development	Economic development	
Some transport		

*Scotland has always had its own legal system

What powers are not devolved?

The UK government is responsible for national policy on all powers which have not been devolved.

These are known usually as "reserved powers" and include foreign affairs, defence, international relations and economic policy.

This table gives an overview of the main non-devolved powers.

MAJOR NON-DEVOLVED POWERS

SCOTLAND	WALES	N. IRELAND
Constitution	Defence & national security	Defence & national security
Defence & national security	Economic policy	Foreign policy
Foreign policy	Foreign policy	Nationality
Energy	Energy	Energy**
Immigration & nationality	Immigration & nationality	
Trade & industry	[see footnote +]	
Some transport		
Social security		

** - specified as "nuclear energy & installations"

+ - Non-devolved powers in Wales are by implication all those not set out in the 2006 Government of Wales Act

The Westminster Parliament is technically still able to pass laws for any part of the UK, but in practice only deals with devolved matters with the agreement of the devolved governments.

5:45AM

THE SCOTSMAN

FRIDAY 12 SEPTEMBER 1997

SCOTLAND'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER

PRICE 42p

YES 74% FOR A SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

YES 63% FOR TAX-VARYING POWERS

A nation again

Dewar hails 'great day' as voters give massive support to home rule

PETER MACMAHON

Scottish Political Editor

THE people have spoken. Emphatically and unequivocally it was Yes. Yes to a Scottish parliament with tax-varying powers.

The words of the late John Smith, repeated so often in the past few weeks, were proved to be true.

Home rule is the settled will of the Scottish nation. The unfinished business will be finished.

Victory was claimed in the early hours by Donald Dewar, the Scottish Secretary, for whom the result was a personal triumph. The devolution referendum his Government had insisted on before it would legislate to return a parliament to Edinburgh after nearly 300 years had produced the mandate some feared the people would not deliver.

Sighting the end of the long, hard home-rule road on which he has travelled for more than 30 years, Mr Dewar declared: "This is a great day for Scotland, one of the most important days in our country's long history. The people have seized the moment."

Unlike the ill-fated referendum of 1979, Scotland was united in its support for the principle of devolution. From Dumfries and Galloway in the far south-west to Orkney and Shetland in the north the people voted Yes to the first question on the principle, with only a few areas rejecting the proposition that the parliament should have tax powers.

At 5.43am the final result from the Highlands put a seal on the historic night with 72 per cent voting Yes for a parliament and 62 per cent for tax powers.

Tony Blair, who was roundly condemned when he insisted on the referendum as leader of the opposition, welcomed the result. The Prime Minister said: "I am absolutely delighted that the Scottish people have backed our plans. I said that we would deliver what we promised - and we have."

Mr Blair indicated that the result in Scotland would now point the way to more constitutional reform in Britain. A referendum on devolution in Wales will follow next week and there are other constitutional

reforms, including of the House of Lords, to follow. The Prime Minister said: "A new modern constitution is an essential part of the new politics and the new Britain we want to build."

The Scottish Secretary claimed victory after just two results when it became clear that the Scots had voted by three-to-one for the principle of a devolved parliament and by a comfortable majority to give it tax-varying powers with a respectable turnout of about 60 per cent. Just over 2.4 million people voted.

Legislation will now be introduced in Westminster in the autumn and a devolved Scottish parliament seems certain to be sitting in Edinburgh by the new millennium.

The Scottish Office minister Brian Wilson said: "It's not just a victory, it's not just Yes, it's a moral authority and the settled will of the Scottish people has been established."

"That is important to the parliamentary process in the short term and the authority of the constitutional settlement."

Mr Dewar said: "The people recognised the moment, we have done the business." He said that they had endorsed the Government's proposals for a Scottish parliament with real powers. It was, he added, a proud day for him, especially after the decision in the 1979 referendum and the following 18 years of Tory government.

The Scottish Office would today, he promised, begin to put together the Scotland Act and that the parliament would be up and running by the year 2000.

"For the people of Scotland that will be our celebration. A new Scotland for a new millennium."

As the trickle of results from the 32 councils across Scotland became a torrent, the Tories were beside the devolution minister, Henry McLeish. In the moments before the declaration, the two men perhaps considered all they had to gain, or lose. This first test of public opinion would go a long way to determining their place in history.

Mr Dewar admitted later that while standing in the rain outside a Glasgow polling station yesterday afternoon, he had harboured doubts.

Cautious to the end. As the drums faded, Neil McIntosh, the man charged with declaring the results, strode to the centre of the stage and announced that Clackmannan had voted emphatically for a Scottish parliament.

The television screen behind him switched from images of Scotland's history and instead proclaimed the result. The screen also read "31 to come".

One result does not a parliament make but Mr Dewar still betrayed the emotions bubbling beneath his calm exterior raising arms aloft like a victorious footballer.

Mr McLeish, who once was an actual if rarely victorious footballer, moved towards the Scottish Secretary and for a second it appeared that two grown Scottish men would hug



Scottish Secretary Donald Dewar hears the first declaration - overwhelming support for Yes, Yes - with Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Alistair Darling.

Picture: Ian Walde

Big margins across the nation, Page 2
Glasgow's support for tax power, Page 3
New dawn is just the beginning, Page 4
Normal service is resumed, Page 5
The Wee County leads the country, Page 6
It's time to make a difference, Page 7
Blair faces federal demands, Page 9
Vigil ends and the party begins, Page 26

wiped out at the general election the Scottish Tory deputy chairman, Annabel Goldie, reflected on a further election setback: "By any standards it is a historic moment for Scotland. It is really quite breathtaking."

As only the second result came in, from South Lanarkshire, where 77 per cent had backed a parliament, Alex Salmond, leader of the Scottish National Party, was predicting that Scotland was on the way to independence. He encouraged his members to "carry the country onwards to independence". He said: "We have embarked on

a journey and the end of this journey will be independence. For the first time in 300 years we are going to have a parliament in Scotland. Scotland has done it with a bang and not whimper. However, he denied that independence would necessarily follow swiftly on the heels of a Scottish parliament.

At 12.45am, Clackmannanshire became the first council to declare a result, delivering a resounding Yes to both questions. By 3.37am the Yes vote had achieved a majority of the total votes on the first question as the total passed the 1.2 million with the declaration from Fife. At 4.07am a clear majority emerged for the question which the opponents said would never be passed, to give the parliament tax powers. The "tartan tax" had won the support of the people.

By the early hours of the morning, only Orkney and Dumfries and Galloway had rejected the part of the devolution package, voting No to the tax

powers but reversing the anti-devolution result in the isles in 1979.

The final turnout figure was seen as effectively spiking the guns of the opponents of devolution who had counted on basing their opposition to home rule on a lack of a mandate from a low turnout.

Before the campaign proper began, Mr Dewar had privately expressed the hope that the turnout would be above 60 per cent in order to demonstrate that devolution had the clear support of the Scottish people. A turnout which exceeded 60 per cent with a Yes result will be seen as delivering a clear mandate for the Government to press ahead and legislate for devolution.

Last night, the Tories' constitutional spokesman, Michael Ancram, conceded that his party would accept the referendum result. He said: "I think we should respect that democratic verdict and say that the will of the people has prevailed."

Beginning for Mr Dewar. He said that he felt that he had been campaigning for devolution for the last 100 years.

It was singularly appropriate that when Mr Dewar formally acknowledged victory, Mr McIntosh was declaring the West Lothian result. That area has been synonymous with the devolution debate for two decades in a negative sense.

Now at last it may be remembered for something more positive. Soon afterwards East Renfrewshire, once a Tory heartland, said a double Yes. The blue rinse brigade even backed the tax powers. The fat lady was tuning up. It all seemed

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THE SCOTSMAN

A triumph of the settled will

THE turn-out could have been a little better, perhaps, but not by much. The result itself, the sweeping triumph for reform, could scarcely have been surpassed.

