

**Confronting sectarianism
in Scotland** Page 9



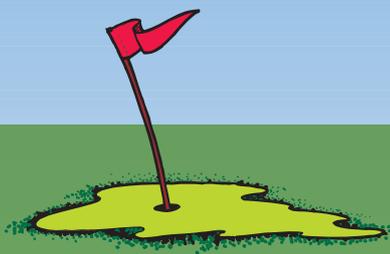
**Economics and
happiness** Page 13

radical feminist green

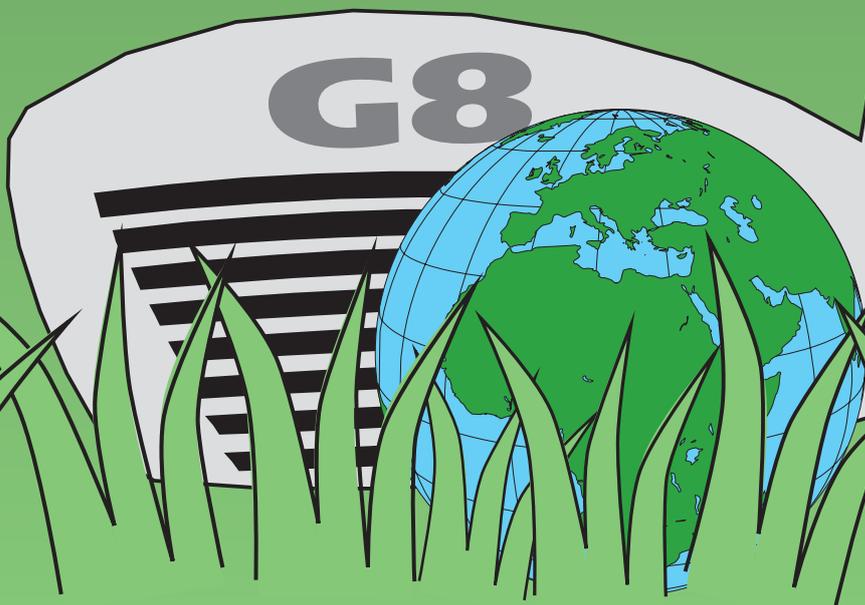
Perspectives

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GLENEAGLES:



AFRICA'S POOR OUT OF THE ROUGH?



MAGAZINE OF SCOTLAND'S DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Contents

■ *Perspectives*
No 9, summer 2005

3 Eurig Scandrett's
Sketches from a small world

4 **G8: Gleneagles and after** by Mike Arnott
(with contributions from Judith Robertson, Lesley Riddoch and Mark Ballard MSP)

9 **Confronting sectarianism in Scotland** by Elinor Kelly

11 **Revisiting the socialist tradition: conference survey**

13 **Happiness is ...**
by David Purdy

15 **A world to win – a response** by Mark Ballard MSP

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EDITORIAL

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

It feels like ancient history (the recent general election) but most of the pundits seemed to agree that the result was what the electorate wanted: a Labour government but with a substantially reduced majority.

However the figures reveal an increasingly untenable situation for the parties that support the current electoral arrangements; by the time you factor in Labour's share of the vote, plus the proportion of electors who bothered to turn out, then the party governs on the basis of the support of little more than 20% of the electorate.

The case for proportional representation (PR) was again made by *Guardian* columnist Polly Toynbee in a post-election article. It was quickly followed by a response from the Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, who argued against any form of PR, but did say that he personally would support the introduction of the single transferable vote (STV) – itself not a PR system, he was a pains to indicate.

This would at least resolve one dilemma for electors in the current system, as I argued in this column in the last issue, whereby with only a single (non-transferable) vote, many people, who might prefer to cast their ballot for a smaller party that is closer to their own views, end up voting Labour for fear of getting a Tory.

Of course there may be a touch of enlightened self-interest in Straw's opinion, as it was pointed out that under STV Labour would have ended up with a larger majority than the one they now have. Even so STV would have to be an improvement on the current first-past-the-post system.

Inevitably the main thrust of this issue of *Perspectives* is the G8 summit at Gleneagles. Both Mike Arnott's article and Eurig Scandrett's regular column address the subject, not just in terms of the



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issues that are up for grabs at the summit, but, just as importantly, whether the forces that have come together to let these world leaders know what *we* think needs to be done to make our planet a better place for its inhabitants can find a continued and meaningful existence after the conclusion of the summit.

Of course, particularly in west and central Scotland, the G8 demonstrations in Edinburgh and elsewhere are not the only ones to be held this July, which is traditionally the culminating month of the Orange Order's marching season. Sectarianism has been a huge problem in many Scottish communities and it is to the Scottish Executive's credit that it has decided to take on this issue in such a high-profile campaign. Elinor Kelly's article looks at the history and recent developments in this battle for a more decent and inclusive Scotland.

Elsewhere we have a review of a major new book on happiness, a report on a questionnaire circulated at Democratic Left Scotland's conference "Revisiting the Socialist Tradition" and a response from Mark Ballard, given at DLS's annual general meeting, to David Purdy's article (in our last issue) on politics and policy since 9/11.

What's in a name? Well, for *Perspectives*, potentially a change. As part of a plan to develop the magazine we intend to register the title. Research indicates another magazine using the same name so we need to consider a change (which still might incorporate the word *Perspectives*, amongst others). Suggestions to the editor or DLS convener, Stuart Fairweather, as soon as possible. We will keep readers informed of this and other planned developments.

Sean Feeny
Editor



EURIG SCANDRETT'S



Preparations for the resistance to the G8 give an indication of the state of the movement in Scotland, and more widely in the UK. There have of course been mistakes and plenty of tensions: Between Reds and Greens, anarchists and socialists, Socialist Workers and other socialists, reformist NGOs and radical groups, English-based and Scottish-based groups, Make Poverty History and Bob Geldof, naïve activists and hard-bitten cynics, and I'm sure within the various coalitions and organisations all preparing for the big week. But the fact that the resistance is organised is itself a major feat and an encouraging sign of maturity in the movement. It makes you believe that another world is possible. The enemy, with almost limitless resources, suffers the same tensions, mistakes and balls-ups.

There have certainly been tensions in the police. Certain sections of the police have been exemplary, and have worked with protest movements to try to protect the right to protest, including civil disobedience. Other sectors of the police have behaved badly, whether it be the unnecessary banning of marches or the scare stories in the press briefings. You can just imagine Special Branch, MI5, the Met and the various security forces accompanying the world leaders being told that they are accountable to Tayside police. I've no candle to hold for Tayside police, but I wonder if the Gleneagles march ban decision really was made by Tayside or whether they were leaned on by the more macho and politicised forces.