The consequences of defeat yesterday were unthinkable but in a free and fair election, Scotland chose home rule. What the late John Smith called the "settled will of the Scottish people" held to the last. Hour after hour this morning the huge, crushing majorities for reform poured in despite an out-of-date electoral register that reduced the notional electorate by perhaps 10 per cent. Granted, some may have concluded that the referendum was a foregone conclusion and neglected to vote. Others may have believed that Labour's crushing general election victory was the real plebiscite. The No campaign, it seems, may have persuaded rather too many of its natural supporters to stay at home.

In the end, none of it mattered. At 3.36 am the Kingdom of Fife sealed the issue and ended the dispute. In the year 2000, as a new century begins, Scotland will have its parliament.

The home rule programme will now survive any assault thrown at it in the Commons or in the House of Lords. Edinburgh's parliament will be legitimate beyond all question. Overwhelmingly, it has the mandate it required. Yesterday the Scottish people seized their moment and made a claim on history.

If the voters, at first, seemed not to be wildly enthused, nevertheless, the campaign itself - often dull, generally tedious, rarely inspiring - will not have helped. The Yes side got off to the worst possible start, what with the stench of Labour sleaze from Paisley and elsewhere. Attacks on tax-varying powers by various members of the business community seemed, at first, to trouble a large number of voters.

Yet the No campaign proved its own worst enemy.

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JOHN PENMAN

AS THE cheering rang out around the hall, Donald Dewar allowed himself a little smile - but that was all. Despite the temptation to savour the moment, he held back.

The Scottish Secretary's reluctance was understandable. The architect of the plans for

Scotland's first parliament in almost 300 years is a politician with a legendary cautious nature.

It is a caution borne out of experience. Almost 20 years ago he believed another Labour government was on the verge of delivering home rule for Scotland in another referendum.

This time, Mr Dewar was determined to deliver, but as the first signs emerged that his efforts would bear fruit, he refused to get carried away. The clock was heading towards 11am when a burst of drums signalled the first result. To those in the main hall of the Edinburgh International Con-

ference Centre, the wait had seemed to last forever.

In the front row, Mr Dewar sat beside the devolution minister, Henry McLeish. In the moments before the declaration, the two men perhaps considered all they had to gain, or lose. This first test of public opinion would go a long way to determining their place in history.

Mr Dewar admitted later that while standing in the rain outside a Glasgow polling station yesterday afternoon, he had harboured doubts.

Cautious to the end. As the drums faded, Neil McIntosh, the man charged with declaring the results,

strode to the centre of the stage and announced that Clackmannan had voted emphatically for a Scottish parliament.

The television screen behind him switched from images of Scotland's history and instead proclaimed the result. The screen also read "31 to come".

One result does not a parliament make but Mr Dewar still betrayed the emotions bubbling beneath his calm exterior raising arms aloft like a victorious footballer.

Mr McLeish, who once was an actual if rarely victorious footballer, moved towards the Scottish Secretary and for a second it appeared that two grown Scottish men would hug

in front of a television camera. They thought better of it.

In an instant, Mr Dewar's caution returned and he waved away nearby photographers. The memories of 1979 flooded back and the man charged with finishing the business of devolution would wait until the outcome was more secure.

The rest of the hall absorbed the impact of the first result, 80 per cent in favour of a Scottish parliament, not much less than that for the tax-varying powers, and caution all but disappeared.

It took just one more result to signal the beginning of the end for the No campaigners, and the end of a very long

beginning for Mr Dewar. He said that he felt that he had been campaigning for devolution for the last 100 years.

It was singularly appropriate that when Mr Dewar formally acknowledged victory, Mr McIntosh was declaring the West Lothian result. That area has been synonymous with the devolution debate for two decades in a negative sense.

Now at last it may be remembered for something more positive. Soon afterwards East Renfrewshire, once a Tory heartland, said a double Yes. The blue rinse brigade even backed the tax powers. The fat lady was tuning up. It all seemed

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New dawn is just the beginning

IAN BELL

The achievement of a dream is only the start. Scotland is setting out on a journey that has never been travelled before

OUT of the darkness, as James Connolly said of another, less civilised, insurrection, and into the dawn. We begin anew.

But daybreak is often a misty time, the shape of things is not always clear. The truth is that no-one yet knows what the future holds for Edinburgh's parliament.

How will Scotland's four-party politics operate in a parliamentary setting under a proportional system with fixed terms? This has never been attempted before. Labour has never had to deal with a Nationalist opposition and the Nationalists have never had to conduct themselves as a potential party of government.

Equally, we have yet to see a parliament with a civilised number of women. We have yet to see how relations with Westminster will be handled. We do not yet know if London will leave the established funding formula intact. The possibilities are all but endless.

Besides, there will be scope for previously undreamed of alliances within the new parliament. Labour promises to abjure increases in taxation; the SNP and the Liberal Democrats show no such resolve. In the mid-term of a Blair government, the presumption of Labour dominance could begin to look questionable if other parties created the sort of alliances which turned the Yes campaign into a juggernaut.

Besides, and most important of all - yesterday was not the end of the constitutional story.

The choice between devolution and the status quo has been made finally, but at no time was the multi-option referendum demanded by the Nationalists ever in prospect.

That was probably just as well. The chances are that the Scottish vote would have split three ways and Think Twice would have won by default. Nevertheless, the demand for independence has yet to be tested. Paradoxically, Alex Salmond has done his party most good by bailing out a campaign he does not, in principle, favour.

Clearly, however, the argument moves on. The SNP will settle for nothing less. It could agree, for its own reasons, that Scotland needed a parliament in which to debate its future. But its ambition to make that parliament sovereign and independent remains.

This is logical, whatever your politics. With the status quo destroyed, we will have to decide, sooner or later, whether the new parliament is indeed the precursor to independence or a way to make us love the Union a little more. There is, in that sense, only one agenda.

Yesterday, Labour carried the day but it cannot afford to be complacent. It knows perfectly well that several constitutional time-bombs lie buried within the foundations of the parliament. It also knows - or ought to know - that the candidates it selects for Edinburgh will be the front-line troops in the defence of the Union.

By common consent Alex

Salmond scarcely put a foot wrong during the referendum campaign. In its early stages, indeed, he played Labour in his debt when the smoke from Paisley threatened to become a brush fire running out of control. He is, perhaps, the most skilled politician in Scotland. Given the ball in the parliament, he will run with it. Edinburgh, for him, will be the central project, not a distraction from Westminster.

Labour has thus far been more concerned with ensuring that the grubby sweepings of local government in the west of Scotland do not become the public face of home rule. It will need to do much more. At every turn, and for obvious reasons, it will be the vulnerable party, the one attempting to defend Chancellor Brown's stonings, the one struggling to conceal constitutional anomalies, the one that has to explain why Edinburgh can be trusted with the theoretical power to perhaps

raise a fraction of its revenues, but cannot ever do more.

Besides, if the referendum campaign has enhanced Scotland's sense of nationhood, what might the parliament do? What will those Labour voters who say they are sympathetic to independence conclude when they realise that home rule has not made the sky fall in?

The first step is the hardest - when the road ahead is hard to see. The second step will be easier to take.

None of this will happen overnight. Several years will pass before the parliament proves its worth or is discarded. Some Nationalists fear, indeed, that an efficient parliament will go a long way towards destroying their case, just as Labour claims. Perhaps it will.

But unless and until Tony Blair summons up the courage to turn Britain into a properly federal state, Edinburgh will be caught in a mesh of contradictions. The SNP will exploit

each and every one. The ramshackle nature of the British constitution is its best, least secret weapon. Devolution is a hybrid scheme, a compromise that will only work if enough people, English and Scottish, of every party, want it to work. The Nationalists will not be wreckers, as is so often alleged, but they cannot be expected to be mute if the parliament runs into difficulties.

What is the SNP answer, for example, during a second Blair term when Labour's majority depends on its Scottish MP and the Tories raise the West Lothian question? Perhaps rivalry between England and Scotland and a constitutional crisis will follow.

What might the Nationalists say? Doubtless that devolution has indeed created a palpable unfairness for which there is no real solution - short of independence, amicably agreed, for Scotland. English voters might just be inclined to agree.

It may be, nevertheless, that a crisis will not be necessary. One notable aspect of the referendum campaign was the failure of either side to make much of a case for the United Kingdom. The No side seemed to have no argument; the Yes side seemed to concentrate on the flaws in the existing settlement. The drive for home rule could not have been anything other than a nationalist wish with a small 'n' laffair.

Identity, culture, history, Scotland's rights, these are meat and drink to the SNP. Is it possible to believe that such self-awareness will cease when the new parliament opens its doors and when Nationalist politicians cease to operate on Westminster's fringes? Hardly.

Alex Salmond's party will settle for incremental progress, as always. For the SNP, one side in the argument has been destroyed, one yet remains. Nationalism presses on regardless.

Let's smash mould of petty party bickering

ALAN COCHRANE

Scots have the chance to make a parliament that is as distinctive as they are by demanding the highest standards of politicians

We've done it. Now what? We have voted ourselves a parliament, but does anyone have any idea what kind of parliament? Who will tell us how to do it?

The answer is simple: none. There is nobody but ourselves now to decide how we should run our own domestic affairs, no model we should slavishly copy, no institution we require to ape.

It is all up to us now. In the bowels of the Scottish Office (by the way, what will we call that now?) there are detailed plans laid. Civil servants always have contingencies for everything.

But this is our parliament and until we have seen what they intend our legislators to do and until we have approved them, they must keep their hands on the drawing board.

If this is our first parliament in 300 years, we must take a collective pride in it. We must make it distinctive and we must ensure that it remains our - and not the politicians' or the civil servants' - parliament. I hesitate to call it the people's parliament. Tony Blair has pre-empted so many aspects of life in this country with the word people's that he has all but devalued the word.

However, that should be the essence of what we are about. Scotland's parliament must be a unique thing. We are a distinctive people and we have thought so long and hard about all this that we must make sure that we create something which mirrors that distinction. We have contributed so much to the legislatures of the rest of the world. Westminster, most especially, that when it comes to our own we must take particular care.

This parliament has come

about hesitantly, slowly and, even in this moment of final decision, for many people extremely reluctantly. But it has happened, and like the whips of Westminster's wing in a few years' time. We have made our bed and must lie in it.

So, what will it look like? I want a parliament which smashes every accepted political nostrum. I want a parliament where party politics is not the be all and end all of public life, where the iron hand of the whips' office does not hold sway, where the black book traditionally kept by the whips of members' private foibles is not even begun.

It often sounds a hopelessly idealistic thing to say, but party politics, as exhibited in the British parliament, has often been one of the greatest hindrances to the work of the whips. Decisions are taken in the name of the people, but are actually implemented for partisan party reasons. The public good plays second fiddle to the greater good of the party.

The whole basis of British politics has been run that way, except in time of war, for 150 years.

Can we not at least try to break that mould? David Owen tried it and foundered on the rock of traditional party allegiance. But, in the wake of his massive general election majority, Mr Blair is trying to build a consensus. He is giving the Liberals their first taste of power and influence since the war by allowing them to take a small part in this decision-making process.



The Scotsman devolution debate in Edinburgh this week. Parliamentary seats must be taken by people who see politics as a public service, not a career. Picture: Malcolm Cochrane

We are right to be suspicious about his motives - but the principle of consensus and co-operation is sound. What price we in Scotland picking up that ball and running with it?

Is there no chance of our politicians taking decisions which affect us all on the basis of what will bring the greater good, rather than what is most advantageous for their party? Those who would call me naive do their country a disservice. This parliament must work. It cannot be allowed to founder amid a welter of petty party bickering.

Three of the parties that will be represented in the Scottish parliament, Labour, the SNP and the Liberal Democrats, have had the experience of working together on the referendum campaign and two of them worked in tandem on the Constitutional Convention. It is true that having experienced these bouts of co-operation many of our current crop of politicians cannot wait to get their hands on each other's throats again. That is in the nature of the beast and in a

singularly disputatious nation, is only to be expected.

But while we cannot expect all the politicians to agree with each other all the time, we can at least insist they fall out over their different perceptions of what is good for the country, rather than disagree because their whips tell them to.

The present lot of politicians are probably beyond help. Old lags of the system which has developed Tammany Hall - or should I say George Square - style down the ages, most of them owe much of their prominence in local and national government to their blind obedience to the party, than for any good any of them might have done their country.

That is what must change. If we are to change the politics, we must change the politicians. The signs are not all that encouraging. The first crop of members of the new parliament will be no different from their elders. Labour's case, they might have washed behind their ears and have been forced to take loyal oaths, but they will still be party hacks.

The Scottish Tories will be no different. While their leaders have been railing against the inequities of a devolved parliament, a huge number of activists have been working out how to get on this new parliamentary gravy train. After so long out of power and influence they want, yet again, to give us the benefit of their experience in running failed businesses and getting value for money in local services, which usually means leaving potholes in the road and axing school buses.

There have always been armies of Scot Nat parliamentary aspirants, but not enough Westminster seats to go round. They are bursting to flex their muscles and do everything they can to prove that a devolved parliament cannot work - by making it unworkable.

And the Liberals? Well, they are only there because Labour likes them. I could all be so different. We desperately need real quality in our first parliament, quality of a sort which sees membership of that parliament as a public service, not a career. We need people

with something to offer their country, rather than people who want something - a salary - out of it.

We need people who have achieved, who have run things, who have organised and employed people. We don't need the local government droppies whose main interest is where they draw their expenses.

And we need accessible politicians. We are a small country - there is no reason why our politicians should be remote from their constituents. We need to know them intimately: know what they are doing, what they are thinking, and that means ministers, too, not just MPs.

The structure of the new parliament must be as open as possible, consistent with efficient working practices. There must be not just public access to all of its deliberations, but encouragement of the public to attend and participate in the decision-making processes. Young people, through schools and colleges, must be encouraged by our politicians to take a pride in their parliament and its

workings and be convinced that it is operating for their benefit.

This involvement of the public must be at the root of all the parliament does. Its watchword must be to tell the people. Instead of being obsessed, as Whitehall has been, with the maxim "Why should we tell the public anything?" ours should be "Why shouldn't we tell them everything?"

And if our politicians must change, then so must our new bureaucracy. Scotland has provided some of the UK's finest officials and we should be in no doubt that the parliament will be ably served by its civil service. However, we must make sure they shake off the predilection for secrecy and the "we know best" attitude which has so bedevilled much of their behaviour down the years. They must be as the politicians, must take the people with them.

But if we demand and expect that our politicians and civil servants change, we must also be prepared to change as a people. Much of what we will now do, we will do for ourselves. We are taking the English, at last,

largely out of the equation. In the past, they have often been the only thing to unite us and without them to concentrate our minds, we have turned in on ourselves - often with disastrous results.

We cannot let that happen this time. We have demanded this change and we have simply got to make it work, together as one people. Local and regional rivalries and animosities will die hard but, in the end, we must always be aware of the collective good of the country.

I have been no great enthusiast for this new venture on which we are now embarked upon. But here it is. And there is now no point in asking whether the new parliament will work. It must work.

We must ask a lot of it. We must demand the highest standards from our politicians and those we charge to run this country of ours. But most of all we must ask a great deal of ourselves. Only we, the Scottish people, can make or break this thing.