I think we have lessons to learn about non-violence. If violence breaks out on the fringes of any of the demonstrations – and I hope that it doesn't – it will be newsworthy, but it will not be new. Scraps with the police have occurred at demonstrations since the police were invented. Nonetheless the media will love a bit of violence and have been shameful in their whipping it up in the run-up. But the lack of violence in the vast majority, if not all, of the demonstration does not imply a commitment to non-violence, despite the best efforts of many, from Faslane's big blockade to the Scottish Centre for Non-violence, through to

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Starhawk. Most of the action will be media-orientated and relatively superficial. Some will have "Non-Violent" as an adjective for "Direct Action", and involve giving the police a runaround. Some activities will technically be non-violent and legal but have a high level of macho chanting with an undercurrent of violence.

Some of the principles of non-violence need to be remembered. For example, to what extent are we exposing the conflicts in the situation by exposing ourselves to those conflicts? Are we willing to take on suffering rather than allow another, even our enemy, to suffer? Will we, with Martin Luther King, "forever conduct our struggle on the high plain of dignity and discipline.

"We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering.

"We will meet your physical force with soul force.

"We will not hate you, but we cannot in good conscience obey your unjust laws ...

"And in winning our freedom we will win you in the process."

I'm not expecting the G8 to give up neo-liberalism. As it is completely unaccountable, there is no lobbying which can be done or alliances which can be formed in order to influence policy. Even if we get a few positive statements in the final communiqué, there is no guarantee that the countries will implement them – they usually don't. A more significant outcome from the summit is, what will happen to the movement after the G8? Will it virtually collapse as happened after the protests against the war against Iraq? Will it leave activists with a feeling of sectarian betrayal, as was the experience of some after the London European Social Forum? Or will the wide diversity of people involved in some form of protest, from Geldof's rock fans with a conscience, to direct action anarchists, to established NGOs, become increasingly politicised and be in a better shape to make another world possible here in Scotland?

■ *Eurig Scandrett is an environmental activist and member of Democratic Left Scotland.*

G8: GLENEAGLES AND AFTER

In the run-up to the G8's summit in Scotland, **Mike Arnott** considers the issues at stake and the post-summit prospects for ongoing global justice campaigning.

WHO ARE THE G8?

Shame on you if you don't know this by now, but the Group of Eight (G8) summit is being held this year at Gleneagles on July 6th–8th, representing the annual get-together of the leaders of the world's eight leading industrial nations. (I hope I don't have to write (or read) that particular sentence again for a very long time. As a mental escape from all the G8 build-up, I've been writing a screenplay for a *Doctor Who* episode, featuring capitalist protestors demonstrating at the 3066 G94 summit of leading revolutionary countries in Dundee.)

The G8 claim their summit is a democratic forum, as it represents a meeting of elected heads of state from the US, Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Italy, Canada and Russia. But there is nothing democratic about leaders of the eight most powerful countries making policies without representation from the world's 183 other nations.

These are the eight leaders of the world who:

- Despite having had 35 years, haven't been able to come up with 0.7% of their countries' GDP for aid.
- Look like failing to hit any of the UN Millennium Development Goals by the target of 2015.
- Control over 46% of the votes in the World Bank and

This woeful record of failure gives an indication of why the latter-day four horsemen of the apocalypse – G8, WTO, IMF and World Bank – are hounded wherever they meet.

48% of the votes in the International Monetary Fund.

- Impose disastrous privatisations on indebted countries, causing dislocation, poverty and death.
- Lead the countries responsible for producing 50% of world greenhouse gas emissions.
- Demand transparency from others whilst supporting corrupt financial havens like Monaco and Leichtenstein.
- Pay kickbacks and sweeteners, particularly in arms deals, yet point fingers at the corruption of others.
- Run seven of the top ten arms exporting countries in the world (Japan being the historical exception).

- Established the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria at the Genoa G8 in 2001, but have since left it shamefully underfunded.

And that's without mentioning the war. This woeful record of failure, restricted by space as it is, gives at least an indication of why the latter-day four horsemen of the apocalypse – G8, WTO, IMF and World Bank – are hounded wherever they meet.

HISTORY OF PROTEST

On the G8's last visit to the UK, in Birmingham in 1998, 60,000 Jubilee campaigners demonstrated on the issue of debt cancellation. In the intervening years, only 12% of that debt has been written off. The following year the WTO met at Seattle, opposed by trade unionists, environmentalists and others who, by utilising a strategy of non-violent disruption, brought the meeting to a standstill. The over-reaction of the Seattle Police was to find a resounding echo two years later in Genoa at the 2001 G8 summit. Seattle is significant in that it marked the emergence of not only a wider popular awareness of, but also a fightback against, the neo-liberal economic agenda. Genoa marks the same watershed in a European context, but arguably both emerged from seeds sown a few years before by the Zapatista movement in Mexico.

2001 saw the first World Social Forum in Puerto Alegre in Brazil, bringing together tens of thousands of activists from social movements across the globe. This was the first concrete expression of international unity from the anti-globalisation movement,



now confident and coherent enough to proclaim what it was campaigning for, rather than just what it was fighting against. A paragraph from the “Call of the Social Movements”, adopted at the second WSF the following year, encapsulates for many the ethos of this new movement: “We are diverse – women and men, adults and youth, indigenous peoples, rural and urban, workers and unemployed, homeless, the elderly, students, migrants, professionals, peoples of every creed, colour and sexual orientation. The expression of this diversity is our strength and the basis of our unity. We are a global solidarity movement, united in our determination to fight against the concentration of wealth, the proliferation of poverty and inequalities, and the destruction of our earth. We are living and constructing alternative systems, and using creative ways to promote them. We are building a large alliance from our struggles and resistance against a system based on sexism, racism and violence, which privileges the interests of capital and patriarchy over the needs and aspirations of the people.”

A year after Genoa, Europe’s social movements returned to north west Italy for the first European Social Forum in Florence. It was from this assembly that the call went out for the world-wide day of action against war in Iraq on February 15th 2003. The final day also saw an anti-war march of one million through the streets of the city. No arrests, no broken windows, no violence, but many thousands of supportive Florentines hanging banners, flags and messages of support from their windows and balconies. Edinburgh and Auchterarder take note!

The concluding sessions of these great convergences are labelled “Assemblies of the Social Movements” and it is the final “Call” from these massive meetings which set the campaigning priorities for the next twelve months. It was no surprise, there-

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G8 PERSPECTIVES

Make poverty history

Imagine your youngest child is dying from a preventable illness because your government has to spend more on debt repayments than on healthcare.

Imagine you cannot sell the crops you farm at a profit, because your prices are undercut by subsidised produce from the European Union and the USA.

Imagine you cannot feed your family because the UK and other rich states have failed to meet their promise to spend 0.7% of their wealth on aid.

Millions of families around the world don’t have to imagine, because that is their daily reality.

Those families could see that reality change for the better, however, as a result of decisions made in Scotland this summer. World leaders meet at Gleneagles in July, with the UK the host. It is a huge opportunity to change the economic policies which keep people in poverty. If the eight men who lead the G8 states have the political will, they can help 800 million people out of poverty. If they don’t, the totally disgraceful situation which sees 30,000 children die from poverty every day will continue.