That is both our opportunity and our greatest challenge.

Parliament will give Scots Tories a new foothold

ALLAN MASSIE

Conservatives, still reeling from their election thrashing, have a role to play supporting Labour as defenders of the Union

SOME things are clear. There was a comfortable majority for a Scottish parliament among those who voted.

But the opposition to it is still considerable, and not confined only to those who voted for the Conservatives at the general election.

Other things are less clear. We don't know whether this was a vote for the white paper or for much more than it promised.

We don't know how many of those who voted Yes would vote for independence. We don't know because the alliance between Labour and the SNP meant that many of the arguments advanced were arguments for independence, not for devolution. Awareness of this was manifest in Alastair Darling's lame performance in Tuesday night's Scotsman Bank of Scotland debate.

The Tories were bruised in the campaign, though perhaps less seriously wounded than if the party had campaigned vigorously as a party, or if leading figures like Michael Forsyth

and Malcolm Rifkind had felt able to take an active part.

The Tory position is still uncomfortable, and the party will take some time to commit itself to a course of action. There will be bitter argument too. Some will point to the size of the No vote as evidence that the field should not yet be abandoned. Pride and self-respect will hold others back from anti-devolutionary line. They think what is proposed a bad scheme for Scotland, and they will therefore argue against it till it becomes a reality. Supporters of devolution may find this hard to credit, but it will happen.

There are after all still a handful of Labour MPs who argue for socialism - with no more chance of success.

More pragmatic Tories will, however, conclude that the verdict of the people has been delivered, and they must accept it. They may still deplore the inadequacy of a pre-legislative referendum, the dishonesty of which they resent, and despise, and they may argue, as I am sure Tony Dailly will, that a second referendum should be held on the act of Parliament, but they will do so without any hope of success. Some of the diarches - the

most Jacobite among them - may be prepared to fall honourably in the last ditch. A few years ago, I suggested in a paper that that would be a crowded place. Now I am not so sure. Many Tories are weary of the struggle. They are tired of being unpopular. They are fed up with being described as anti-Scottish. They are probably ready to accept that the parliament is coming and won't be removed.

Both diarches and pragmatists will of course contest the elections for the parliament. There is nothing wrong in even those most bitterly opposed to its existence standing for election. Nor would such behaviour be unprecedented. Both the SNP and Labour fought European parliamentary elections in the years when their party policy was to leave the European Parliament.

In one sense the Tories' position has been improved, though this will not be noticeable immediately. They need no longer be lonely. They can

come into the body of the Kirk of Scottish politics. And this will be all the easier because the fault line in Scottish politics has shifted, or will very soon shift. For twenty years we have had three parties committed to the Scottish parliament and one opposed to it. Now we have three parties committed to the Union and one against it.

That could make for some unexpected alliances, no stranger, and more fundamental, than the marriage between Mr Dewar and Mr Salmond which is now heading for divorce.

However this reality may be masked for a time, because the Tories are still so critical of the devolution proposals. Their immediate duty, once they have accepted devolution, is to try to correct its defects in the interests of the Union.

This means first insisting that the West Lothian Question can't simply be ignored in the hope that it will go away. It is no good just shrugging marriage off and saying that it's a Question for the English and not for us. To say that is to indulge in dishonest evasion: the question

only exists because we Scots have put it there by our determination to have a parliament of our own.

Answering it is going to be difficult. But if no attempt is made to do so then it is not a question. Scottish Nationalism will ensure that, in Tam Dalyell's phrase, "devolution is a no-way-out to independence with no exits". It will be English Nationalism.

The SNP has quite properly no interest in the West Lothian question. Labour quite properly expresses no interest in it. It is up to the Scottish Tories to see that they do. They must rub salt in the wound. Labour has created the question in its own interest; it must try to answer it in the Union's.

In time, though not till the parliament is up and running, the Scottish Tories must press for new financial arrangements that will compel the responsibility of raising the money it spends. This will not be agreeable, but it will be necessary.

But the advocates of devolution have been living in dreamland too. They have pretended it would be cost-free, all gain and no pain.

It isn't going to be like that. It is now up to the Scottish Tories to get the electorate to face up to that reality. That is the only way by which devolution can be that "fair and just settlement for Scotland within the framework of the United Kingdom", which Donald Dewar has promised.

The alternative is that long a journey away from Britain.

It's time to make a difference

COMMENTARY

IAIN MACWHIRTER

Grandiose ideas will have to wait – our parliament must restore people's faith in politicians first

THE Scottish voters remained inscrutable to the end. As the final hours passed, and the streets remained quiet, the suspicion grew that the opinion polls might only have been telling the media what it wanted to hear.

That, after all, was what happened in 1979. Might Scotland have turned 'heart' again at the last minute – as it did 18 years ago?

Nae danger. History did not repeat itself. By one o'clock after only two results, the BBC's head of political research and number-cruncher in chief, Bill Bush, pronounced a decisive victory.

A massive three to one majority for a Scottish parliament, and even more remarkable, a projected two to one majority for tax-raising powers.

This was way beyond the wildest hopes of the Yes/Yes campaign. The activists and politicians milling around the Edinburgh International Conference Centre wandered around trying not to believe it. It was early days, after all. No triumphalism. Don't count chickens.

Like hell. 'Scotland had come home to home rule,' said the Liberal Democrat MP Ming Campbell. Eighteen years of hurt effaced in 100 hours of hectic campaigning.

The result of the Yes campaign had not dared to hope for a seismic and historic affirmation of constitutional change. The teiebraker had crashed through the apathy and cynicism and settled the matter once and for all. Scotland has its parliament again, after 300 years.

And yet, there remained the puzzle: only hours before, walking through the drizzle of Edinburgh's Princes Street, the mood of the populace wasn't exactly triumphant. If the nation was awakening, it was taking its time getting out of bed. There was little sense of history around the Scott Monument, where people were still picking around the improvised Cairn of Remembrance. The Battle of Stirling Bridge wasn't like this.

One Yes/Yes campaigner, selling balloons at the foot of the Mound, bemoaned the professional politicians. 'They're all sitting in their offices drinking coffee,' he said. 'Instead of getting out on the streets to help.' However, a smiling woman and her daughter in a car plastered with Yes/Yes stickers disagreed. 'It's marvelous. I think Scotland's going to surprise us all.'

I wish I'd taken a note of her name, because that bright lady walked the broad smile worth

a lorry-load of pundits. Scotland had managed to surprise itself, just as Britain surprised itself on May 1st. This result is a direct descendant of that historic election victory. Another quiet revolution. There's no point asking why there wasn't rapture on the streets yesterday. Electoral behaviour is generally unimpressive these days. It was exactly the same before the general election last May.

The politicians have their part to play. But the reality is that constitutional issues simply don't grip the popular imagination in the way that 'real' issues like employment, health and education do. That's politics. However, that didn't mean that they were indifferent. Clearly, people had made up their minds long ago, just as they had before 1 May.

There was no buzz because there was no argument. People were patiently and quietly waiting to deliver a decisive break with the past.

We can now draw a line under this inglorious period of Scottish history.

Since the inconclusive 1979 result, devolution has been an irritating irritant in the national psyche – an embarrassing memory which won't go away. Now it is exposed.

This will be surely the end of referendums and equivocation – at least for the next couple of decades. If the constitutional status of Scotland is every again to be put to the vote, it will not be devolution that is on the ballot paper, but independence. That, I believe, will be a very long time coming, if ever.

Scotland will now settle down to its new normality on Calton Hill, or Leith, or wherever the assembly finally comes to rest. It will be up to the 129 members of the new parliament to prove to the Scottish people that they have indeed made the right decision; that self-government, however limited, can make a real difference to ordinary people's lives.

One of the enduring themes of the campaign – such as it was – was the widespread scepticism among Scots about the likely quality of the future Scottish members of parliament. Everywhere you went, the same suspicions were aired: they'll be no-hopers, interested only in expenses and freebies, who will use the parliament to further their careers rather than further the interests of Scotland as a whole.

Any thoughts that the Mayday landslide, and the success



Two jubilant Scots celebrate at Edinburgh's Calton Hill vigil as news of the devolution vote filtered through this morning.

Picture: Denis Straghan

Clearly, people had made up their minds long ago

of Tony Blair's administration, had cured the voters of their cynicism was clearly premature. The Scots fully expect their legislators to be another Parrot's 'Show me a politician – and I'll show you a liar', said one Scot in one of the many vox pops on the radio.

This will be the first duty of the Scottish parliament: to rehabilitate politics in the public mind. To restore people's faith in the democratic process. This will be a hard task, but not an impossible one.

Scotland will not share the gloom about the calibre of Scottish politicians. Sure, there is no shortage of nupties clogging up the council chambers of West Central Scotland, but there are also many really good people in local government, far more than we have any right to expect given their miserable stipends and the public apathy about what happens in Town Hall.

But improvements there will have to be. Labour has already promised to do introduce more rigorous candidate selection, by setting up a vetting panel to ensure that people who stand for the Scottish parliament in 1999 can at least show some evidence of joined-up thinking.

It is long overdue, but we have every reason to believe

Labour are sincere. The summer of sleaze has profoundly shaken the party's self-confidence. The Labour leadership in London are rightly incensed that the rotten boroughs of Scotland have dumped the new government in sleaze within months of it having won a historic general election victory on an anti-sleaze ticket.

Tony Blair is not going to tolerate any return to the old order in Scotland, and Keir Hardie House knows it.

Proportional Representation will help. But it is not a magic formula in the end, civic culture depends upon responsible citizens. No-one can do it for us. It is up to the Scottish people as a whole to ensure that their parliament does not lapse into an eventide home for party apparatchiks. The assembly must reach out to the people, but the people must also get involved – even if it is only keeping a line open to their MSP.

The excuse that politics is too remote to no longer be viable.

Westminster will no longer be making the decisions about education, the administration of the health service or crime.

Scottish education is in urgent need of reform and revitalisation.

During *The Scotsman's* devolution debate in the Royal High building on Tuesday, the principal of one of Edinburgh's oldest schools complained that the reforms envisaged in the Howie Report in 1982 had never seen the light of day. He seemed to be arguing that devolution was a distraction from real issues like that.

But as the Treasury Secretary Alistair Darling pointed out to

fore it can start getting grandiose ideas about further amendments to the constitutional relationships.

To this end, the SNP – above all – is going to have to come down to earth after its heroic election campaigning. It may be that Scotland will, at some future date, decide that it wants to treat for full independence (though personally I doubt it). But in the meantime, the Na-

tionals, as well as Labour and the Liberal Democrats, are going to have to show that they can be competent legislators. Perhaps a revived Conservative opposition will be able to play a role here, provided that it can escape from its unionist negativity.

This parliament is a learning process, or it is nothing. That might be too mundane a prospectus for some in the Scottish political classes. It might at times make the Scottish parliament appear as if it really is less than an enlarged unit

of local government. Without extensive tax-raising powers, still tied to the London Exchequer, and limited in its freedom to manage the overall economy, there will be those in the new parliament who, almost from day one, will try to provoke the constitutional confrontation with London which they believe is inevitable in the long run.

If they do, they will be making a serious mistake. This is not a parliament which has – as yet – captured the imagination of the people.

Their votes, certainly. But there was a note of caution behind the numbers.

The Scots will have to learn to love their parliament before they will contemplate any further constitutional innovation. And if it turns into a rabble of half-baked revolutionaries, trying to promote some nation-socialist dream, then the Scots will lose affection for the whole project pretty fast.

To succeed, this parliament will need all the support it can get – from London as well as from Scotland. It can expect constructive support from Westminster as it takes over the legislative reins; that at least has been assured by the Labour government. But if it proves itself to be incompetent, unre-

sonable, or out-of-touch with the people it is supposed to represent, then it will rapidly degenerate into the ineffectual tartan talking shop that its detractors have always forecast.

The new parliament will do well to learn from the success of the New Labour government. The people elected to run it in 1999 will, to paraphrase Tony Blair, be not the masters but the servants of the people.

The Scottish parliament will have to start from there: the people are, not where they are, but where they should be. It will have to proceed cautiously, deliberately, modestly even, to establish the new democratic structures and practices which, for all the wisdom of Donald Dewar's white paper, are by no means clearly mapped out.

If these appear to be curiously downright reflections on what should be a heroic day, then that is no bad thing. We've heard endless talk about what the parliament should be like. Now we will see the reality. The people who were going about their business in the streets of Edinburgh yesterday, so unmoved by the great constitutional rhetoric, are not easily impressed. They will have to be persuaded that they really have made the right choice.

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This parliament is a learning process, or it is nothing. That might be too mundane a prospectus for some in the Scottish political classes. It might at times make the Scottish parliament appear as if it really is less than an enlarged unit

Defining image eludes desperate TV reporters

ALAN COCHRANE

They tried their best, but television presenters had to manufacture their own excitement as Scotland refused to get carried away by the events early this morning.

Time and time again, the BBC's main presenter, Kirsty Wark, took her viewers to reporters around the country looking for scenes which would set her broadcast alight.

Unfortunately for her reporters, including senior men shipped up from London such as John Sopell and John Pienaar, there was not much excitement about. Mr Pienaar looked forlorn as he tried to find some fervour outside the vigil for a Scottish parliament, opposite the Scottish Office.

There was none on offer and he was reduced to trying to whip the thing up himself by reporting that more and more people were turning up at his site – drawn largely by his TV cameras and lights, rather than anything else that was going on.

Poor John's star-turn was being able to find someone who confessed that the only reason he had joined the vigil had been

West Lothian

Parliament?	
Yes	56,923
No	14,614
Maj	42,309
Tax Powers?	
Yes	47,990
No	23,354
Maj	24,636
Turnout	62%

Neil Mackintosh, the chief counting officer, announces the West Lothian result on television earlier this morning.

that he was enthused by the film *Braveheart* with its Australian Mel Gibson playing the part of William Wallace.

Also in Edinburgh, John Sopell had the unfortunate job of reporting the huge excitement at the main Scotland Forward party. But triumphant celebrations? Not a sign.

took us back to 'that' party, where Mr Sopell enthusiastically reported that unbridled joy

and poor Mr Pienaar could find solace in his own misery about the vigil, that he had to find a Welsh lady who lambasted the Scots for being so 'calm' about what was happening in their country.

And it had begun to rain as an embarrassed and forlorn Mr Pienaar desperately interviewed people playing guitars.

In the Glasgow studio, various Scottish politicians failed to manufacture any ferocity or bitterness towards each other. For any of that sort of stuff you had to go to BBC's Welsh studios, where Peter Hain, Simon Hughes and John Birtwood really looked like they didn't like each other.

And the BBC also took us to Cornwall and to the north-east of England, where they found heated arguments for and against regional assemblies for those parts of the world. By contrast, the Scottish politicians looked like people who either have been working with each other or who will be working with each other in the very near future.

It may well have been our date with destiny, but in the wee sma' hours of this morning, the Scottish people certainly let the TV bosses down in a big way, in terms of generating excitement for their cameras.

But, then, excess display of emotion has always been a fairly vulgar way to behave. Especially if you have just got your own parliament.