What do these leaders have to do to make a difference? They need to provide more and better aid, they need to drop the unfair debt owed by developing countries and they need to change the rules of international trade to allow poor farmers and workers a chance to help themselves out of poverty.

Will they do it? Well that’s where you come in! Politicians will only change their policies if the public makes them. That’s why everyone who wants to make poverty history needs to add their voice and their support to the campaign to ensure the leaders aren’t let off the hook! Not just people in this country but around the world.

However the fact that the G8 meeting takes place in Scotland gives Scots a unique chance to be at the forefront of this world movement to end poverty. Log onto www.makepovertyhistory.org to find out more and register your support, wear a white band, the campaign symbol, available via the website or at Oxfam shops throughout the country and put the 2nd of July in your diary now. That date will see a huge march take place in Edinburgh, one of the biggest peaceful protests Scotland has ever seen, to demand global change. Be part of it and help do your bit to Make Poverty History!

Judith Robertson

Head of Oxfam in Scotland and editor of Change!



G8: GLENEAGLES AND AFTER

fore, that the G8 at Gleneagles achieved prominence in the Call from the 2004 ESF in London.

THE GLENEAGLES AGENDA

The British Government's choice of "specialist subjects" for this year's G8 agenda – Africa and Climate Change – were odd in that they seemed to provide scant hope of any meaningful advance.

Despite his claims to identify with the aims of MPH, Gordon Brown's pre-summit announce-

The British Government's choice of "specialist subjects" for this year's G8 agenda were odd.

ment of concessions on debt relief from the G8 finance ministers conveniently obscured the attachment of privatisation strings for those African countries involved. The disastrous lessons of Tanzania's enforced water privatisation to British company Biwater don't seem to have deterred them (but then again, neither have those from a similar exercise in Cochabamba, Bolivia, five years earlier). The fact that the UK's Department for International

Development (DFID) paid Adam Smith International, a right-wing think-tank, more than £500,000 to advise the Tanzanian government on carving up the country's water system is bad enough. That DFID has admitted paying more than £36 million in the past seven years to Adam Smith International and Price Waterhouse Coopers to advise countries on privatising utilities is nothing short of scandalous. This is perhaps the most glaring of the many contradictions bound up

G8 PERSPECTIVES

Africawoman

If the world leaders at Gleneagles want inspiring practical examples of what can be achieved against all odds, they will not hear it from one another. Or even from the African leaders to be shipped in under wraps halfway through their deliberations.

The real change agents are absent from the official proceedings. As usual.

That's why eight women who together could change the face of Africa make up the front page of *Africawoman* – a tabloid paper about to hit buses and trains across Scotland.

Africawoman is a Kenyan based NGO producing papers in print, on the net and in radio bulletin format written by 100 African women journalists. The project works "smartly" over the internet and four time zones – with women journalists from eight countries using a network of internet cafes to discuss, research and write story ideas. The resulting papers are posted on the website (www.africawoman.net), printed out to be read by African decision makers and sent to community radio stations. That way stories reach the majority of African women who cannot read or write.

Before the G8 at Gleneagles, I've taken five months out to commission, fundraise, edit and distribute two massive special editions of *Africawoman* to be distributed on buses and trains. The aim is to let Scots get some idea of the links that already exist between Scotland and Africa – and the solutions African women have devised to the problems that face their continent.

Practical problem solving is the emphasis *Africawoman* wants to see amongst the projects that will get the green light after the size of the G8 spending kitty is agreed.

Will the cash go on more big, centralised projects that have failed to work before – or will the west put money into the flexible arrangements that could save lives fast. Like local water gathering to stop death through waterborne

infection, filters for stoves to stop death through respiratory diseases and burns, mobile phones for rural midwives so women with difficult births can be taken to antibiotics fast, mosquito nets to combat the greatest killer – malaria and a wholesale change in women's legal status so they can own property, cannot be inherited like goods upon their husband's death and cannot be forced to have sex against their will by HIV+ partners.

Africawoman and Edinburgh Council ran a conference in Edinburgh at the Hub on 23rd June to give key African women a platform before the G8. The W8 are Wangari Maathi, the Nobel Peace Prize Winner, whose project to plant 30 million trees has also earned the women planters enough cash to set up 43,000 small businesses. Graca Machel, wife of Nelson Mandela and former Minister in Mozambique who cut illiteracy by 22% in five years. Lornah Kiplagat – Kenya's world record breaking long distance runner who had no support and now ploughs winnings into her High Altitude Training Centre for women. Hauwa Ibrahim, who secured the release of Amina Lawal, sentenced to death by stoning for adultery. Alivera Kiiza who helped persuade her coffee co-operative in Tanzania to let women farmers own trees so they can become full co-operative members. Winnie Byanyima, an outspoken women's rights campaigner who encouraged Uganda's policy of openness about HIV/AIDs but is now critical of President Museveni's leadership. Anna Tibaijuka head of the UN Habitat Agency and Africa Commissioner who warns of the flight to cities created by starvation and crop failure in Africa. Grace Githaiga, *Africawoman* writer and World Assoc of Community Broadcasters leader who's helped set up more than a 100 stations with 250 million listeners in a continent where 70% of women are illiterate and state radio is often government controlled.

Lesley Riddoch
Broadcaster and journalist



in New Labour's frantic attempts to demonstrate empathy with Make Poverty History. The momentum built up behind the MPH coalition should mean that even Blair's spinning credentials will be put to the test when selling the summit's conclusions to a watching world.

The revelation that the Bush administration's amendments to pre-summit draft papers on climate change have seen most references to human causality, or potential environmental dangers, deleted gives little prospect of a credible outcome on that front either.

VOICES OF DISSENT

The creation of the Make Poverty History coalition, added to the celebrity effect of Live 8, will undoubtedly reach more people than would the normal round of anti-G8 protests. The raising of awareness arising from the concerts and associated media coverage is a positive thing, despite the question over the amount of informed activism it will actually generate. What still has to be seen is whether the details behind the debt relief sound bites, such as the true amount of relief in real terms and the privatisation strings, will be subject to the same sort of attention. The position within the MPH coalition of the trade union movement, along with the more politically aware NGOs such as War on Want and WDM, allow them to play a crucial role in this.

What can't be doubted is the range of opportunities for people to get involved around the G8 in July. On top of the MPH headline events are the performances of *Black Sun over Genoa* at the Festival Theatre, the Alternatives Summit on Sunday, Blockade Faslane on the Monday, then Dungavel on Tuesday before the protest at Gleneagles itself on the first day of the summit. These events have been developed under the umbrella of G8 Alternatives, a loose coalition who came together in June 2004 to work on counter events, but were particularly con-

The creation of the Make Poverty History coalition, added to the celebrity effect of Live 8, will undoubtedly reach more people than would the normal round of anti-G8 protests.

G8 PERSPECTIVES

Green agenda

The G8 leaders represent 13% of the world's population, but between them they control the world's institutions, and make decisions which affect everyone. This is not democratic. This year, climate change and African poverty have been put on the agenda. It is good that they are debating the most important issues facing mankind.

However, the solutions they have proposed are very problematic. On climate change, they have proposed a system which sets targets giving the right to pollute on the basis of who has polluted in the past, rather than equally to all. The USA, which currently produces 25% of the world's CO₂ would still have the right to produce 25% of the world's CO₂, although the total amount of CO₂ produced would shrink. This is unfair because countries that historically have not contributed to pollution, nor benefited from concomitant resource use, would be penalised. Instead, a system of contraction and convergence should be adopted, where the total CO₂ emissions are reduced, while the distribution of CO₂ emissions is also shared out more equally amongst countries.

Likewise, the UK proposed solutions for Africa have major strings attached. The much praised debt relief comes on the condition of "economic reform". It is being used as a lever to prise open developing world markets, and so cement unfair trade laws. Developing countries must be allowed to protect their indigenous industries until they are ready to compete globally – this is how the West developed.

Gordon Brown's IFF proposals are also significantly flawed. His idea is to borrow money now, and use future aid budgets to pay for the loan. A recent report by WDM shows that over the lifetime of the scheme, it will cut total aid by \$108 billion. While "front-loading" aid may well be a good idea in theory, WDM point out that the increase in the short term of 20% will not be nearly enough to break the cycle of poverty, and so this will not make up for the total reduction in spending over the lifetime of the scheme. Mr Brown should increase the aid budget now, rather than passing loans to future governments.

European Green proposals to fund aid with a Tobin tax on currency exchange and an aviation fuel tax have been supported by both French and German governments, and the UK might support fuel tax. Although the charge will be too low, this is a start.

As long as global decisions are made by the representatives of the rich, we will never make poverty history.

Mark Ballard MSP
Scottish Green Party

scious of the need to keep momentum building from July 2nd in Edinburgh to July 6th at Gleneagles. Working with them have been Scottish CND, Glasgow Welcomes Refugees, War on Want, WDM and Friends of the Earth in developing different elements

within the overall programme. FoE's call for everyone to make a noise at 13.45hrs on Thursday 7th in protest over climate change is an initiative everyone can participate in, wherever they are. Despite teething troubles over finance (much ameliorated by Belle and

G8: GLENEAGLES AND AFTER

Sebastian's benefit gig) and Perth & Kinross Council, the G8 Alternatives agenda of events is proof that you can truly think global and act local and, when the President of COSATU calls you up asking to speak at your counter summit, you know you must be doing something right.

To complete the spectrum, the autonomous movement around Dissent have brought together their own agenda of events and actions stretching from Edinburgh to Gleneagles and including the convergence centre at Stirling which, even if you don't actually stay there, must be worth a visit to see grass-roots sustainability in action. Mention must also be made of the efforts of the community of Dunning in Perthshire, who have devised their own schedule of G8 themed activities during the last week of June.

OUTCOMES

Blair and Brown have done much groundwork in advance to accentuate the positive they hope will come from Gleneagles. But, at the end of the day, how will their version of events tally with the detail of what is on offer? Do the concessions negotiated by Brown even come up to the "More and Better Aid" demand made by MPH? Would MPH dare to invite Brown to Edinburgh, then give a damning verdict on the summit? If they don't, can we count on those like the trade unions to produce a critical "Minority Report" from within the coalition and how could political momentum be built around that? How much of the Make Poverty History coalition is tied in to maintaining a working relationship with New Labour and the G8 participants, as against adopting an oppositional strategy? It is difficult to see them admitting on July 9th "OK, we failed" and telling everyone just to go home.

While many of those involved in the G8 Alternatives umbrella have access to ongoing campaign networks, such as the SSP, Globalise Resistance and the Social Forum structure and Dissent have their

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 SOUP KITCHEN/WWW.DISSENT
 EDINBURGH/COMMITMENT

own horizontal framework and anti capitalist agenda, it is difficult to see how MPH could transform itself from single issue one-off into an ongoing movement. It seems more probable that the coalition will break up into its constituent parts again, continuing to raise their issues separately. As far as bringing on board all those motivated by MPH and Live 8, even those progressive NGOs already mentioned – War on Want and

WDM – are geared more to producing excellent research, campaign materials and lobbying strategies, rather than developing local branches and membership.

And it is not only the issues of debt, trade and aid which will need to be campaigned on after July 9th. The whole build up to Gleneagles has raised the issues of democracy and protest within the Scotland, from Grampian Police videoing people at a meeting to Perth & Kinross Council's £5 million insurance bond to the right to march. No doubt many more such issues will emerge in the days ahead, but what is clear is that civil liberties are under attack in the UK under many guises, not just via anti-terrorist legislation. And Faslane will still hold Europe's biggest stockpile of WMDs. And we will still lock up children at Dungavel.

When considering how best to serve the legacy of what will be, without doubt, the most inspiring and invigorating week of political activity in Scotland since 1919, many issues will have to be debated. I don't have any preconceptions, but I will share one thing with you; the G94 Summit in Dundee in 3066 will be hosted by the Dundee Social Forum.

■ *Mike Arnott is Secretary of Dundee Trades Union Council and active in G8 Alternatives.*

There's
 more
 to politics
 than
 parties

Perspectives is produced by Democratic Left Scotland as part of its commitment to developing a politics that is radical, feminist and green.

Membership is open to anyone who shares its general outlook and commitments. Whilst many members are involved in a range of political parties, others are not.

To join or request further information, please contact Democratic Left Scotland, Number Ten, 10 Constitution Road, Dundee DD1 1LL

Democratic Left Scotland
 na Deamocrataich Chli an Alba



CONFRONTING SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND



This year's marching season will be a major test of the Scottish Executive's measures to take a stand against sectarian prejudice. **Elinor Kelly** outlines the background to recent developments that aim to confront the issue.

We will act decisively to confront the evils of racism and sectarianism. We will act against racist abuse and attacks. We will tackle sectarianism.

In May 2003, Jack McConnell, Leader of the Scottish Labour Party, and Jim Wallace, Leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrats issued their agreement – *A Partnership for a Better Scotland*. The agreement included statements explicitly linking racism and sectarianism as twin evils that must be confronted. These statements were bold and would have been startling if the Scottish Executive had not prepared the way. After all it was only in 1999 that James Macmillan, Scotland's foremost composer stirred major controversy with his lecture about the shame of "sleepwalking bigotry" and "visceral anti-Catholicism".

Macmillan's lecture was carefully timed to draw on a groundswell of feeling that if Scotland was undertaking measures against racism, then the time had come to develop equal challenge to the flamboyant forms of sectarian expression that were blighting Scotland's streets. For too long, it was argued, there had been tolera-

tion of the turbulence that surrounds the annual cycle of Orange parades, the aggressive rivalry between Glasgow's giant football clubs, Celtic and Rangers, and the heat of debate that is fired by any mention of Catholic schools.