What he added to the sum of human knowledge last night, however, remains in doubt. Every now and then, Kirsty



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DEVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND: THE 1997 REFERENDUM

A victory for all of us

RARELY can a nation's will have been more settled. With two thumping majorities, which surpassed the hopes of even the most optimistic campaigners, the Scots showed they are the people who like to say yes. They wanted a parliament, they wanted it to pay its way, and now they have granted their own wish. A sense of pride has been stirred, captured by the Scotsman newspaper's triumphant headline: "A nation again." But there is much to celebrate across the union — not all of it obvious.

For one thing, a political truism has been broken. The 63.5 per cent of Scots who voted for their new parliament to have tax-varying powers defied the rule which states no electorate will ever freely choose to shell out more of its hard-won earnings to the public coffers. Their decision suggests that when voters can picture their money being spent closer to home, by people they choose, they can think the unthinkable — even voting for what might be higher taxes.

The more direct consequence of the double Yes vote is a surge in momentum for the Government's most radical idea: the spreading out of power. As Tony Blair said on his victory tour last week, "the era of big centralised government" is over. The torch now passes to Wales, which this week will have the chance to get a more democratic grip on the way it is governed. The Yes campaign there has argued that Wales must not get left behind, becoming the only part of the UK still ruled by London diktat. After the Scottish result, that argument has even greater force.

Still, there is cause for caution. The sheer scale of the Yes majorities — with 80 per cent in some districts — has led to quiet fears that a tide of nationalistic feeling has been unleashed that mere devolution alone cannot satisfy. This leaves Labour with a challenge. They have to prove that their campaign rhetoric about strengthening the union was sincere. In short, they must make devolution work. Otherwise Scottish Nationalist Party — and Conservative — warnings of "instability," with endless London-Edinburgh rows about budgets and jurisdiction, will be vindicated and the demand for full-blown separation enhanced.

Labour has to be mindful, too, of the sensitivities of English public opinion. A Scottish parliament will clear the air for touchy questions that were buried during the decades of central control. Many English voters will raise not just the West Lothian question — why should Scots have a say over us when we cannot have a say over them — but also prickly matters of subsidies and hand-outs. Whatever the real numbers, plenty of English men and women imagine they pay Scotland's bills. They will be less willing to do that now. That might translate into a demand for more decentralisation in England: perhaps regional assemblies or an English parliament. But it could also inflame a more brutal English nationalism.

The Guardian Weekly 21/9/97



VOTE OF DESTINY

Scots have given voice to their hearts

Scotland has spoken. Westminster must respond. There could be no clearer mandate: a general election that swept Conservatives from every seat in the country, followed by a referendum that allowed Scots to vote on each aspect of devolution. The nation wants its own parliament, with the power to change taxes. There is no question now of an assembly or a "tartan tax" being imposed on the people of Scotland.

This was a decision that came as much from the heart as the head. Although the White Paper was widely distributed before the poll, most voters had made up their minds long ago. They were not waiting to be swayed by the minutiae of the First Minister's powers or the merits of the electoral system to be used.

The mood was more visceral than that. This was a moment of truth, people felt, a chance to demonstrate Scotland's confidence as a nation — a moment to be seized, for the offer might never be made again. Many were impatient even at the notion of a referendum; they thought that they had made their views known already, on May 1. But, for such a momentous constitutional change, it was right for them to address the specific questions. The referendum, conceived as a defensive measure by the Labour Party in opposition, will now become a necessary cement in the building of a new settlement.

The "yes, yes" campaign had many of the brightest tunes and most of the best musicians. The alliance of Labour, Scottish Nationalists and Liberal Democrats represented the vast majority of political views north of the border and, save for the odd maverick, all its MPs. They could talk of giving Scotland a voice, of renewing faith and trust in the people, of revitalising democracy, of dates with destiny. They

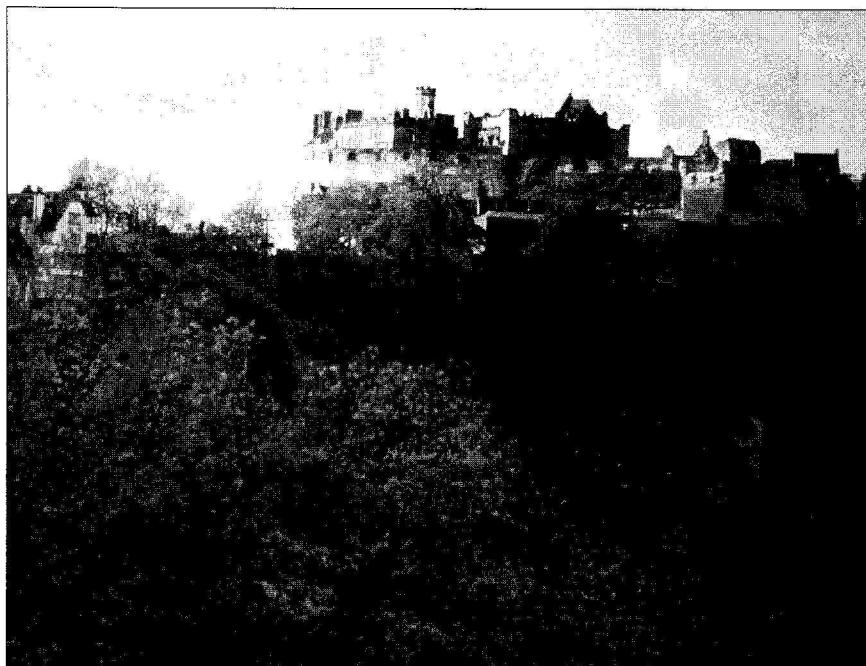
needed merely to mention "poll tax" or "Margaret Thatcher" to win support. They could co-opt *Braveheart* and Sean Connery to their cause. And they could point out that no other country with its own legal system lacks the power to make its own laws.

On tax-varying powers, the arguments were less high-flown, though just as important. "No representation without taxation" became the line: the parliament would be a "Mickey Mouse" assembly, a "talking shop" if it lacked the most important power of all. Its impotence would lead it to blame Westminster at every opportunity, fuelling resentment and giving succour to nationalists. If Scotland wanted to put into practice its more collectivist views, it had to be able to offer its voters the chance to pay more tax for better public services.

The real surprise was the lacklustre nature of the "Think Twice" campaign, which tried to persuade people to vote "no" to both questions. It was almost wholly negative in tone, concocting nightmare visions of the Union breaking up and industry fleeing to England. No positive arguments were made for the status quo, nor was any alternative form of governance offered that might be an improvement on Labour's version. And those who argued most fervently and persuasively against devolution before the election — such as Michael Forsyth and Malcolm Rifkind — were nowhere to be seen.

In the past few months, Scots have been offered two readings of their future: one optimistic, the other pessimistic. They chose to run with the former, and only events will prove them right or wrong. But for now, it is time for Westminster to enact Scotland's "settled will" in a fashion that makes those potential nightmares least likely to be translated into reality.

THE STATE OF SCOTLAND



A nation once again?

EDINBURGH

The elections to the new Scottish Parliament on May 6th are the culmination of a quiet revolution

ASK people in Edinburgh where the Royal Museum is, and you are liable to get puzzled looks. To get directions to what the banners outside the building say is the Royal Museum, it is better to ask for the National Museum of Scotland—because that is what it really is, and is how most Edinburgh citizens think of it.

For Edinburgh is a capital city, with national galleries of art, the headquarters of big banks and the Scottish legal system, a shiny new financial district, and a main street—Princes Street—providing a balcony view across a green valley park to a venerable castle. All in all, this is a city which stands comparison with most other European capitals. And it is soon to be adorned by a new and powerful symbol of nationhood—a Scottish Parliament.

It is not just the Parliament's law-making and tax-raising powers which suggest that it represents a significant step in the reinvention of a nation, but also the way in which the Parliament will fit snugly into Scottish history and culture. It will be temporarily

housed in the assembly hall of the Church of Scotland, just across the road from the hall in which the last Scottish Parliament voluntarily voted itself out of existence in 1707.