CONTENTIOUS ISSUE

Unlike the legislative measures against racism that were in place before devolution, the Scottish Executive decided that it was essential to find its own way in dealing with an issue that is more contentious than any other. Instead of adopting the hasty measures passed by the Westminster Parliament in the aftermath of 9/11, the Scottish Executive created a cross-party working group on religious hatred that heard evidence from a wide range of organisations. It then decided to support a clause in the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act of 2003 that made specific provision for criminal offences "aggravated by religious prejudice", and for the monitoring of the outcome of that provision. The cross-party working group has continued to meet and receive evidence, publishing an update in 2004. Meanwhile, Sir John Orr, the former Chief

It decided to support a clause that made specific provision for criminal offences "aggravated by religious prejudice".

Constable of Scotland's largest police force, was commissioned to undertake a review of marches and parades.

Alongside the new-found political will to confront sectarianism, there has been marked improvement in key Scottish social data – census, government publications and large-scale social surveys all now include reference to religion. As a result, all social researchers conclude that there are few remaining signs of sectarian inequality in education and employment. Catholics and protestants are found in all occupational sectors, and there is now a substantial middle-class among Catholics. Moreover, decline in Christian church membership is more marked in Scotland than in any other part of the United Kingdom, and as many as three in ten Catholics have "mixed" marriages, often with protestant partners.

DISPLAYS OF BIGOTRY

Given the persuasive evidence that Catholic social mobility has been both horizontal, penetrating sectors that were formerly the preserve of protestants, and vertical, Catholics occupying senior posi-

CONFRONTING SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND

tions in most public and private occupations, it could seem bizarre that present-day politicians are giving so much attention to sectarianism as an issue for Scotland. But such a conclusion would be misleading because the evidence of decline in discrimination is more than matched by evidence about flamboyant displays of sectarian bigotry and aggression.

In his review, Orr records that in 2003 there were 1712 marches and parades notified to local authorities in Scotland, of which 20 were Catholic/republican, but 853 were Orange. It is sometimes argued that Orange parades are not an issue for most of Scotland, but Orr documents that there were only eight local authorities where no Orange parades took place and the number of Orange parades has been increasing – from 800 in 2001 to 853 in 2003. Some local authorities are under considerable pressure because they host so many parades (287 in Glasgow, 157 in North Lanarkshire, 111 in South Lanarkshire). Orr estimates that between September 2003 and August 2004, Scottish police forces spent £1,534,549 on the manpower required for 1,848 parades, and that £345,732 of this was allocated to policing Orange/Republican parades. In the telephone survey he commissioned, he found that one in four of the 676 respondents had been spectators at Orange/Republican walks, and 47% had been “otherwise affected” – annoyed, angry or upset. Respondents felt that although there is a need to protect freedom of speech, marches which are likely to inflame racial or religious tensions should not go ahead. He recommended that parades should be blocked if sectarian chants, threatening or drunken behaviour or support for proscribed organisations occurs.

UNCOMFORTABLE FACT OF LIFE

The Orange Order claims as many as 50,000 members in Scotland, many of whom regard their annual parades as the high point

in their year – a witness for their faith and a celebration of their cultural heritage. Until Orr’s report was published, the scale and impact of Orange parades was treated as an uncomfortable fact of life – an open secret that was known, but rarely publicised, and certainly not discussed openly by politicians in spite of frequent outbreaks of serious disorder. Indeed, any commentary on the burden felt by Scotland’s people by the tensions aroused by Orange parades was robustly denied by their leaders.

In contrast with the muted and occasional reference to parades, the bigotry and aggression associated with football has been consistently sensationalised. Fans and journalists share a fascination with Glasgow’s giant clubs – Celtic and Rangers. Both teams have thousands of supporters who travel to games not just from within the city itself, but also from all regions of Scotland, Ireland and Northern Ireland and even wider afield. The passion that is poured into the Old Firm rivalry has no equivalent in any other team or sport, associated on occasion with notorious incidents – riotous crowds, multiple assaults, and even murder.

CHANGE OF POLITICAL CLIMATE

Indeed, it was the murder of one Celtic fan, Mark Scott, in October 1995, and the attempted murder of another, Sean O’Connor, in November 1996, that precipitated the series of events that was to lead to a change of political climate. Mark Scott was killed by Jason Campbell, a member of a family notorious for their extremist Loyalism. Sean O’Connor was attacked by Campbell’s friend, Thomas Longstaff, in what was dubbed “the copycat crime”, after weeks of feverish excitement about whether Campbell would succeed in being transferred to a prison in Northern Ireland, as part of the peace process. Campbell and Longstaff were both defended by Donald Findlay, an advocate renowned for his flamboyant and noisy support of Rangers, very

In contrast with the muted and occasional reference to parades, the bigotry and aggression associated with football has been consistently sensationalised.

proud of his position as Vice-Chair of the club. In court, Findlay could not be challenged for the triumphalism that typified his conduct. But, in May 1999, he overstepped the mark. He was filmed during noisy celebrations of Rangers Cup Final defeat of Celtic. Findlay mocked the idea of sectarianism and lustily led the singing of some of the most inflammatory songs of loyalist militarism and triumphalism. A video recording of his performance was passed to the press. At the very time he was leading the singing, two Celtic fans were attacked – Thomas MacFadden was stabbed and Karl McGroarty was hit in the chest by a bolt from a crossbow.

Findlay resigned from the board of Rangers, he was disciplined for his conduct by the Faculty of Advocates, the honorary degree he was due to receive as Rector of St Andrews University was withdrawn. The sequence of events provoked Cara Henderson, a close friend of Mark Scott, into action. She formed the anti-sectarian campaign Nil By Mouth, and lobbied strongly for change in the Old Firm. Her campaign was extraordinarily effective, winning support on a scale that paved the way for the Scottish Executive.

SPEEDY TRANSFORMATION

On 7th October 2002, the First Minister and the Justice Minister issued a joint statement in support of legislation to tackle sectarianism, supported the next day in an open letter released to the press by the Moderator of the Church of Scotland. On 15th October, Celtic’s chief executive and the Rangers’ chairman were called to talks with the First Minister. On 31st October, the Rangers fanzine *Follow Follow* was banned from the stadium. On 8th November the Chairman of Rangers reported that 100 fans had been banned from Ibrox and warnings had been issued to another 900 fans. On 7th December, Glasgow city council licensing committee announced that it would meet with street traders to decide how to prevent

REVISITING THE SOCIALIST TRADITION

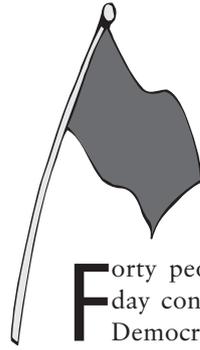
the display and sale of merchandise with sectarian overtones outside football grounds. These are just a few of the measures that have been undertaken in recent years. From political silence and inaction, there has been speedy transformation.

NEW-FOUND POLITICAL WILL

Fragments of evidence about contemporary sectarianism are now starting to accumulate. Recently, the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (COPFS) published their initial monitoring report of the first 108 criminal cases in which aggravation by religious prejudice was reported. 58 of the cases were reported in Glasgow, 24 in Lanarkshire, 11 in Lothian and Borders, five in Argyll and Clyde. In 68 cases, Catholics and, in 31, protestants were the target of abuse. 15 cases were related to support of a football team, 16 were connected to marches. Fragmentary this evidence may be, but, in the context of new-found political will, it is confirmation of the risks that are run by allowing sectarian abuse to thrive in crowd situations. It is also suggestive that there are inequalities in subjection to abuse.

Following the introduction of the new legislative measure, the police have developed a more robust stance in arresting and charging the football fans that are most abusive. Following Orr's review, the police and local authorities now require the organisers of parades to take account of the impact on the local community, and to be responsible for ensuring that their marches are well-planned and disciplined. The 2005 marching season is the first serious test of Scotland's new political resolve. If the streets are cleared of sectarian abuse, then this is a welcome step towards confronting the other, less flamboyant, forms of bigotry that continue to bring shame on Scotland.

■ *Dr Elinor Kelly is Research Fellow, Race and Ethnic Issues, at the University of Glasgow.*



A summary of responses to a questionnaire on the socialist tradition from last November's conference in Glasgow.

Forty people attended a one-day conference organised by Democratic Left Scotland in association with Research Collections at Glasgow Caledonian University on 13th November 2004. After the opening plenary in which Willie Thompson reviewed a hundred years of socialism in sixty minutes, there were six parallel sessions: on the final years of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the rise of New Labour, introduced by Geoff Andrews and Eric Shaw; on how the left should respond to New Labour, introduced by Ruth Levitas and Paul Thompson; and on alternative economic strategies, yesterday and today, introduced by Pat Devine and Andy Cumbers. In the closing plenary, Isobel Lindsay and Eurig Scandrett reflected on "The Socialist Tradition: What's Left?"

All conference participants were invited to complete a detailed questionnaire about the socialist tradition. 21 responses were received. This is a very small number. Nevertheless, the results provide an interesting profile of survivors from a tradition which did much to shape the history of the twentieth century and may yet have a part to play in the twenty-first. DLS would like to thank everyone who took part.

PERSONAL DETAILS

17 respondents were men and 4 women, (an imbalance which itself says a lot about what went wrong in the past). The average age was 58, with a range from 37 to 79. 10 respondents were born in England (including one Scot "born in exile"), eight in Scotland, two in the rest of the UK and one overseas.

POLITICAL IDENTITY AND AFFILIATION

17 respondents were prepared to describe themselves as socialists without qualification and only two rejected this label. The other words that people used most frequently to describe their political views were green, feminist, democrat and humanist. Nine respondents were members of political parties: six in the Labour Party, two Greens and one in the Scottish Socialist Party; the remaining 12 were not members of any political party. 14 respondents, including some who were retired, belonged to trade unions and five or more belonged to the following organisations: Amnesty, CND, DLS/New Politics Network and Greenpeace/Friends of the Earth.

POLITICAL FORMATION, READING HABITS AND CULTURE

Parents' political views were characterised as follows: seven Labour, five Communist, four Liberal/Centre and five Conservative/Centre-Right. General upbringing emerged as a more important political influence than reflection and study which, in turn, was more important than particular episodes and events. Those who mentioned this last category, however, generally cited dramatic life experiences such as active military service, working and living in poor countries and growing up in Northern Ireland during the "Troubles".

The most frequently read newspapers were the *Guardian* (13) and the *Herald* (9). Of the rest, only the *Independent* was regularly read by at least three people. The following periodicals and journals were mentioned by three or more people: *London Review of Books*, *New Left Review*, *New Statesman*,

REVISITING THE SOCIALIST TRADITION

Perspectives, Renewal and *Soundings*. Responses to questions about formative books and cultural experiences were very diverse. Authors mentioned by at least two people were Isaac Deutscher, Antonio Gramsci, Eric Hobsbawm, Karl Marx, George Orwell, George Bernard Shaw, Edgar Snow, Robert Tressell and Emile Zola. Two films were cited by two or more people: Bertolucci's *1900* and Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers*. The 7/84 theatre group was mentioned by five people and Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible* by four.

ATTITUDES TO THE SOCIALIST TRADITION

Seven respondents said that they identified most closely with the Gramscian/Eurocommunist branch of the socialist tradition, five named democratic socialism/humanistic Marxism/the New Left and two the Labour Left. Others cited ethical socialism, Guild Socialism, radical democracy and anarchism. The most admired individuals were Gramsci (eight mentions) and Marx (6). Others mentioned by two or more people were Bernstein, Bukharin, Lenin and Luxemburg; Tony Benn, Aneurin Bevan, Barbara Castle and Keir Hardie; and Eric Hobsbawm and Nelson Mandela.

The aspects of the socialist tradition of which people felt proudest fell into three groups: specific historical achievements such as the NHS and the reforms of the post-war Labour government, comprehensive schools and the co-operative movement; specific historical struggles such as resistance to fascism and support for national liberation movements; and generic characteristics such as internationalism, altruism, egalitarianism, rationalism/secularism, tough-mindedness and sheer dogged determination. The aspects people felt least proud of were Stalinism and the general record of communist regimes (with the exception of Cuba), elitism, authoritarianism, statism, productivism, sectarianism, dogmatism and male chauvinism.

The aspects of socialism which people thought still relevant to the contemporary world were its general critique of capitalism, its commitment to equality and "fair shares", its commitment to common ownership and economic democracy and parts of the intellectual legacy of Marxism – notably, a general approach to understanding history, political economy and class division. The main things people wanted to jettison were the vanguard party, ultra-leftism, workerism, arrogance, nostalgia and philistinism.

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Respondents were asked how they had voted in the 2001 Westminster election and in the 2003 Holyrood election, and how they intended to vote in the 2005 Westminster election. The results were as illustrated in tables 1 and 2.

Table 1:
Westminster elections

| | 2001 | 2005 (intention) |
|-------------------------------|------|------------------|
| Labour | 7 | 2 |
| SNP | 4 | 3 |
| Lib-Dem | 3 | 5 |
| SSP | 3 | 1 |
| Green | 2 | 4 |
| Can't remember/ Don't know | 2 | 6 |

Table 2:
Holyrood elections 2003

| | 1st vote | 2nd vote |
|----------------|----------|----------|
| Non-electors | 3 | |
| Non-voters | 1 | |
| Can't remember | 2 | |
| | | |
| Labour | 3 | 1 |
| SNP | 4 | 1 |
| Lib-Dem | 4 | 4 |
| SSP | 2 | 2 |
| Green | 1 | 7 |
| Independent | 1 | 0 |

One respondent who described moving from "cautious hope to angry dissidence" spoke for many.