And when the Parliament eventually moves into its permanent home, it will go to a site opposite Holyrood Palace—the ancient seat of Scottish monarchs—but in an adventurously modern building designed by Enric Miralles, an architect from Barcelona. The choice of a Catalan architect symbolises the growing Scottish desire to muscle on to the European stage, as Catalonia has done as a powerful region within Spain, and maybe eventually even further into the spotlight as a European nation like, say, Ireland.

If this is indeed the rebirth of a nation, it is coming about in the most extraordinary way. Save for some odd, and hapless, individuals, there have been no underground armies or even platoons of separatist terrorists; no campaigns of civil disobedience aimed at unseating governments; not even any mass demonstrations by a fed-up populace, apart from one rather genteel, well-

behaved affair seven years ago.

This has been perhaps the first revolution (how else do you describe the re-establishment of a nation's government?) that has been conducted by pen-pushing committees of lawyers, clergymen and accountants rather than cells of bearded radicals. And, unless someone cut themselves on a paper-clip, it has been achieved without a drop of blood being spilled.

So it is not surprising that this is also a revolution which—unlike that which divided Czechoslovakia—falls short of achieving full nationhood for Scotland. Parliament at Westminster, to which Scots will continue to elect MPs, will control defence and foreign affairs, macroeconomic policy, taxation and social security. The Scottish Parliament, however, will be able to make laws over health services, education, local government, housing, criminal and civil justice, and economic development. It also has limited tax powers: the ability to raise or lower basic-rate income tax by no more than 3p, and it can levy charges, such as road tolls.

A civic nationalism

There are reasons for this semi-independent state. Unlike Québécois or Flemish nationalism, there is no language motive to Scottish nationalism; Gaelic is spoken by only about 80,000 of the 5.1m inhabitants of Scotland. Religion plays no discernible part; while the Roman Catholic minority used to fear independence as being liable to result in a Protestant hegemony, a recent MORI poll for the *Sunday Herald* found that a higher proportion of Catholics (39%) supported independence than did Protestants (32%).

And unlike East European or Balkan nationalism, the Scottish variety has very little to do with ethnicity. While there have been sporadic outbreaks of anti-English behaviour—sad stories of English families driven out of their homes, usually in small villages rather than in big cities—the Scottish National Party (SNP), which is often accused of fomenting anti-English hatred, frowns on such behaviour and expels any member who engages in it.

Alex Salmond, the SNP leader, who last wore a kilt when he was four years old, says that his party's nationalism is entirely civic in nature. "The Scots," he says, "are a mongrel nation." There are no campaigns to oust the directors of the national galleries and museum, both Englishmen, and while the fervour of the "tartan army", the followers of the national football team, is renowned, the team itself often sports players whose English accents are more noticeable than their Scottish ancestry.

THE STATE OF SCOTLAND

Thus in Scotland today there are none of the conditions which fomented rebellion in Ireland and led to Irish independence in 1922, the last great rupture in the political union of the British Isles. Scottish nationalists do look longingly at Ireland, particularly at its phenomenal economic growth over the last decade. But for most Scots, the Irish experience does not seem to be a particularly appealing model—perhaps because it is associated in some minds with republican terrorism.

What does motivate Scottish nationalism, and has also been the driving force behind demands for devolution of power from London over the past century, is the strong Scottish attachment to the country's civil institutions. In this respect, Scotland is very different from Wales, which was forcibly incorporated into England over 400 years before the Scots signed a voluntary Act of Union in 1707. Distinctive Welsh institutions, apart from those concerned with the Welsh language, are hard to pinpoint. By contrast, Scotland's institutional landscape was well established by the time of political union with England.

These institutions—schools and universities with their own curriculum and exam structures, a legal system with its own codes and rules, a church independent of the state, a distinctive system of local government—were left untouched by the union. But they were unable to cope with the vast social change in the 19th century generated by the industrial revolution. Westminster, preoccupied with the British Empire, was unresponsive to the demands for the separate Scottish legislation needed to allow Scottish institutions to adapt to a rapidly urbanising society.

Agitation by the fast-growing middle-classes led to the establishment in 1885 of a government department dedicated to Scottish affairs—the Scottish Office—which has steadily grown in size and ministerial clout ever since. Now, its 3,650 bureaucrats manage a budget of £14 billion (\$22.5 billion) and another 10,081 civil servants in other agencies such as the Scottish Prison Service.

This administrative devolution might well have continued working happily had it not been for significant social and political change. First, the SNP, which had campaigned quite ineffectively since it was founded in 1928, became a significant political force when it latched on to the discovery of North Sea oil in the 1960s to argue that an independent Scotland could escape from the economic decline caused by the collapse of traditional heavy industry.

Second, the Tories steadily lost support in Scotland, going down from 31% of the vote and 22 MPs in 1979 to 18% and no MPs in 1997—and yet ran Scotland throughout that period, courtesy of their majority at Westminster. Gradually, this became seen as an affront to Scottish sensibilities, so much so that by the time of the 1997 devolution refer-

endum, Scotland's political and civic leaders (apart from the defeated Tories and a few businessmen) were pretty much united in their determination to have a Scottish parliament to handle domestic affairs. Voters were happy to follow their lead.

Hoping for Enlightenment

The creation of a Scottish parliament should dissipate Scottish discontents, at least for the foreseeable future. But it is also propelling British politics into a new and unfamiliar decentralised political system. Westminster's writ no longer runs north of the border, at least as far as things like education and health are concerned. Equally, the Scots can no longer blame a distant government in London for all their problems.

If it works then devolution, far from being the harbinger of the break-up of Britain, should bring fresh vitality to national life



The Scottish effect

1997 figures	Scotland	Britain
Unemployment, %*	7.5	6.1
GDP per head, £	10,975	11,768
Population, m	5.1	59
Govt. spending per head, £†	4,826	4,049
Male life expectancy	72.6	74.2

*ILO definitions, three months to Jan 1999 †Year ending Mar 1997

outside London. The new confidence in Edinburgh, which is experiencing an economic boom and basking in the media attention of the election campaign, is self-evident. The swelling number of restaurants are busy most nights even in the depths of winter, and chic fashion shops are opening in George Street, tempting citizens away from traditional navy and gaberdrine garbs.

The challenges of running a country may also stimulate Scottish intellectual life. Many Scots fondly dream of a new "Scottish Enlightenment", like the one the country enjoyed in the 18th century when Scottish

thinkers like David Hume and Adam Smith were at the centre of the philosophical revolution which swept through Europe. The French philosopher Voltaire remarked, only slightly sarcastically, that if one wanted to learn anything from gardening to philosophy, one had to go to Edinburgh.

The Enlightenment was partly stimulated, some think, because political union with England ended the Scottish preoccupation with battling against its more powerful southern neighbour and opened northern eyes and minds to the possibilities, both intellectual and commercial, arising in a fast-changing world in which Britain was then playing a decisive imperial role.

Some hope that devolution, by creating a more self-reliant and confident Scotland, will provoke another intellectual flowering. Just as the Enlightenment thinkers had a strong practical bent, producing many advances in medicine for example, so too do today's Scottish scientists. The Scottish geneticists who produced Dolly, the world's first cloned sheep, are now using that biotechnology to devise new treatments for disorders such as cystic fibrosis and emphysema.

Scottish entrepreneurial spirit, which appeared to have all but died in the 1970s as many native firms succumbed to takeover or closure and as international firms closed their factories north of the border, appears to be making a comeback. Companies such as Stagecoach, built from nothing 15 years ago into a world-wide transport firm, or ScottishPower, a privatised utility now expanding into the United States, are displaying a new corporate strength and confidence. Ironically, given the vehemence of the Scottish reaction against Thatcherism, both companies grew out of Tory-inspired privatisations.