ATTITUDES TO RECENT BRITISH POLITICS

Respondents were asked at which recent times (in the past 25 years or so) they had felt most optimistic and most pessimistic, respectively, about politics. Optimism was at its highest in the 1970s, while pessimism prevailed during the 1980s, though several people mentioned having been buoyed up by campaigns against Cruise missiles in the early 1980s and by the domestic and foreign policies of Gorbachev in the second half of the decade.

After the collapse of communism, optimism rose in the run-up to the 1992 Westminster election and fell back sharply in its immediate aftermath. There was a similar, even more pronounced rise and fall either side of the 1997 election. One third of respondents cited the present as their most pessimistic time. (It should, perhaps, be borne in mind that the conference took place just nine days after the re-election of George Bush.)

Attitudes to New Labour were deeply hostile. A few people acknowledged devolution, the minimum wage, reduced unemployment and a better deal for families as worthwhile achievements. But in general, New Labour was characterised as a reactionary, neo-liberal, Thatcherite, centre-right cabal, with ministers described as arrogant, authoritarian, hypocritical, craven careerists and war criminals. One critic was even moved to wonder whether "there might not be a case for reviving the concept of 'social fascism'".

Most people found the government worse than they had expected in 1997. One respondent who described moving from "cautious hope to angry dissidence" spoke for many.

As regards the future, views were more nuanced. There were four unqualified optimists and five unqualified pessimists, but 12 people said that they were optimistic in some respects or in the long term, but pessimistic in other respects or in the short term.

HAPPINESS IS ...

David Purdy argues it's a pity that economist Richard Layard does not consider the politics as well as the economics of happiness in his new book on this vital human attribute and its implications for the running of today's society.

In the entrance hall of University College London, sitting in a glass case, is the body of Jeremy Bentham, founder of the philosophy known as utilitarianism. (The body is his; the head is a wax replica.) Bentham held that both private conduct and public policy should be governed by one supreme goal, which he dubbed the "greatest happiness principle". In choosing between alternatives, he argued – whether general rules and practices or specific states of affairs and courses of action – both individuals and governments should seek to bring about the greatest overall happiness. In this groundbreaking, non-technical and eminently readable book, a leading British economist draws on research in neuroscience, psychology, sociology, economics and philosophy to update Bentham's teaching and applies it, with devastating results, to our contemporary Western gods: economic growth, individualism and competitive success.

FIGURING OUT AGGREGATE HAPPINESS

Bentham equated happiness with pleasure or the absence of pain, (incidentally discounting "anomalies" such as the confirmed masochist or the happy martyr). He thought of pleasure as a positive feeling tone, analogous to body temperature, which all human beings can experience and which varies only in intensity and duration, though, of course, the objects capable of producing it are almost infinitely various. He would dearly have loved to be able to measure happiness, thus defined, so that public policy could be transformed into a "felicific calculus". Until recently, however, the scope for *direct* measurement has been limited. This did not matter greatly where the object was to prevent or relieve suffering since there is a fair degree of consensus about the main causes of human misery – fear, pain, ill-health, poverty, squalor, ignorance, oppression, loneliness etc. But where the issue was how best to make people positively happier, about which there is far less agreement, policy-makers fell back on *proxies*. Chief of these is Gross National Product (GNP), which purports to measure what society as a whole finally gets from its combined productive activities in the course of a specified time period – though it is worth noting that national income accounting originated as an adjunct of Keynesian economics, not as a means of figuring out aggregate happiness.

Layard's starting point is that it *is* now possible to measure happiness directly: by asking people how they feel; by asking their friends and observers for an independent assessment; and by measuring electrical activity in the relevant parts of a person's brain. These different methods give remarkably consistent answers and enable us not only to track fluctuations in someone's happiness over time, but also to compare the happiness of different people. The measures are still crude, but suffice to establish, beyond reasonable doubt, that happiness is an objective phenomenon and varies along a single continuum, from the utmost misery to the sheerest joy.

Armed with the new measuring techniques, investigators have set about using a variety of sources and methods – interviews, surveys, personal diaries and controlled experiments – to ascertain whether people are becoming happier over time, to compare levels of happiness in different countries and to discover what makes people happy. Layard seeks to summarise and explain their findings and to draw out the implications for public policy.

The most striking findings concern the relationship between income and happiness. In all countries, the rich are, on average, happier than the poor. Likewise, up to a per capita income level of around \$20,000 a year, as poor countries grow richer, their inhabitants grow happier. Above this threshold, however, the correlation breaks down; affluent societies do not become happier as they become richer. In the US, for example, people are no happier now than they were in 1950, although per capita income has more than doubled. There has been no increase in the number of "very happy" people, nor any substantial fall in those who are "not very happy". The story is similar in Britain, where happiness has been static since 1975. And even in those countries like Italy where happiness has risen, the rise is small relative to the huge increase in incomes.

REALTIVE INCOME

What explains the paradox of wealth? One factor is social comparison. What matters for most people is not just their absolute income, but their income relative to that of others with whom they compare them-

■ Happiness: Lessons from a New Science

by Richard Layard
(Allen Lane, 2005)

HAPPINESS IS ...

selves. In an extreme case, where people care *only* about their relative income, economic growth *cannot* improve happiness, for if all incomes grow by the same percentage and all reference groups remain stable, everyone's happiness will remain unchanged. This psychological mechanism is compounded by the effects of habituation. In affluent societies, living standards resemble addictive drugs; once you have a new experience, you need to keep on having more of it in order to sustain your happiness. You are on a "hedonic treadmill" where you have to keep running in order to stay in the same place. There are, however, some experiences that people never fully adapt to in this sense, whether miseries like bereavement, trauma and persistent loud noise or enjoyable things like sex, friendship and aesthetic delight.

So what does make us happy? At an individual level, according to the evidence, age, gender, looks, IQ and education make a negligible difference, other things being equal. The main factors, in descending order of importance, are family relationships, financial situation, participation in socially valued work, friendship, the quality of community life and personal health. Two further factors, the relative importance of which cannot yet be gauged, are personal freedom and one's inner self and philosophy of life. Comparing one country with another, average happiness (along with the suicide rate) can largely be explained by the proportion of people who say that other people can be trusted, the proportion of people who belong to social organisations, the divorce rate, the unemployment rate, the quality of government and religious belief.

INIMICAL TO PERSONAL SECURITY

The policy implications of the new science run directly counter to prevailing conventional wisdom. For example, instead of promoting the "work and spend" culture, governments should be trying to curb the rat-race by taxing work-rich, time-poor lifestyles, just as we tax addictive and polluting expenditures on alcohol and tobacco. Similarly, whilst a child-friendly and non-gendered version of full employment should remain a top policy priority, the current vogue for flexible labour markets and geographical mobility should be resisted as being inimical to personal security, family relationships and community cohesion. The same goes for the cult of performance-related pay and the perpetual reorganisation of work, both of which undermine non-monetary work motivations and professional pride. More generally, the neo-liberal ideal in which all social interaction is based on voluntary exchange within a framework that permits "continuous re-optimisation" and thereby precludes long-term commitment, should be condemned as a dystopian nightmare. Conversely, while some inequalities of reward are required as work incentives, there is now hard empirical support for the old progressive intuition that the poor gain more happiness from each

By casting light on dark places, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, he has advanced the cause of a sane, humane and inspiring political economy.

additional dollar of income than the rich, providing a powerful argument for redistributing income in favour of the poor both within each state and across the world.

Layard makes a strong case. It would be stronger still if it were grounded in a better understanding of the dynamics of contemporary capitalism and the process of commodification – the tendency for capitalist commodity production to crowd out non-capitalist economic activity, subjecting an ever increasing proportion of social life to the disciplines and norms of the market. Likewise, while the greatest happiness principle is a plausible candidate to fill the vacuum left by the decline of religion and the demise of socialism, and could help to underpin renewed efforts to define and pursue the common good, it cannot be accepted uncritically.

WHO COUNTS AND HOW MUCH

For one thing, to say that our aim should be the greatest happiness of all immediately raises the question as to who counts and how much. There can be no good reason for excluding any human being currently alive and, as Bentham put it, each should count for one and none for more than one. But what about other species and future generations of humans? We might also question whether, as Layard maintains, happiness is a supreme value to which all other values – such as personal autonomy or social justice – are ultimately subordinate. And of course, where the consequences of alternative options are shrouded in genuine uncertainty – as distinct from calculable risk – happiness ceases to be a serviceable criterion for deciding what to do.

Layard rightly insists that any new policy paradigm must connect with the efforts that millions of people already make to lead happier lives – through psychotherapy, psychiatric drugs, meditation and other ways of investing life with meaning and purpose. It is, however, a pity that he does not consider the politics as well as the economics of happiness. Implicitly addressing his arguments to the political elite and continuing to belabour the ghost of communism, he ignores the defects in our own system of government, with its irresponsible media, chronic short-termism, adversarial culture, pro-business bias, excessive centralisation and declining public realm. In this respect, he falls short of the standard set by Bentham, who espoused the cause of universal suffrage. Nevertheless, by casting light on dark places, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, he has advanced the cause of a sane, humane and inspiring political economy – and for that, both he and Bentham deserve to be congratulated.

■ *David Purdy is a member of Democratic Left Scotland's national council and author of Eurovision or American Dream? Britain, the Euro and the Future of Europe (Luath Press in association with Democratic Left Scotland, £3.99).*

A WORLD TO WIN: POLITICS AND POLICY SINCE 9/11

Mark Ballard MSP responds to David Purdy's article in the last issue of *Perspectives*.

David Purdy has challenged us all to rethink our policies in light of a changing world. As David says, these are dark times for the democratic left, as neo-liberalism has come to be the dominant ideology and the USA the dominant political and economic power.

The danger is, however, that in trying to defend the gains of the post 1945 social democratic consensus, we lose sight of the reasons why it fell apart under Thatcher. Equally the danger is we overestimate the power of the USA, mistaking its desperate grab for resources for strength rather than weakness.

I feel David was succumbing to this kind of Keynesian nostalgia when he talked about a past where "schools and universities ... sought to broaden access to culture and nurture the democratic intellect." Perhaps this was true of the universities forty years ago, when only a tiny fraction of the population went into higher education but I don't believe it has ever been true of the mass education system. Equally arguing that governments once sought to protect workers and control capital misses the bureaucratic nightmares of 70s style nationalisation, and the failure of the social democratic model.

Yes, we can all agree that the Scottish Executive's *Framework for Economic Development*, with its sole focus of increasing Scottish GDP, is a profoundly depressing document. But where is the alternative strategy?



The danger is we overestimate the power of the USA, mistaking its desperate grab for resources for strength rather than weakness.

We need a new model for economic transformation. The two options that I am most interested in are "parecon" or participatory economic planning, and the social enterprise movement. Parecon, developed by Michael Albert, recognises the failure of state planning in meeting community needs and the failure of the market to take into account anything but price, and seeks to develop a new alternative to capitalism and the free market. Social enterprise, as a movement, seeks to create new forms of business that combine the ethics of the voluntary sector with the entrepreneurship of enterprise. Both offer visions of decentralised, democratic economies in stark contrast to the neo-liberalism of mainstream political discourse.

But both also reject statist models and Keynesian demand

management that has traditionally been the mainstay of the left. If the left is going to recapture the ideological initiative it must look like it has learnt lessons of the past.

And we must have a vision of the future. The USA is currently engaged in a desperate battle to maintain its unsustainable resources use. But a country with 4% of the world's population is never not going to be able to use 25% of the world's resources. Wars for oil will continue, but as with all the great empires, from the Romans to the Hapsburgs to the British Empire, overstretch will eventually set in. It therefore makes no sense for the EU to try to imitate the USA and create a

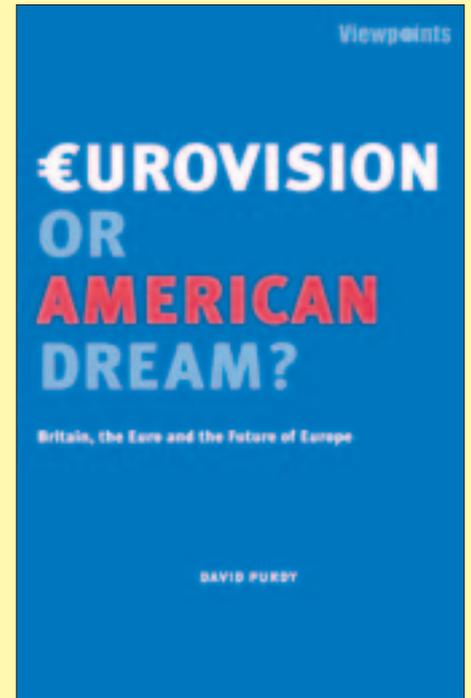
United States of Europe – the intention of some of the writers of the European Constitution. We need a social, cultural and environmental Europe, not a Europe that attempts to compete on the same unsustainable economic and military pattern as the USA. That's why we should take the opportunity of the no votes to the constitution to rethink our vision of Europe.

So, we must be bold! David suggests some important tax reforms, but we must go further than this and be clear that we want economic transformation. Equally, we now have a chance to chance to promote our vision of Europe and the world – not cling to coat-tails of Schroeder and Chirac ...

■ *Mark Ballard in a Scottish Green Party MSP and a member of Democratic Left Scotland*



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