But the politicians in the Scottish Parliament will first have more mundane matters than Enlightenment to deal with. Although the Scottish economy has improved markedly—and Scotland has spent much of the past decade closing the wealth gap with the rest of Britain—the gap between rich and poor parts of the country has also increased. The economic map of Scotland, says Jeremy Peat, chief economist at the Royal Bank of Scotland, is severely lop-sided with the parts around the eastern cities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen being 60% richer than the poorest parts—west and central Scotland, the Borders and the Highlands and Islands. He says that 20 years ago the figure was only 18%.

These disparities are provoking political tensions. Glasgow, which is reeling at the prospect of losing one of its few remaining shipyards, Kvaerner Govan, and 1,800 jobs, is clamouring for departments of government to be shifted west from Edinburgh; a political party devoted only to the Highlands and Islands is contesting the elections; and politicians in the Borders are agitating for aid to deal with recent blows to the tex-

tiles and electronics industries.

There are plenty of social problems too. Graham Leicester, director of the Scottish Council Foundation, a think-tank, says that Scotland has one of the highest rates of child poverty in Europe—one in three children are growing up in households where welfare payments are the main source of income. Despite the fact that the government spends 26% more on health per head in Scotland than in England, parts of the country still have a dreadful health record. Average life expectancy in Bearsden, an affluent Glasgow suburb, is about eight years longer than in nearby Drumchapel, a district of municipal housing and high unemployment.

Tackling these matters will force Scottish politicians to admit that their traditional solution to such problems—squeezing more taxpayers' cash from the Treasury in London—is not the answer. It will also mean swallowing a bit of national pride and admitting that some prized assets, such as the widely-admired Scottish education system, are not as good as many Scots like to think. Lindsay Paterson, professor of educational policy at Edinburgh University, says that while Scotland is at the top of the European league for numbers of young people with degrees and other higher qualifications, it is towards the bottom of the league for secondary school teaching of maths and science. Facts like these have tended to be ignored as Scots have taken solace in the knowledge that at least their education system is generally better than England's. This comfort blanket should now be removed as the Scots gain control of their domestic affairs and as responsibility for failings will not be so easily passed to Westminster.



Adam Smith enlightens the Scots

A done deal?

EDINBURGH

OPINION polls for the Scottish election on May 6th suggest that Labour will easily win the most seats—but will fall just short of an overall majority. That may lead to another innovation in British politics; a coalition between Labour and the Liberal Democrats.

At present both Donald Dewar, Labour's leader in Scotland, and Jim Wallace, the leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrats, insist that they are keeping their options open. Labour could form a minority government; the Lib Dems might do a deal with the SNP.

But careful readers of a just-published biography of Peter Mandelson, one of Tony Blair's closest advisers, may conclude that a coalition deal has already been done. The book's author, Donald Macintyre, says that a five-a-side meeting in early 1996 between senior Labourites, including Messrs Mandelson, Blair and Dewar, and senior Lib Dems, led by their leader, Paddy Ashdown, discussed the

prospect of a Scottish coalition. Mr Macintyre says that among other things, the two sides agreed that they would work towards a Lib-Lab coalition if Labour did not have an overall majority, or had an unworkably small one.

When quizzed about this by *The Economist*, Mr Dewar neither confirmed nor denied that the meeting took place, but insisted that he has no deal with the Lib Dems. Mr Wallace of the Lib Dems says the same thing—but he is already making his coalition negotiating stance known. He says, for example, that he may drop his opposition to Labour's policy of charging students tuition fees.

A Lib-Lab coalition in Scotland would be a handy pilot project for Mr Blair, whose "project" is often said to revolve around the idea of fusing Labour and the Lib Dems into an unbeatable centre-left force. Having a working model in Labour's Scottish heartlands would help him sell the plan to his party.

It is often predicted that this new political world will cause problems in England. After all, Scottish MPs will continue to vote on English domestic affairs while English MPs will have no comparable say in Scottish affairs. Just as the Scots throughout the 1980s lamented being governed by English politicians they had not elected, so the English—in time—may resent the Scottish say over their affairs. But this anomaly, the so-called "West Lothian question", may cause less irritation than is assumed, for two reasons.

First, Tony Blair's government would still have a thumping majority even if there were no Scottish or even Welsh MPs at Westminster. True, the time may come when England votes for a Tory government but does not get it because of Scottish Labour MPs. But then, second, it is not true that Scottish and English affairs are now completely separate. Because of the way the Treasury's block grant to the Scottish Parliament is determined, when Westminster MPs vote on changes to the English health and education budgets, they will also be determining changes to the Scottish budget.

That gives English MPs a say in Scottish business, and Scottish MPs an acute interest in English matters. Indeed this intertwining may eventually cause a political headache if, say, the British government decides it wants to switch from the present tax-financed health service to one more dependent on revenue from private health insurance, but the Scottish Parliament stubbornly refuses to contemplate such a move.

However, such a policy change seems

unlikely, at least in the medium term. And in the meantime, both parliaments and the British taxpayer ought to benefit from greater policy experimentation and variety of experience. The introduction, for example, of a General Teaching Council to regulate the English teaching profession follows the experience of a similar long-established and Scottish body which has helped to raise standards in teacher training. More such learning and borrowing ought to be possible.

Indeed, while some feared that the newly elected parliament in Edinburgh would spend its time arguing for yet more power to be passed from Westminster, so far at least such arguments have been absent from the election campaign. Even the SNP, much attacked by opponents as separatists, have concentrated on domestic policy issues. The dawn of complete Scottish independence, far from having been brought closer, seems to be as far away as ever. The SNP remain isolated advocates of it, and until Scotland's powerful civic institutions see something better in independence than they currently get from the union with England, they are unlikely to be lured into the Nationalist fold.

Instead, what seems to be arising is a different Scotland, and a different Britain. Britain's centralised political culture will be changed, probably irreversibly. It will be replaced by a more diverse sort of politics, in which different regional and national identities will be given new encouragement and expression. They may even co-operate, rather than clash.

Tony Blair: Speech to the Scottish Parliament 9 March 2000

Some believe the programme of decentralisation and devolution is wrong. I disagree profoundly. You do not judge these changes in days or months, or even a short space of years. You judge them in the broad sweep of history. There is an historical movement away from centralised government. As democracy matures, so does the desire of the electorate for decisions to be taken closer to them. So does the desire for diversity. When people point to differences in devolved policy and ask me, "isn't this a problem?", my response is that it is devolution. Not an accident. But the intention.

Other people mistakenly say it represents the end of Britain. The truth is quite the opposite. Our identity as Britain is a matter of our values and our interests. It is not about fossilizing institutions and refusing to change them.

Indeed it would be failure to modernise that would lead to the end of Britain. That is why this Government is bringing our constitution up to date. To make sure that it does give effect to our continuing values in fast changing circumstances.

Britain's values and interests are enduring. They have grown up from our history and our shared experience. They reflect the shared experience of countries coming together in common interest to form a diverse but strong union. These values are deep rooted and powerful. They bind together Scotland and the rest of Britain. They are expressed in the partnership which we are forging today between the Scottish Parliament and the United Kingdom Parliament.

[...]

That is why I stand before you today, deeply conscious of the historical significance of this occasion. Our country is changing. The institutions of the 19th Century will not serve us in the 21st.

Ours is a union that is evolving. We see it in our relations with Europe. We see it in the creation of a Welsh Assembly. We see it in the popular will yearning for devolved government in Northern Ireland. We see it in the strengthening of local identity in the regions of England. And perhaps most of all, we see and feel it here in this Scottish Parliament.

When they locked the doors of the old Scottish Parliament nearly three hundred years ago, they said it was "the end of an auld sang". I am here to celebrate with you the beginning of a new one, and of a new era of partnership within the United Kingdom.